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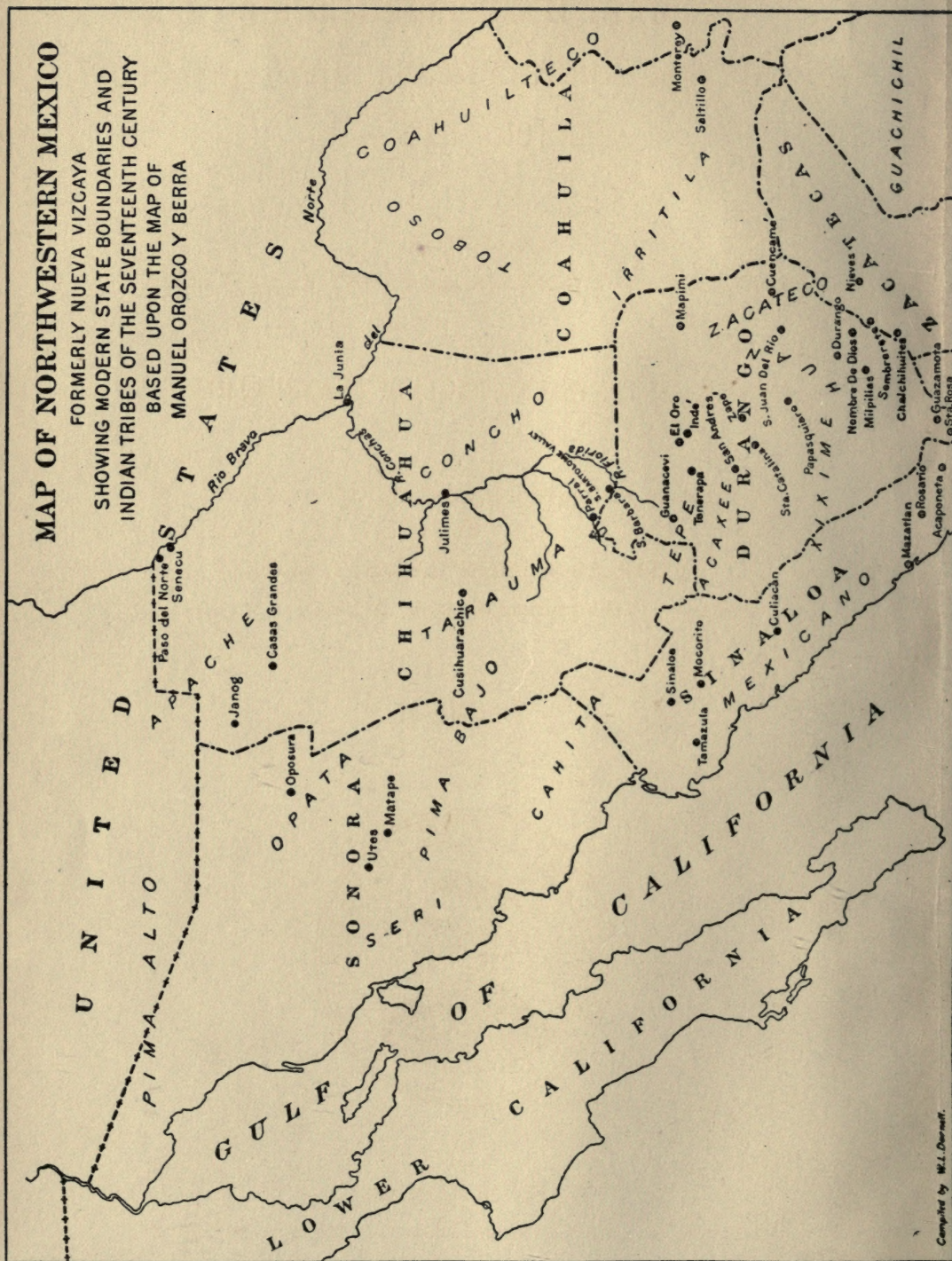
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A

MAP OF NORTHWESTERN MEXICO

FORMERLY NUEVA VIZCAYA
SHOWING MODERN STATE BOUNDARIES AND
INDIAN TRIBES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
BASED UPON THE MAP OF
MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA



Historical Documents relating to
New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches
Thereto, to 1773

COLLECTED BY
ADOLPH F. A. BANDELIER AND FANNY R. BANDELIER

SPANISH TEXTS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

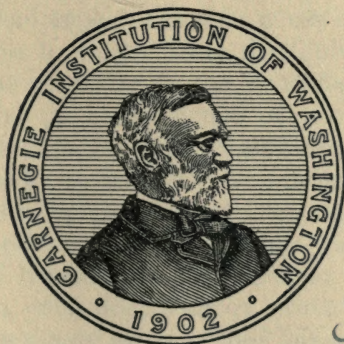
EDITED WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND ANNOTATIONS

BY

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VOLUME II

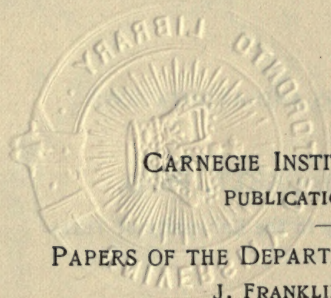


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PREFACE.

The historical documents in this volume constitute the third chapter, or division, of the entire collection of transcripts of historical documents that were compiled between 1912 and 1915 by Dr. and Mrs. Adolph F. A. Bandelier under the patronage of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The only other published collection of miscellaneous documents relating to Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century that will compare in volume and subject-matter with the documents hereinafter published for the first time are the *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva-Vizcaya* in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, fourth series, volume III. (Mexico, 1857).

In this volume the same method has been followed with reference to the chronological plan of organization of the historical materials, the expansion of abbreviated words, the separation of words in the Spanish text, punctuation, and accentuation as was indicated in the preface to volume I.

With reference to the Spanish text and the corresponding translations hereinafter published, some explanation is necessary. Many documents were copied only in part by the Bandeliers, and, prior to 1918, the parts thus copied were translated while the editor was associated with the University of California. After the editor became a member of the faculty of the University of Texas in 1918, he ascertained that his predecessor in the chair of Latin American History, Dr. W. E. Dunn, had had copied for the University of Texas Library many of the documents which the Bandeliers had copied, either in whole or in part. As a result the editor has been able to supply from the University of Texas transcripts many omissions occurring in the Bandelier transcripts, and has thus been able to publish the complete text of many documents of which the Bandeliers copied only parts. All such additions to the Bandelier transcripts as copied by the Bandeliers have been indicated by brackets in the Spanish text as published hereinafter. No document, however, of which the Bandeliers did not copy some part has been added from the University of Texas collection of transcripts. On the other hand, wherever it has been possible to do so, each document of which the Bandeliers copied some part and of which a copy exists at the University of Texas has been published complete. By making these additions, from the University of Texas copies, of omissions occurring in the Bandelier copies of documents, much recopying has had to be done and much additional translation has had to be made after it had been assumed in 1918 that the Spanish text and the corresponding English translations for this volume were complete.

As was the case in volume I., an asterisk (*) will be found in the table of contents of this volume, immediately following the English translation of the title of each of those documents that were translated by Dr. Priestley; a double asterisk (**) follows the English translation of the titles of those documents that were translated by Mrs. Sánchez. Where no such marks occur the document was translated by the editor, with the exception that in the *expediente* beginning on page 244 and continuing through page 294 the translation was made by Dr. Lota May Spell, curator of the García Collection of Mexican History and Literature at the University of Texas. To Dr. Spell for this and for other helpful assistance the editor is under grateful obligation. Aside from the section translated by Dr. Spell, all additional matter supplied from the University of Texas transcripts has been translated by the editor.

The editor desires to express again his indebtedness to the same generous collaborators who are mentioned in the preface to volume I.

CHARLES WILSON HACKETT.

AUSTIN, TEXAS.

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III. NUEVA VIZCAYA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

III. I. INTRODUCTION.

NUEVA VIZCAYA: A FRONTIER PROVINCE.

1. *The geographical extent of Nueva Vizcaya.* In a preceding chapter narrating the expansion of Spain in North America to 1590, a brief account was given of the establishment in 1562 of the new political jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya and of its limits and development until near the close of the sixteenth century.¹ At the close of the seventeenth century the so-called kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya still comprised an area imperial in extent. As defined in 1693, the boundary of Nueva Vizcaya began ten or twelve leagues below Durango, the capital, at a point said to be in 24° 20' north latitude. Thence it passed in a northeasterly direction, delimiting on the south and east the province of Nueva Galicia, to a point on the western boundary of the kingdom of Nuevo León. From there the boundary between Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León ran in a northerly direction, between Saltillo and the villa of Monterey, capital of Nuevo León, to the newly created province of Coahuila,² the southern boundary of which in 1674 had been established about twenty leagues north of Saltillo.³ Thence the boundary between Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila passed south and west of Monclova and then again turned north and continued to the Río del Norte. From the point where the boundary reached the Río del Norte to the presidio of El Paso the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya stretched to the northeast "to such a longitude" that the boundary was "considered to extend as far as the Colbert [Mississippi] River".

On the north, Nueva Vizcaya extended "as far as the presidio of El Paso", described as being "in latitude thirty-two degrees, less one-third", and from where "the bounds of New Mexico bear towards its capital which is Santa Fé". To the northwest, the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya extended "as far as latitude thirty-seven degrees and fifteen minutes", or to the New Mexican provinces of Zuñi and Moqui. To the west of Nueva Vizcaya proper lay the provinces of Rosario, Sinaloa, and

¹ Volume I., this series, pp. 14-18.

² Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, this volume, p. 389.

³ H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1916), pp. 285-286.

Sonora,⁴ the last two of which were administrative subdivisions of Nueva Vizcaya.⁵

In a jurisdiction of the magnitude of Nueva Vizcaya it is not surprising that it was commonplace to refer to distances that sometimes mounted into the hundreds of leagues. From Mexico City to Durango the distance was about 230 leagues;⁶ that from Guadalajara to the Real de Cusiguriáchi, "in the centre of the Tarahumara nation", was 250 leagues.⁷ Northwest of Durango 150 leagues was the important presidio of Sinaloa;⁸ in the same general direction from Durango the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya extended for almost 300 leagues.⁹

The most important settlement after Durango was the Real del Parral, which was between seventy and one hundred leagues north of the capital.¹⁰ West of the Real del Parral 200 leagues was San Juan Bautista, the capital and most important settlement of the *alcaldía mayor* of Sonora.¹¹ One hundred leagues north of the Real del Parral was the presidio of Janos, which was seventy leagues southwest of the New Mexico frontier at El Paso.¹² Eighty leagues northeast of the Real del Parral was the important post of La Junta,¹³ at the junction of the Conchos and Río Grande rivers. In 1618 the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya was described as being "almost 250 leagues long and nearly so wide";¹⁴ in 1678 an

⁴ Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, this volume, p. 389. The geography of the Pacific coast region of northwestern New Spain in the seventeenth century as given by H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, I. (San Francisco, 1884), pp. 202-204, is as follows: The names Chiametla and Rosario were applied "to the region lying between the rivers Cañas and Mazatlan. . . . Next northward, between the rivers Mazatlan and Piaxtla, was Copola. . . . Culiacán extended from Piaxtla to the Río Culiacán. . . . Next we find Sinaloa, often described as lying between Culiacán and Río Mayo but whose limit was more properly the Río del Fuerte, or possibly the Alamos. . . . The name was originally that of a tribe dwelling on the stream called Río del Fuerte. . . . thence it was extended from tribe and river to province and capital; then from the capital over several provinces within the governor's jurisdiction as far north as the Río Yaqui. . . . North of Sinaloa was Ostimuri, which reached from the Alamos to the Río Yaqui. . . . All the country north of the Yaqui was sometimes called Sonora. . . . Yet it was more common among the Jesuits to restrict the name to the valley where it originated".

⁵ De la Fuente to Almazán, Janos, Sept. 18, 1693, p. 371, *infra*; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 520.

⁶ Don Lope de Sierra Osorio to the king, Mexico, Sept. 26, 1678, p. 211, *infra*; Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 391, *infra*.

⁷ Fiscal's reply, Madrid, Apr. 2, 1698, p. 461, *infra*.

⁸ A brief account of the Tepehuane rebellion, 1616-1618, p. 109, *infra*.

⁹ Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 389, *infra*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 391; *informe* of Lope de Sierra Osorio, p. 211, *infra*.

¹¹ Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 389, *infra*; Castillo to the viceroy, Durango, Apr. 4 to May 2, 1693, p. 309, *infra*. See also H. E. Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, I. (Cleveland, 1919), 110, note.

¹² Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 393, *infra*; A. E. Hughes, *The Beginning of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District*, in the University of California Publications in History, I. (Berkeley, 1914) 310-311.

¹³ Retana to Pardiñas, Río Salado, Mar. 3, 1693, p. 257, *infra*.

¹⁴ A brief account of the Tepehuane rebellion, 1616-1618, p. 101, *infra*.

ex-governor stated that Nueva Vizcaya was "almost four hundred leagues square".¹⁵

2. *The potential wealth and natural advantages of Nueva Vizcaya.* The great potential and undeveloped wealth of Nueva Vizcaya and its climatic and other natural advantages were themes upon which the governors of that kingdom in the seventeenth century never tired of discoursing. Governor Urdiñola in 1604 assured the king that in all New Spain there was "no land so rich in veins of silver as these provinces of Nueva Vizcaya",¹⁶ and Governor Oca Sarmiento in 1667 advised the king that Nueva Vizcaya was "the richest province of New Spain".¹⁷

Later governors waxed more enthusiastic and were more explicit than Urdiñola and Oca Sarmiento in their praise of Nueva Vizcaya. Governor Sierra Osorio in 1678, after asserting that Nueva Vizcaya was "the best kingdom that your Majesty has in his entire crown", said: "The Sierra Madre which has its beginning near the port of Acapulco and extends through New Mexico, without its end being known, traverses the centre of this kingdom. The mountains into which it is divided are infinite, and all are full of rich ores of silver and gold." Continuing, Governor Sierra Osorio pointed out other advantages of Nueva Vizcaya, as follows: "The level lands of which it is composed are very productive for all kinds of crops and the raising of cattle and sheep, for there are many rivers, arroyos, and springs which water them."¹⁸ In a later report, prepared subsequent to the year 1683, Sierra Osorio described Nueva Vizcaya as "one of the most fertile kingdoms in the Indies, one most abounding in all kinds of fruits and in silver and gold mines, and which, if it were populated proportionately with the others, would contribute more treasure to his Majesty than all the others". Referring to the extreme northeastern section of Nueva Vizcaya, Sierra Osorio said: "The country of the Conchos is level, fertile, and watered by many rivers and streams, following the line from San Francisco de Conchos as far as the river called Del Norte."¹⁹

No less enthusiastic than Sierra Osorio concerning Nueva Vizcaya and its potentialities was Governor Don Juan Isidro Pardiñas Villar de Francos. Writing in 1688 he said: "It is a very fertile kingdom for in it are grown all kinds of grain that are to be found in any other part of America. It has the requisite cattle and sheep for its support; it is extremely rich in gold and silver ores, for there is no part in the whole of it that does not show veins. . . . After I entered upon this governorship

¹⁵ *Informe* of Don Lope de Sierra Osorio, 1678, p. 211, *infra*.

¹⁶ Urdiñola to the king, Durango, Mar. 31, 1604, p. 91, *infra*.

¹⁷ Oca Sarmiento's report to the viceroy, Mar. 12, 1667, p. 191, *infra*.

¹⁸ *Informe* of Don Lope de Sierra Osorio, Sept. 26, 1678, p. 211, *infra*.

¹⁹ Extract of a paper prepared by Lope de Sierra Osorio, subsequent to 1683, pp. 219, 223, *infra*.

there was discovered in that region [of the Tarahumare Indians] one of the richest mineral deposits that has been encountered in these parts.”²⁰

Unquestionably, one of the most favorable descriptions of Nueva Vizcaya was that made by Don Joseph Francisco Marín, viceregal inspector of Nueva Vizcaya in 1693. Writing in that year Marín said: “Heaven favored this most extensive kingdom with a benign climate, as much so as can be desired, and with great fertility of the land, for the plantings produce most abundant crops, while cattle produce so abundantly that if constant robberies of the Indians would allow them to increase, they would have no value whatever. The province abounds in such a plentifulness of metals that the locality in its mountains where many and good mines may not be found is rare indeed. All of the most experienced persons in New Spain assert that the said kingdom has more silver than all the rest of it [New Spain], and every day new discoveries of ores are made.”²¹

3. *The provincial administration of Nueva Vizcaya.* As an administrative unit, the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya was a part of the viceroyalty of New Spain.²² In administrative and military affairs the kingdom was subject directly to the viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, and in judicial matters to the Audiencia of Guadalajara.²³ The provincial secular government of Nueva Vizcaya was almost wholly military, administration being centred in the governor, who exercised the powers of captain-general.²⁴ During the early seventeenth century the governors resided at Durango, or Guadiana, the provincial capital founded by Francisco de Ibarra in 1563. Durango remained the nominal capital, but by the year 1667, and thereafter until the close of the seventeenth century, the governors were accustomed to reside at the Real del Parral,²⁵ which, in 1678.

²⁰ Pardiñas to the king, El Parral, Nov. 21, 1688, p. 229, *infra*.

²¹ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 389, *infra*.

²² A cedula of July 21, 1691, specifically charged the governors of Nueva Vizcaya “to report to the viceroy of New Spain concerning everything which they might accomplish, obeying the orders which the said viceroy might issue to them for their better government.” Fiscal’s opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 421, *infra*.

²³ The Audiencia of Guadalajara, which was founded in 1548, exercised political and administrative authority in the province of Nueva Galicia, and judicial authority in that province, and also in Nueva Vizcaya after it was created in 1562, as well as in other northern provinces. Until 1572 judicial appeals might be made from the Audiencia of Guadalajara to that of New Spain, but in the latter year a chancery was formed and a separate seal of office was granted to the Audiencia of Guadalajara. Between 1572 and 1680 the audiencia, as an administrative body, exercised political authority in the province of Nueva Galicia, but in the latter year the president of the audiencia was entrusted with the administration of the province. See C. W. Hackett, vol. I., this series, pp. 15, 21-22, and authorities cited; H. E. Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, 1913), p. 75.

²⁴ See Urdiñola to the king, Durango, Mar. 31, 1604, p. 89, *infra*; the king to Governor Guajardo Fajardo, Buen Retiro, May 23, 1652, *ibid.*, p. 177; order of Governor Castillo to General Retana, El Parral, Nov. 10, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 345.

²⁵ Oca Sarmiento to the viceroy, El Parral, Mar. 12, 1667, p. 189, *infra*; Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, *ibid.*, pp. 389, 391.

was referred to as "the principal place in that kingdom", and the one that paid the king the greatest income.²⁶

Fiscal matters of the kingdom, such as the collection of the king's fifth from all mining production, the distribution of quicksilver, and the disbursement of the budget, were attended to by royal treasury officials in charge of the *caja real*, or royal depository, at Durango; a fiscal agent appointed and paid by these officials represented them at the Real del Parral.²⁷ The only town that enjoyed, through a municipal *cabildo*, any degree of self-government was Durango. In ecclesiastical matters the bishop of Durango and the ecclesiastical *cabildo* of that town stood at the head of the secular clergy.²⁸ At the head of the Franciscan regular clergy was a *custodio*, with headquarters at the Real del Parral;²⁹ two provincials of the Jesuit regular clergy were stationed in Sinaloa.³⁰

In the early part of the seventeenth century the province of Santa Bárbara appears to have been the most important subdivision of Nueva Vizcaya; this does not appear to have been the case by the latter half of the century. At that time it seems that the entire region from Durango to the Real del Parral, and for one hundred leagues beyond, and comprising what might be termed Greater Nueva Vizcaya, was under the immediate jurisdiction of the governor. In this latter period it appears that no political subdivisions except Sinaloa and Sonora were referred to as provinces.

The province of Santa Bárbara in 1618 comprised five *alcaldías*; important mining camps in the province, and, in some instances, seats of *alcaldías*, were Guanecebi, San Juan de Indé, Santiago de Mapimi, Cuencame, San Juan del Río, and Valle de San Bartolomé.³¹ The first-named camp was described in 1618 as "the most important mining camp in the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, and situated in the centre of the Tepehuane country".³² Because each of the five *alcaldes* of the province of Santa Bárbara was alleged to have taken advantage of his position as protector of the Indians and as *alcalde* and to have utilized "for his own traffic"

²⁶ Don Lope de Sierra Osorio to the king, Mexico, Sept. 26, 1678, p. 211, *infra*.

²⁷ Ursua to the viceroy, Durango, May 12, 1693, p. 319, *infra*; fiscal's reply, Mexico, June 10, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 319; *informe* of Sierra Osorio, 1678, *ibid.*, p. 217.

²⁸ The bishopric of Durango was established in 1620 (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I. 307). See also the fiscal's reply, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, pp. 425, 427, *infra*.

²⁹ Report of Governor Castillo, San Francisco de Conchos, Oct. 20, 1693, this volume, p. 361, *infra*. The heads of the Franciscan order in New Spain were known as *comisarios generales*. Next below them were *provinciales*, at the head of subdivisions known as provinces. Subdivisions of provinces were known as *custodias*, at the heads of which were *custodios*. The lowest subdivision in the organization of a regular religious order was a presidency. At the head of such a group of missions was a president.

³⁰ Fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 445, *infra*. For the definition of *provincial*, see the preceding note.

³¹ Proof of the services of Miguel de Barrasa, 1618, pp. 99, 101, *infra*; papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, *ibid.*, pp. 123, 129; report on the condition of Durango, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 145.

³² Account of the Tepehuane rebellion, 1616-1618, p. 105, *infra*.

the enforced labor of the Indians in his *alcaldía*, the king was petitioned, but in vain, in 1618, to reduce the five *alcaldías* to one *corregimiento*.³³

The most important administrative subdivision of Nueva Vizcaya in the later seventeenth century was the province of Sinaloa,³⁴ which, until after the close of the seventeenth century, included Sonora.³⁵ Until 1682 the viceroy had the right to appoint the captain of the garrison at San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa; from the governor of Nueva Vizcaya the captain "received the appointment of *alcalde mayor* . . . and was often called governor of Sinaloa".³⁶

However, until about the middle of the seventeenth century Sinaloa was practically ignored by the governors of Nueva Vizcaya.³⁷ On the other hand, appointees of the viceroy in that province arrogated unto themselves the garrisoning of it and even endeavored to extend their authority into Sonora.³⁸ The result was, as will be shown, that a bitter dispute arose about the middle of the century between the viceroys and the governors of Nueva Vizcaya over the rights of each in that province. Finally, in 1682 a royal cedula placed Sinaloa under the undivided authority of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya.³⁹ Eleven years later, in 1693, Sonora, which theretofore had been administered as a part of Sinaloa, was detached therefrom. Thenceforth, until 1734, Sinaloa and Sonora were administered by different military commandants, "each of whom was subject in civil and political matters to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya".⁴⁰

4. *The Indians.* According to Orozco y Berra and Bancroft,⁴¹ the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century was occupied by several well-defined linguistic groups of Indians, the most important of which were the Tepehuanes, the Acaxeas and Xiximes, the Tarahumares,

³³ Proof of the services of Miguel de Barrasa, 1618, p. 101, *infra*. For a definition of *corregimiento* and for arguments for and against it, see vol. I, this series, pp. 24-25, 125, 135-139, 143-145.

³⁴ In 1622 the title of "governor and captain-general of this kingdom and the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Chiametla, Copala, and Sinaloa, and their provinces" was borne by one of the governors of Nueva Vizcaya (see papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, 1620-1622, p. 119, *infra*; report of Pedro Coronado, 1625, *ibid.*, p. 147. Such a comprehensive title does not appear to have been borne by his successors. For the geographical location of the above-named provinces, see note 4, *supra*.

³⁵ Bancroft (*op. cit.*, I. 204) says that "throughout nearly the whole century Sinaloa is the best general name for the whole territory".

³⁶ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I. 207; see also the extract of a paper prepared by Sierra Osorio, subsequent to 1683, p. 227, *infra*.

³⁷ Urdiñola to the king, Durango, Mar. 31, 1604, p. 89, *infra*; the king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Madrid, Mar. 27, 1651, *ibid.*, p. 171.

³⁸ The king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Madrid, Mar. 27, 1651, *ibid.*

³⁹ Extract of a paper prepared by Sierra Osorio, undated, p. 227, *infra*; De la Fuente to Almazán, Janos, Sept. 18, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 373.

⁴⁰ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I. 255, 520.

⁴¹ M. Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de Mexico* (Mexico, 1864), pp. 310-356; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I. 309-319, especially p. 310 for Orozco y Berra's map of Nueva Vizcaya.

the Conchos, and the Tobosos. The first-named group occupied the heart of the southern half of Nueva Vizcaya, or the region lying on either side of the direct road, seventy leagues long, that led from Durango northwest to the Real del Parral. To the west of the Tepehuanes, extending almost to the Gulf of California and north almost to the Sinaloa River, in the region known as Topia, was the home of the Acaxees, Xiximes, and kindred tribes. Northwest of the Tepehuanes and extending for about two-thirds of the one hundred leagues that separated the Real del Parral and the presidio of Janos was the region occupied by the Tarahumare Indians. Northeast of El Parral, in the valley of the Conchos River, were the Conchos Indians. To the northeast of the Tepehuanes and to the east of the Conchos Indians were the Tobosos and Coahuila Indians.

A much more comprehensive grouping of the Indians of Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century than that of Orozco y Berra and Bancroft—a geographical rather than a linguistic grouping—was prepared by Don Joseph Francisco Marín, viceregal visitor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1693. Marín divides Nueva Vizcaya into three major geographic areas, and for each area lists the tribes living therein. The sum total of tribes listed by Marín is 159. In some cases Marín recorded the indigenous names of the tribes; in other cases the tribal names as given are merely descriptive Spanish phrases.

According to Marín, seventy-eight nations, the names of which are hereinafter published, lived between Durango and La Junta de los Ríos,⁴² a distance of between 150 and 180 leagues. The last eighteen nations in this list were discovered by General Juan de Retana on an expedition which he made to La Junta in July, 1693.⁴³

On the opposite side of the Río del Norte from La Junta and between the Texas country and New Mexico there were, according to Marín, fifty-four nations of Indians, the names of which are hereinafter published. They were described as "more peaceful than war-like", although the Apaches were said to harass them continuously. In the region between the Río Conchos on the east, New Mexico on the north, and the Gulf of California and the Colorado River on the west, there were, according to Marín, twenty-seven different nations, some of which, as the Pimas and the Apaches Cruzados, were numerous and wide-spread.⁴⁴

The total number of Indians in Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century cannot be approximated. However, according to Don Lope de Sierra Osorio, ex-governor of Nueva Vizcaya, and later an *oidor* of the Audiencia of Mexico, the native population was very large. Writing in 1678 Sierra Osorio said: "Within the jurisdiction of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya there are many distinct nations, some of which are very large.

⁴² Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 393, 395.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Those of the Tepehuanes, Tarahumares, and Conchos alone, in what has been explored, will total 300,000 families . . . each one [nation] occupying one hundred and fifty leagues of mountain range. When the Indians at the last point to which the padres have gone are questioned as to whether there are more Indians further on, and on either side, they reply that the multitude is innumerable in every direction. Solely on the Río del Norte . . . there are so many nations that with all their efforts the padres who are in that vicinity have not been able to learn their names."⁴⁵

With respect to the Tobosos Indians, Sierra Osorio said in 1678 that eleven nations of hostiles lived to the right of the highway from Durango to El Parral, and that, "because the bravest among them are the Tobosos, all are commonly called by that name".⁴⁶ Captain Juan Bautista de Escorza, after he had made a reconnoitring expedition through the country to the east of Durango and El Parral in 1693, reported that he had found "many new people among the enemy, for the hostile Tobosos do not make up even the fourth of them".⁴⁷

With reference to the Conchos Indians, Sierra Osorio, subsequent to 1683, said: "The other nations lately in rebellion . . . have different names such as Chizos, Julimes, and others which it is impossible to remember, included under the general appellation of Conchos, which is the more general name."⁴⁸

At different periods during the seventeenth century the Indian problem for the Spaniards of Nueva Vizcaya was different. During the first three-quarters of the seventeenth century the Spaniards were engaged in the pacification and Christianization, primarily, of the Tepehuanes, Acaxeas, Tarahumares, and Conchos Indians. The task was no easy one; nor does the credit for such success as was attained belong to any one governor or Indian fighter. Governor Urdiñola boasted in 1604 that as the result of a seven months' campaign he had "reduced to twenty-four the seventy-odd villages and rancherías" of the Acaxeas in the Sierra of San Andrés.⁴⁹ That Governors Alvear, Mateo de Vesga, and Luis Valdés between 1616 and 1646 concentrated their greatest efforts on subduing the Tepehuanes, Tarahumares, Conchos, and other allied tribes, with the outcome long in the balance, is abundantly demonstrated in documents hereinafter published.⁵⁰

After the middle of the century greater success attended the Spaniards in the pacification and conversion of these Indians. In 1678 ex-Governor

⁴⁵ *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, Mexico, 1678, p. 215, *infra*.

⁴⁶ *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, 1678, p. 213, *infra*; cf. paper prepared by him, *ibid.*, p. 219.

⁴⁷ Escorza to Castillo, Cerro Gordo, July 13, 1693, p. 323, *infra*.

⁴⁸ Paper prepared by Sierra Osorio, subsequent to 1683, p. 221, *infra*.

⁴⁹ Urdiñola to the king, Durango, Mar. 31, 1604, p. 89, *infra*.

⁵⁰ See the account of the Tepehuane rebellion, 1616-1618, pp. 101-115, *infra*; papers of Governor Mateo de Vesga, 1620-1625, *ibid.*, pp. 119-143; cedula to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Nov. 30, 1647, *ibid.*, pp. 161, 163; cedula to the viceroy of New Spain, *ibid.*, pp. 163, 165.

Sierra Osorio asserted that he had "reduced to peace" all of the Tobosos Indians and had settled some of them at San Francisco de Conchos,⁵¹ twenty-two leagues northeast of the Real del Parral.⁵² Sierra Osorio also reported that all of the Tepehuanes, Tarahumares, and Conchos Indians were peaceable, and that a certain number of them, "though very small", had already been baptized and "reduced to the faith". He added: "All the nations in the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya and in New Mexico can be reduced to our holy faith in greater facility than others, and at much less cost, for, besides being the most gentle and docile, by special kindness of God, there is no idolatry among them, nor do the inhabitants worship anything living or dead. From this—since they do not practice idolatry . . . —your Majesty will be able to infer with what facility they may be reduced to our holy Catholic faith."⁵³

Five years later, in 1693, the viceregal visitor, Marín, said: "The Tepehuanes Indians . . . for many years . . . have maintained strict fidelity and obedience. . . . The Tepehuanes and Tarahumares . . . are now highly Hispanicized, have some degree of culture, and greatly apply themselves to the raising of cattle and the cultivation of their lands."⁵⁴ Equally optimistic was Marín's report on the Indians of Sinaloa. "Any uprising ought not to be feared there", he said, "because its inhabitants are naturally peaceable, are now rooted in the faith, and are devoted to the cultivation of their farms and the raising of their cattle."⁵⁵

Despite some success of the Spaniards among the Tepehuanes, Tarahumares, and other tribes, the last two decades of the seventeenth century in general were characterized by marked apostasy among the Christianized Indians, and by the unprecedented hostilities of the heathen Indians all the way from Coahuila to Sonora. In part, these hostilities were inspired by the success of the Pueblo Indian rebellion of 1680-1692 in New Mexico;⁵⁶ in large measure they were due to the "boldness and audacity" of the Indians and to their desire to plunder and to harass.⁵⁷ Captain Escorza, after his reconnoitring expedition through the Toboso country in 1693, reported that "the ancient enemies, who, under the name of Tobosos, have invaded these kingdoms for many years, are now driven by necessity itself and their own bad disposition to increase the ravages, for, having consumed the thousands of cattle and horses that roamed through these lands, they now have no recourse except to seize those raised by the Spaniards on their estates".⁵⁸ Such was the hostility after

⁵¹ *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, 1678, p. 213, *infra*.

⁵² Paper prepared by Sierra Osorio; subsequent to 1683, p. 221, *infra*.

⁵³ *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, pp. 215, 217, *infra*.

⁵⁴ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 391, 401, *infra*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 405; see also *ibid.*, p. 389; and fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 447, *infra*.

⁵⁶ Paper prepared by Sierra Osorio subsequent to 1683, p. 219, *infra*.

⁵⁷ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 397, *infra*.

⁵⁸ Escorza to Castillo, Cerro Gordo, July 13, 1693, p. 325, *infra*.

1680 of the heathen Indians that it was only by the most heroic efforts that Governors Pardiñas and Castillo between the years 1687 and 1695 saved the province, as is related hereinafter,⁵⁹ from utter destruction.

The instigators and leaders of the hostiles during these years were the ferocious and apostate Tobosos and their allies. Writing subsequent to 1683, ex-Governor Sierra Osorio said that the Tobosos were "so desperate and valiant that they take or give no quarter and they make slaves of all the women and children whom they capture".⁶⁰ Writing in 1693 the visitor Marín graphically described the adept cunning and stratagem employed by the hostiles in attacking the Spaniards both on the highways and on their ranches.⁶¹ With reference to the perfidy of the Tobosos, Marín said: "They have failed time without number in the obedience which they promised, being apostates from the Evangelical law, which they profess, and the most pernicious and malevolent among them all. Furthermore they are the ones who instigate and turn many other nations among the Spaniards by exciting them with the great amount of booty which they have acquired through the carelessness of the latter."⁶² Marín further reported that these hostiles entered Nueva Vizcaya "at the junction of the Río Florido and the Río Conchos and by way of San Antonio, Las Cañas, La Herradura, Mapimi, and Río Nazas".⁶³

The Indians that harassed the eastern and central sections of Nueva Vizcaya in the later seventeenth century were not only extremely ferocious but were in a low stage of culture and in some instances were even cannibalistic. With reference to the Tobosos Indians and their environment, ex-Governor Sierra Osorio said in 1678: "In all their land there is no river, arroyo, or spring that is perennial; neither do they have towns nor do they plant crops, and, so far as I have observed on two occasions when I have passed through part of the region, there are neither birds nor animals."⁶⁴ In a later report Sierra Osorio said that the rebellious and barbarous Indians sustained themselves "more like wild beasts than as rational beings, by drinking filthy and corrupt water from some few lagoons, and the pools that the rain leaves for a while in the hollows of the rocks. When these fail they sustain themselves with juice of the wild fruits, roots, and the bark of plants and trees. At the same time they steal some cattle or horses . . . for their greatest treat is this kind of food. . . . And yet they are great endurors of hunger and thirst and other inclemencies of the weather to which they are subject through their exposure to the cold temperatures, as they use no other dress than

⁵⁹ See correspondence and *autos* of Pardiñas, 1688-1692, *infra*, pp. 235-289; *autos* of Castillo, 1691-1694, *ibid.*, pp. 291-362; *autos* and reports of Marín, 1693, pp. 365-411; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, pp. 419-457.

⁶⁰ Paper prepared by Sierra Osorio subsequent to 1683, p. 219, *infra*.

⁶¹ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 397, *infra*.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 401.

⁶³ Fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 437, *infra*.

⁶⁴ *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, Mexico, 1678, p. 213, *infra*.

that granted them by nature. They have no settlement, nor community cultivation or planting of the land".⁶⁵

Sierra Osorio's description of the culture of the eastern Indians was corroborated by the visitor Marín in 1693. He said that the hostiles lived in the open like beasts, "obtaining their food by hunting, and much of the time living on reptilian animals".⁶⁶ Marín also reported that "their principal food consists of horses and mules, and any filth that they may find, even sometimes the bodies of Spaniards, as has many times happened".⁶⁷ Other evidence of cannibalism was not lacking. General Retana, a famed Indian fighter, reported in 1693 that some old women of the Chizos Indians had eaten alive a young Spanish female captive.⁶⁸

There is no evidence that the Tepehuanes or Tarahumares, in the centre of the kingdom, were cannibals, but the ferocity of the latter is revealed by the fact that when a Spaniard was captured in the Tarahumare country in June, 1693, fifteen leagues from El Parral, the Indians skinned him alive "and committed other inhumanities that are not to be told".⁶⁹

Comparable to the ferocious and pernicious Tobosos and other hostiles on the eastern and northeastern frontiers of Nueva Vizcaya were the Pimas and Apaches, in the northwestern province of Sonora. In 1693 the visitor Marín pointed out the necessity of "curbing the pride of the enemy Apaches and the numerous and wide-spread Pima nations", who, he said, were "constantly attacking and committing hostilities" upon the inhabitants of Sonora. These Indians, Marín said, were accustomed to "enter by one of the following three routes—first through the Valle de Caaguiona, which is thirty leagues distant from the Real de San Juan; second, through the Valle de Babispe; third, by that of Teuricache, nine leagues from the Real de Nacosari (which the enemy have almost depopulated by their constant raids)".⁷⁰

In view of the character of the hostile Indians of Nueva Vizcaya, it is not surprising that various officials should have recommended that a war of extermination should be waged against them. Ex-Governor Sierra Osorio, for example, stated that in his opinion there was more justification in making war upon the hostiles and in enslaving them than there was in fighting and in enslaving the Turks, "for the latter", he argued, "although they are the declared enemies of all Christendom, give quarter to all those who surrender without reaching the point of imbruing themselves in the blood of those who by their sex, age or profession are defenseless".⁷¹ Similar or even more drastic recommendations were later

⁶⁵ Paper prepared by Sierra Osorio subsequent to 1683, p. 221, *infra*.

⁶⁶ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 401, *infra*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; auto of Retana, *peñol* of Santa Marta, July 30, 1693, p. 335, *infra*.

⁶⁹ Castillo to the viceroy, Durango, Apr. 4 to May 2, 1693, p. 305, *infra*.

⁷⁰ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 399, *infra*.

⁷¹ *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, 1678, p. 213, *infra*.

made by Governors Pardiñas and Castillo and by the viceregal visitor Marín between 1688 and 1693.

Although not a resident of Nueva Vizcaya proper, one of the unique characters of the northern frontier was Don Diego de Valdés, chief of the Nadadores tribe of Indians of Coahuila. Valdés won the respect and confidence not only of civilians and officials of the frontier, but even of the viceroy of New Spain. Injustices that were done him were the bases for the pronouncement of important regulations for the protection of loyal Indians by the viceroy.

The loyalty of Valdés to the Spaniards and the aid that he had rendered to various military expeditions of the Spaniards against the hostile Indians were abundantly attested by certifications of captains and military chiefs of the frontier. His most highly prized possession, however, was a commission, and a "staff as governor of the Nadadores nation", which the Count of Monclova, viceroy of New Spain between the years 1686 and 1688, had given him. For some unexplained reason this staff was taken from Don Diego de Valdés—an act which filled him "with the greatest grief"—by Alonso de León,⁷² governor of Coahuila, prior to the latter's death in March, 1691.⁷³ Through his attorney, Cristóbal Vicente de Rivera, Don Diego petitioned the viceroy, the Count of Galve, to name Sargento Mayor Juan Bautista de Escorza of Nueva Vizcaya as protector of the Nadadores Indians, and to reinvest himself with authority as governor and with "the said staff". The petition having been taken under advisement, the viceroy, upon the recommendation of the fiscal, Dr. Don Benito de Novoa Salgado, conformed with this request on May 31, 1691. The viceroy instructed Escorza "to restore the staff of authority" to Don Diego de Valdés and also "everything that may have been taken, either from him or from other Indians, by Spaniards of bad character". Likewise he was to make reparations for damages done to them. Under penalty of a fine of 500 pesos, all royal judges and justices were forbidden to place any impediments or embarrassments in the way of Escorza, and were instructed to expedite bills of indictment against any one who did oppose him.

In his recommendations to the viceroy the fiscal had characterized the action of Captain De León in having deprived Don Diego of his staff as governor as "a very shameless effrontery, for what a viceroy gives an inferior cannot take away without consultation". Altogether in accord with this attitude of his fiscal, the viceroy imposed a fine of 500 pesos upon any captain who, in the future, should "without consultation remove any person from an office filled by this Superior Government, for doing otherwise is to proceed boldly".⁷⁴

⁷² Decree of the viceroy, the Count of Galve, with enclosures, Mexico, May 31, 1691, pp. 335-339, *infra*.

⁷³ W. E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702* (Austin, 1917), p. 129.

⁷⁴ Decree of the viceroy, the Count of Monclova, with enclosures, pp. 337, 339, *infra*.

Later the commission issued to Escorza as protector of the Nadadores Indians was transferred by the viceroy to General Ignacio de Anaya. The latter, on June 9, 1692, in the presence of Captain Diego Ramón, governor and captain of the presidio of Coahuila, formally notified Don Diego de Valdés that he was ready to give him and all of the Nadadores Indians "all the favor that his Excellency orders". Don Diego was to be deprived of his most highly prized possession, however, for Anaya recorded that "as to the staff which his Excellency orders to be restored to him, it is impossible to fulfill that order because Governor Alonso de León is dead and no one knows in whose possession it was left". Notwithstanding, he instructed all of the Nadadores Indians "to hold the said Captain Don Diego as their governor".⁷⁵

In July of the following year, 1693, some Chizos Indians from Nueva Vizcaya made a campaign into Coahuila, and among the booty later taken from them by General Juan de Retana was a "governor's title given to Don Diego de Valdés by the Count of Galve".⁷⁶

Meanwhile Don Diego had continued to enjoy the respect and confidence of at least two of his Spanish friends. On May 18, 1692, the month before his title as governor was, by order of the Count of Galve, restored to him, Don Juan Francisco Ruiz de Birbiesca commended Don Diego for "founding a mission of New Indians"; sent him as presents a cloak and "a calabash full of rich brandy"; and requested of him twenty-five Indian laborers, under a competent foreman, to harvest his wheat crop.⁷⁷ Equally cordial was another letter sent to Don Diego on the same day from Parras by Simón de Echavarria. The latter acknowledged the gift from Don Diego of two buckskins, requested Don Diego to send him a large *bezal* stone, and sent to the wife and son of Don Diego a blue baize skirt-pattern and a blanket, respectively.⁷⁸

5. *The civilian population of Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century.* Throughout the entire seventeenth century Nueva Vizcaya remained essentially a frontier province. The population of the kingdom was never large, nor were the settlers ever very prosperous or secure from Indian depredations, facts which the governors of the kingdom never ceased to bemoan. In 1604 Governor Urdiñola referred to "the poverty and lack of labor from which the settlers to-day in this large government suffer".⁷⁹ Durango in 1618 was a town of about one hundred settlers;⁸⁰ in 1693 it was referred to as the metropolis of the kingdom.⁸¹ It was estimated in 1678 that the entire kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya did not "contain more

⁷⁵ *Auto* of Anaya, Nadadores, June 9, 1692, pp. 339, 341, *infra*.

⁷⁶ *Auto* of Retana, *peñol* of Santa Marta, July 30, 1693, p. 333, *infra*.

⁷⁷ Birbiesca to Valdés, San Lorenzo, May 18, 1692, p. 341, *infra*.

⁷⁸ Echavarria to Don Diego Chechole, Parras, May 18, 1692, p. 343, *infra*.

⁷⁹ Urdiñola to the king, Durango, Mar. 31, 1604, p. 91, *infra*.

⁸⁰ A brief account of the Tepehuane rebellion, 1616-1618, p. 103, *infra*.

⁸¹ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 389, *infra*.

than three hundred citizens".⁸² Ten years later Governor Pardiñas complained that "the greater part of this kingdom has no Spanish population, for, since the war in it has been continuous, the Spaniards do not venture to settle many parts that are very suitable for towns".⁸³ In 1693, at which time the visitor Marín reported that Nueva Vizcaya was "being depopulated . . . and despoiled of everything", the number of Spanish families living in the kingdom numbered "about five hundred, more or less".⁸⁴

The chief occupation of the settlers was mining and ranching. Despite the fact that mining was considerably retarded "on account of the poverty and sparseness of the population", Governor Urdiñola in 1604 reported that in the district of San Andrés and Guanecebi alone there were "more than thirty discovered mines, and eight others in the valley of Santa Bárbara and its vicinity".⁸⁵

Even the frontier province of Conchos was described in 1667 as "one of the most important of this kingdom, on account of the productions of its farms and silver mines".⁸⁶ In the early '80's there were said to have been in the jurisdiction of El Parral and its vicinity "more than thirty irrigated farms", although at that time "not even four" had been planted as a result of the Indian laborers having retired to the mountains.⁸⁷

Despite the paucity of the Spanish population the annual production of silver was very large. Governor Guajardo Fajardo, on October 7, 1651, advised the king that a train of wagons was at that time ready to leave with more than 20,000 marks of silver, which made a total of more than 80,000 marks that had been despatched from Nueva Vizcaya that year.⁸⁸ By 1678 the annual production of silver in Nueva Vizcaya was in excess of 150,000 marks, from which the king received "in fifths and tithes nearly 200,000 pesos". At the Real del Parral alone in a fourteen-month period subsequent to 1678 there were mined 120,000 marks of silver. Despite the great production of silver, the miners themselves appear not to have enjoyed opulence. Sierra Osorio, for instance, assured the king in 1678 that "because of the great poverty of the miners and excessive cost of the quicksilver and other ingredients" they were not able to deepen the mines.⁸⁹ Other exceedingly rich mining centres in the last decade of the century besides El Parral were those of Cusiguriáchi and Urique,⁹⁰ to the west of the Real del Parral.

⁸² *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, 1678, p. 215, *infra*.

⁸³ Pardiñas to the king, El Parral, Nov. 21, 1688, p. 229, *infra*.

⁸⁴ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 391, 393, *infra*.

⁸⁵ Urdiñola to the king, Durango, Mar. 31, 1604, p. 91, *infra*.

⁸⁶ Oca Sarmiento to the viceroy, El Parral, Mar. 12, 1667, p. 189, *infra*.

⁸⁷ Extract of a paper prepared by Sierra Osorio, subsequent to 1683, p. 225, *infra*.

⁸⁸ The king to the viceroy, May 23, 1652, p. 175, *infra*; the king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, May 23, 1652, *ibid.*, pp. 177, 179.

⁸⁹ *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, 1678, p. 217, *infra*.

⁹⁰ Castillo to the viceroy, Durango, Apr. 4 to May 2, 1693, this volume, p. 313, fiscal's reply, Madrid, Apr. 2, 1698, p. 459, *infra*.

A characterization of the frontier type of settler in Nueva Vizcaya that is of human interest was made by the viceregal inspector Marín in 1693; it reveals a spirit of independence among the northward-moving Latins that was as indomitable as that of the westward-moving Anglo-Americans further north. Marín said: "This Real de Durango and the country surrounding it are peopled by farmers, merchants, and miners, and the same is true of the rest of the kingdom. Although they are solicitous for their own welfare they appear to be solicitous also for the royal service. They are much influenced by suavity and gentleness in their superiors, and the opposite by harshness; in fact, as a result of their dispositions being somewhat bellicose, they are extremely sensitive to the voices of some people which are naturally harsh. For this reason whoever governs them ought to employ all character of tact and gentleness and ought to accommodate himself to this knowledge. . . . By following a few such precedents he will keep them peaceful and obedient. The inhabitants readily engage in lawsuits, and since from Durango to Sonora they do not have a lawyer to advise them, each is a lawyer for himself, while all presume that justice and right are on their side."⁹¹

6. *The military strength and presidial defenses of Nueva Vizcaya, 1604-1693.* During the first three-quarters of the seventeenth century the military forces of Nueva Vizcaya constituted a relatively simple organization, under the immediate and personal command or close supervision of the governor. It was not until after 1680 that serious consideration and constructive effort were applied to the creation of a unified and well-organized chain of presidios and system of defense for the kingdom.

The number of presidios in Nueva Vizcaya prior to 1686 has not been ascertained, but that they were few is certain. Reference was made by Governor Urdiñola in 1604 to a presidio in the country of the Acaxees Indians, at which it had been possible to reduce the number of soldiers.⁹² In 1617 Bartolomé Juárez was referred to as "captain of the presidio of San Hipólito among the Xiximes", and Diego Martínez de Urdaide was referred to as the "captain of Sinaloa".⁹³

At the outbreak of the Tepehuane rebellion in the latter part of 1616 it appears that there was not a presidio in the entire region north of Durango. At least not one is mentioned in the account of a lengthy reconnoitring and punitive expedition made by Governor Alvear through that region between December 19, 1616, and March 4, 1617. On this expedition, however, the governor left at Guanecebi "a presidio, with twenty-

⁹¹ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 407, 409, *infra*.

⁹² Urdiñola to the king, Durango, Mar. 31, 1604, p. 89, *infra*. Urdaide (sometimes spelled Hurdaide) was captain of the presidio of Sinaloa from 1600 to 1626. See H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York, 1920), pp. 237, 239.

⁹³ A brief account of the Tepehuane rebellion, 1616-1618, p. 109, *infra*.

five soldiers, powder, and munitions". Credence is given to the supposition that there were no presidios north of Durango prior to the establishment of one at Guanecebi by the statement that during Governor Albear's absence "the affairs of war of the kingdom and the defense of Guadiana remained in charge of the lieutenant-general, Rafael de Gascue".⁹⁴

In the course of the Tepehuane rebellion, 1616-1618, the viceroy sent re-enforcements from Zacatecas and San Luis and later three companies of soldiers from Mexico City, "paid for eight months". These soldiers were distributed by the governor "where they would serve the best purpose". Before the rebellion was suppressed it was reported that the governor proposed "to hold the territory by presidios and to protect the roads by escorts".⁹⁵

During the administration of Governor Albear, 1620-1625, it appears that little change was made in the defense system of the kingdom. Cristóbal Sánchez was "deputy chief-justice and captain of war of the said province and of the residents of the Valley of San Bartolomé", while Diego Martínez de Urdaide remained "captain of the said province [of Sinaloa] and lieutenant-governor and captain-general" of it. Reference was also made to "the fort of Montesclaros" in Sinaloa.⁹⁶

A proposal to establish a presidio north of Durango was taken under advisement by the viceroy as early as 1646. The excuse for recommending the establishment of this presidio was the rebellion near the middle of the century of the Tepehuane, Salineros, and other Indians of Nueva Vizcaya, at which time Governor Valdés appealed to the viceroy for aid of men and money. The request was granted and beneficent results followed; by the early part of 1646, at a cost to the crown of over 50,000 pesos, the governor had reduced 2000 Indians to peace and had killed or hanged 150 others.

As a result of this uprising and as a guaranty for the newly arranged peace, Governor Valdés pointed out to the viceroy the desirability of establishing a new presidio at a place called Cerro Gordo, between Guadiana and El Parral. The governor stated that this new presidio could be established without extra cost to the crown by detailing for it men from other presidios of Nueva Vizcaya. The viceroy presented the matter to the king in a letter of February 26, 1646. But the king and the Council of the Indies, before passing upon the recommendation, requested the viceroy to furnish them more information concerning the entire proposition, and all related details, together with his own recommendations in the matter,⁹⁷ an action equivalent to tabling the proposition.

⁹⁴ A brief account of the Tepehuane rebellion, pp. 109, 111, *infra*.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-115, *infra*.

⁹⁶ Papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, 1620-1622, p. 131, *infra*; Coronado's report, Durango, Apr. 30, 1625, p. 149, *infra*.

⁹⁷ The king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Madrid, Nov. 30, 1647, p. 161, *infra*; the king to the viceroy, Madrid, Jan. 18, 1648, *ibid.*, p. 163.

Shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century a dispute of considerable importance arose over the divided military authority in Nueva Vizcaya of the viceroy of New Spain and the governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya. The bases of the dispute, according to Governor Don Diego Guajardo Fajardo, were as follows: The presidio of Sinaloa, since its foundation, had been subject to the government of Nueva Vizcaya, but the viceroys of New Spain had "arrogated to themselves the garrisoning of it, with the tacit permission of" the predecessors of Guajardo Fajardo, and, with "no wider jurisdiction than the presidio", were endeavoring in 1650 "to extend their jurisdiction and to establish their authority in the province of Sonora".⁹⁸

This was being attempted despite the fact that Captain Don Pedro de Perea had made a contract with the viceroy, the Marquis of Cadereyta, as early as 1636, "for the settlement of Sonora under certain conditions, one of which was that he was to apply to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to issue him title as *justicia mayor* and captain of war of the said province of Sonora, since it was a district of that government; in conformity with this arrangement he was to be subject to orders issued to him from Nueva Vizcaya".⁹⁹ Governor Guajardo Fajardo claimed that after the death of Captain Perea "the governors of Nueva Vizcaya continued making appointments" to the office of *justicia mayor* and captain of war of Sonora. However, the captains of the presidios of Sinaloa, "with no other purpose than that of extending their authority over Sonora", attempted to free themselves not only from the subordination which they have to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, "but even from the administration of justice of that province [Sinaloa]". Moreover they "endeavored to prevent possession of the office" of *justicia mayor* and captain of war by persons appointed by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya.¹⁰⁰

During the administration of Governor Guajardo Fajardo the dispute over the divided authority in military matters in Nueva Vizcaya first became serious, and in the following manner: In the course of his efforts to pacify the Tarahumara province, Governor Guajardo Fajardo commissioned Simón Laso de la Vega as *justicia mayor* and captain of war of Sonora, and instructed him to pacify and explore that province. In this work De la Vega was obstructed and opposed by the presidial captains of Sinaloa¹⁰¹ and finally met death in a suspicious manner. Later, when Governor Guajardo Fajardo despatched an expedition to Sonora by way of Sinaloa under General Juan B. Morales to investigate the murder of De la Vega and to reassemble his dispersed soldiers, Don Pedro Porter Casanate, *alcalde mayor* of Sinaloa, and also at that time captain of the presidio of Sinaloa, "desiring to foment rivalries or to

⁹⁸ The king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Mar. 27, 1651, p. 171, *infra*.

⁹⁹ The king to the viceroy, May 23, 1651, p. 173, *infra*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁰¹ The king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Mar. 26, 1651, p. 171, *infra*.

originate them between the governments of New Spain and Nueva Vizcaya", placed obstructions in the way of the expedition. As a result "the assistance was not received nor was it possible to investigate or punish the crime of the death of Simón Laso".¹⁰²

With the hope of ending the uncertainty as to whether the viceroy of New Spain or the governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya had authority in Sinaloa and Sonora, Governor Guajardo Fajardo as early as January 19, 1650, petitioned the king "to declare to whom belonged the government of those provinces, in order that each one may restrain himself within the limits which belong to him".¹⁰³ In a later letter, of February 26, 1651, Governor Guajardo Fajardo requested the king to order that all of the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya either be placed under the control of the viceroy of New Spain, "or else be all at once taken from his jurisdiction, for the purpose of preventing rivalries".¹⁰⁴

This uncertainty with regard to military authority in Nueva Vizcaya produced much instability and insecurity throughout that kingdom and seriously threatened to retard the mining industry. On October 7, 1651, Governor Guajardo Fajardo advised the king that "the dangers are so continuous . . . from the invasions of the Indians that there is not an hour of security, for it is necessary at all times to be giving aid in arms, munitions and men to different places". Complaint was also made by the governor that the viceroy had not answered his various appeals for aid or his suggestions that the viceroy "provide a remedy for the many injuries". He expressed the fear that the Indians would depopulate the entire kingdom unless the king adopted some remedial measures.¹⁰⁵

The king, by way of reply, on May 23, 1652, praised Governor Guajardo Fajardo for his efforts to pacify the rebellious Tarahumares and advised him to continue these efforts until he had secured the complete pacification of the Indians. He also instructed the governor to keep the viceroy advised concerning developments and his own needs, and to see that the pacification proceeded with as little loss as possible, "first using the mild methods of friendship and kind treatment toward them". On the same day the king wrote to the viceroy to give the governor of Nueva Vizcaya "all the help he needs to accomplish the desired end", and to submit to him evidence bearing upon, and his own personal opinion concerning, what the governor had said with respect to the contract alleged to have been made in 1636 between the viceroy and Captain Pedro de Perea for the settlement of the province of Sonora.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² The king to the viceroy, May 23, 1652, pp. 173, 175, *infra*.

¹⁰³ The king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Mar. 27, 1651, p. 171, *infra*.

¹⁰⁴ The king to the viceroy, May 23, 1652, p. 175, *infra*.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*; the king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, pp. 177, 179.

¹⁰⁶ The king to the viceroy, May 23, 1652, p. 177, *infra*; the king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, May 23, 1652, pp. 177, 179.

An early recommendation aiming at a systematic reorganization of the military defenses of Nueva Vizcaya was made by Governor Oca Sarmiento in 1667. He proposed that ten soldiers and four Indian allies should be stationed in each of "ten watch-towers" to be located "at the places where the enemy enters our lands", and distributed in such a manner that they "would support each other and keep the enemy subject to the cordon of watch-towers thus formed", and would at the same time "divide the enemy from the friendly Indians". He stated that these watch-towers might be garrisoned without added expense to the king save for eight additional soldiers—thereby implying that the number of soldiers at that time was ninety-two—and 6000 pesos at the outset for the construction of the watch-towers.¹⁰⁷

As late as 1670 the question of divided military authority in Nueva Vizcaya, which had been raised by Governor Guajardo Fajardo twenty years earlier, was still unsettled. At that time the viceroy of New Spain had under his immediate jurisdiction the presidios of Sinaloa, Cerro Gordo, and San Sebastián; at these three presidios there were in all three captains, seventy-five soldiers, and one Indian spy. The salary of each of these presidials was 350 pesos. At the same time the governor of Nueva Vizcaya exercised authority over the presidios of Santa Catalina, among the Tepehuanes, and San Hipólito, among the Xiximes, each with a captain, nine soldiers, and thirty field soldiers. Each of these presidials drew an annual salary of 450 pesos. As a result of this divided responsibility the Indians were not kept in subjection, for the governors excused "themselves from assisting by saying that they do not have a sufficient force, because the forces in the said presidios" which were under the charge of the viceroy did not obey them. Conscious of the difficulties with reference to the defense and security of Nueva Vizcaya because of this situation, and desirous of ascertaining whether it would be wise to place all of the presidios under the jurisdiction of the governor, the queen regent on September 6, 1670, instructed the viceroy to report to her with his own recommendations upon the matter.¹⁰⁸

The question of the divided military authority in Nueva Vizcaya of the governor of that kingdom and of the viceroy of New Spain was partially settled in 1682. In that year a cédula placed under the control of the governor the presidios of Sinaloa, Cerro Gordo, and San Sebastián, which theretofore had been under the control of the viceroy. Such an arrangement, it was pointed out, would enable the viceroy to "have in equal degree the superior government of all" and would also enable him "to avail himself of these forces without opposition in urgencies" that might occur.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Oca Sarmiento to the viceroy, El Parral, Mar. 12, 1667, p. 191, *infra*.

¹⁰⁸ The queen regent to the viceroy, Madrid, Sept. 6, 1670, p. 205, *infra*.

¹⁰⁹ Extract of a paper prepared by Sierra Osorio subsequent to 1683, p. 227, *infra*.

One of the most illuminating reports upon conditions in general in Nueva Vizcaya in the later seventeenth century was made, subsequent to 1683, by Don Lope de Sierra Osorio, former governor of that kingdom. With reference to the military defense of Nueva Vizcaya, Sierra Osorio pointed out the necessity of establishing "two presidios of fifty men each" at El Gallo and Cuencame, which were the principal places from which the hostiles sallied forth to do their damage. This would "close the doors" to the Indians and would "make safe commerce and travel in those provinces". These two new presidios, together with the one already at Cerro Gordo, would constitute a series of defenses "in a line formed from Sombrerete . . . to the Real del Parral". This line, one hundred leagues long, should, Sierra Osorio said, be "divided off in convenient distances to allow communication from one presidio to another, and to reconnoitre and watch the intervening spaces".

Sierra Osorio also favored the establishment at San Francisco de Conchos of a presidio as a means of holding some nations in check, depriving others of communication, and preventing the outrages and robberies that were common in that district. The soldiers of this presidio, together with thirty field soldiers that already constituted a field company with headquarters at El Parral, should, Sierra Osorio thought, co-operate in opposing possible Indian incursions.

By the above disposition of the military forces of the kingdom Sierra Osorio believed that safety would be assured to the mining camps, and, as a result of this safety, that old mining camps would be reopened and some security would be given to defenseless towns, farms, cattle ranches, and charcoal establishments which were necessary for the "conservation and working of the mines". Likewise this line of defense would separate the settled and subjugated districts of Nueva Vizcaya from the "supremely rough and almost impenetrable" country of the barbarous and hostile Indians. Sierra Osorio stated that theretofore many Indians "impelled by their own interests" had worked on the mines and farms of the Spaniards. But because they then lacked those "interests", with consequent loss to farming and mining, and because they were "rebels and apostates", Sierra Osorio thought that war should be "made upon them resolutely, without lifting a hand from it", until they were reduced or subjected.

Sierra Osorio urged that the viceroy, in view of so much that was at stake, should be ordered, in case he could not go in person to Nueva Vizcaya, "to apply his whole attention, zeal, and care" to the matter of the defense of Nueva Vizcaya, and to assist the governor with "money and all character of supplies of soldiers, arms, horses, and provisions" that he might need. He also recommended that the governors should be allowed to appoint the captains of the three new presidios which he proposed should be erected at El Gallo, Cuencame, and San Francisco de

Conchos and to have perpetual control over them, the governor being obligated to appoint to these positions only men of good military experience.¹¹⁰

At the beginning of the last decade of the seventeenth century the military administration in Sinaloa and Sonora demanded the consideration of the provincial and viceregal authorities. As a proposed means of curbing Indian hostilities that were being committed in Nueva Galicia, Sinaloa, and adjacent provinces, the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara and the *alcalde mayor* of Sinaloa recommended to the viceroy in 1690 that a new presidio should be established for that region. A *junta de guerra*, upon taking the recommendations under advisement on August 2, 1690, requested the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara to secure the sworn statements of a number of experienced persons with reference to the most suitable site for the proposed new presidio. Most of the persons consulted on this matter favored Orachiche as the most suitable site. At the same time the advantages of moving the presidio of Sinaloa to Los Cedros, which was "beyond the Real de los Frailes", was also pointed out. The erection of the new presidio and the removal of that of Sinaloa was recommended by the president of the Audiencia, but, as a result of the fiscal, in the interest of economy, having opposed this joint proposition, it fell through.

The proposition calling for the removal of the presidio of Sinaloa came up again however. On February 12, 1691, Governor Pardiñas wrote to the viceroy that the presidio of Sinaloa was no longer necessary where it was, and recommended that it be removed to a site below Gentiles, midway between Sonora and Sinaloa. In March, 1691, Juan Ruiz de Montoya and Sebastián de Deymas Ardilaga, "persons thoroughly and personally acquainted with the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa", expressed the opinion that the presidio of Sinaloa was an "unprofitable and useless expense", and that it would be desirable to move it to the site of Teuricache. In June of the same year Don Francisco Marmolejo, former *oidor* of the Audiencia of Mexico, and *auditor-general* of the *junta de guerra*, supported the recommendations of Pardiñas and favored at the same time the creation of a flying company to be composed in part of soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa.

In view of these representations and reports a *junta de hacienda* on July 18, 1691, resolved to create a flying company, under the captaincy of Francisco Ramírez Salazar, "in order that he might constantly patrol the provinces of Sonora". At the same time action on the proposed removal of the presidio of Sinaloa was deferred.

News that the authorities had had under consideration the proposal to suppress the presidio of Sinaloa drew from its captain, Don Manuel de Agramont, on January 31 and February 4, 1692, vigorous representations

¹¹⁰ Sierra Osorio, pp. 219-227, *infra*.

with reference "to the importance of maintaining the presidio of Sinaloa and of the drawbacks and difficulties of supplying soldiers to the flying company" of Captain Ramírez de Salazar. Captain Agramont was supported in these representations by Fathers Bernabe de Soto and Ambrosio Odón, Jesuit provincials, and by Father Manuel Gonzáles, rector of the College of Oposura.¹¹¹ The beginning of 1693 found Captain Salazar still in command of forty-three men, including an armorer, at the presidio of Sinaloa; all of these, he declared, were needed, "and even more". In addition seven men from Sinaloa were then in Sonora. Agramont urged the viceroy to order these men to return, for, as he naively expressed himself, "if this presidio [of Sinaloa] be diminished, that is, if a thing so small can be diminished, it will surely put the Yaqui and Sonora country in danger of being lost".¹¹²

In Sonora, in the latter part of 1692 the situation, because of the continued "robberies, murders, and atrocities" of the hostiles, and also the death of the *alcalde mayor*, was a gloomy one for the settlers of that province. As a temporary measure, designed to check the hostiles and hold that distant frontier, the viceroy gave instructions that twenty soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa and ten from those of Cuencame and El Gallo should be sent at once to Sonora under Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar. Upon arriving in Sonora Salazar found that his force was not sufficient to cope with the situation, and, despite the remonstrances of the demoralized settlers, went to Mexico City to lay the situation before the viceroy. His departure was the occasion for the hostiles to renew their sanguinary attacks and depredations upon the Spaniards, with the result that mining and commerce were greatly retarded. Meanwhile Salazar's mission had been successful, but he died at Zacatecas while en route to Sonora with fifty soldiers which the viceroy had granted to him. News of Salazar's death having reached Sonora, the deputy *alcaldes mayores* of five mining settlements, including that of the capital, San Juan Bautista, sent urgent appeals to the viceroy for the fifty soldiers to be sent on at once. They supported their request by giving details of recent atrocities committed by the Sonora, Soba, Guipuru, and Pima Indians, and by voicing their convictions that the Christian Indians were on the point of joining the hostiles, which, if true, would in their opinion mean the definite loss of the entire province.¹¹³

The recommendations that three presidios be established in Nueva Vizcaya, which were made by ex-Governor Sierra Osorio subsequent to 1683, appear to have been adopted, either in whole or in part, for in 1693 the viceregal inspector, Don Joseph Francisco Marín, referred to the "presidios which were erected in the year 1686 to check the barbarous

¹¹¹ Fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 445, *infra*.

¹¹² Agramont to the viceroy, Sinaloa, Apr. 22, 1693, p. 317, *infra*.

¹¹³ The residents of Sonora to the viceroy, San Juan Bautista, Feb. 6, 1693, pp. 291-297, *infra*; fiscal's report, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, pp. 423-429.

hostilities of the Indians".¹¹⁴ In September, 1693, at the time that Marín made a report upon the military strength of Nueva Vizcaya,¹¹⁵ 374 soldiers, under the command of nine captains, making a total of 383 men, constituted the military force of that kingdom. These men were distributed at seven presidios and in two field companies, as follows:

At the presidio of Santa Catalina de Tepehuanes, on the direct road, seventy leagues long, that led from Durango to the Real del Parral, Captain Don Benito Pereda y Morales was in command of eight soldiers. This road by way of Santa Catalina had "slight security" because squads of Tobosos constantly spied upon it. Three presidios, namely, El Pasaje, El Gallo, and Cerro Gordo, were located along the road, 100 leagues long, that led from Durango to the Real del Parral by way of Cuencame. This road was more frequently travelled than the direct road by way of Santa Catalina because of the greater security afforded by the three presidios.

At the first of these presidios, El Pasaje,¹¹⁶ which was thirty leagues from Durango, Captain Juan Bautista de Escorza was in command of fifty men. Twenty-four leagues from El Pasaje was the presidio of El Gallo, where Captain Luis de Quintana was in command of another fifty soldiers. At the presidio of Cerro Gordo, which was twenty-two leagues from El Gallo and twenty-four leagues below the Real del Parral, Captain Martín de Ugalde was in command of twenty-three soldiers. The Real del Parral was the headquarters for a field company, consisting of fifty soldiers, under the command of Captain Antonio de Medina, although fifteen soldiers of this company were usually kept at Durango. Twenty-two leagues northeast of the Real del Parral was the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos. There General Juan Fernández de Retana was captain of fifty soldiers. One hundred leagues northwest of the Real del Parral,¹¹⁷ and approximately seventy leagues southwest of the pueblo of El Paso,¹¹⁸ was the presidio of Janos, situated in the province by that name. There Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente was in command of fifty soldiers. This presidio, prior to 1693, had been the principal defense for "the entire province of Sonora", which extended for more than another 150 leagues beyond. More than 150 leagues west of the Real del Parral was the presidio of Montesclaros, situated in the province of Sinaloa. There Don Manuel de Agramont y Arce was in command of forty-three soldiers,¹¹⁹ although for many years fifteen soldiers from that

¹¹⁴ Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 387, *infra*.

¹¹⁵ For this report, see pp. 391, 393, *infra*.

¹¹⁶ Governor Castillo referred in 1693 to "the said presidio of El Pasaje and Cuencame" (Castillo's orders to Escorza, Durango, Apr. 2, 1693, p. 299, *infra*). From this it is inferred that El Pasaje and Cuencame were adjacent to each other.

¹¹⁷ Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 393, 405, *infra*; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, p. 431.

¹¹⁸ Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

¹¹⁹ Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 393, *infra*; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, p. 431.

presidio had served in Sonora for its defense. This had been possible because the presidio of Montesclaros was "in a quiet province and one peaceful for many years" prior to 1693. Marín felt that no uprising need be feared there because its inhabitants were "naturally peaceable . . . rooted in the faith . . . and devoted to the cultivation of their farms and the raising of cattle". For these reasons Marín thought that the presidio of Montesclaros might be suppressed. His plans also called for the ultimate suppression of the presidio of Santa Catalina.¹²⁰

Prior to Marín's report of his inspection, made to the viceroy in September, 1693, seventy additional soldiers had been sent that year to Nueva Vizcaya. Twenty of these had gone to reinforce the field company of thirty soldiers with headquarters at the Real del Parral; and, for the greater defense of Sonora, fifty soldiers, constituting a field company, had been sent to that province from New Mexico under the command of Don Domingo Jironza Pétriz de Cruzate, former governor of the latter province.¹²¹ The annual appropriation in 1693 for the maintenance of all of the soldiers of Nueva Vizcaya, including 6000 pesos allowed for a peace and war fund with which to remunerate loyal Indians, exceeded 170,000 pesos.¹²²

7. *Missionary progress in Nueva Vizcaya.* Bancroft's chapters, "Annals of Nueva Vizcaya, 1600-1640", and "Nueva Vizcaya History, 1641-1700",¹²³ together with the references therein cited, constitute basic sources for a study of the ecclesiastical organization and religious development in Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century. Bancroft in fact emphasizes these subjects, very largely to the exclusion of the narrative of political developments. On the other hand, in the documents hereinafter printed, there are only incidental references to the ecclesiastical organization and missionary progress in Nueva Vizcaya.

A memorandum of the baptized Indians under religious administration of the Franciscans and Jesuits in Nueva Vizcaya during the administration of Governor Vesga, 1620-1625, reveals the marked progress—the discouraging report given by Bancroft notwithstanding—which had attended and was attending the efforts of those missionaries. In the province of Sinaloa the Jesuits had no competition and there they realized their greatest achievements. In that province eighteen Jesuits were administering to 85,428 persons; at each of two pueblos as many as ten thousand persons were being ministered to by one missionary. In the provinces and districts of Nueva Vizcaya other than that of Sinaloa eighteen Jesuits ministered to 9042 persons; twelve Franciscans ministered to 4684 persons; and two lay *licenciados* and one lay *bachiller* ministered to 2409 persons. The total number of persons under religious

¹²⁰ Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 405, 407, *infra*.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 391-409; fiscal's reply, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 431, *infra*.

¹²² Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 407, *infra*.

¹²³ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I. 303-336, 337-372.

ministration of the Franciscans and Jesuits in Nueva Vizcaya at the close of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, therefore, was 101,563. The names of the thirty missionaries and the three lay administrators, together with the number of persons to whom each ministered, are hereinafter published.¹²⁴ A member of the Order of Saint Augustine is mentioned as curate and vicar at Guanecebi in 1622.¹²⁵

Some slight information is thrown upon the achievements of the Franciscans in Nueva Vizcaya in a report made by Fray Lorenzo Cantu, a Franciscan, of an official inspection which he made in 1650. Fray Cantu and his associates left Santiago Babonoyaba on May 9, 1650, and travelled twenty-eight leagues in seven days, visiting en route the Tepehuane pueblos of Santa Ysabel, San Andrés, San Bernabe, and San Gregorio Yaguna. At the two last-named pueblos he baptized fifty-four infants; San Bernabe was rechristened by Fray Cantu, San Bernabe del Nombre de Díos. Across the river from the latter place Fray Cantu located a site for a church and a monastery and arranged for the denouncement of the title to the same. On this expedition Fray Cantu found the Indians altogether friendly and hospitable and anxious for the Franciscan "white fathers" to live among and minister to them. The smaller number of Indians whom he saw with bows and arrows he interpreted as "a sure sign that they were at peace and quiet in their towns". Fray Cantu advised Governor Guajardo Fajardo on May 21, 1650, that he had decided to remain at San Bernabe del Nombre de Díos in order to "erect a temple to God and a house and monastery" in which he might live, and from where he might minister to the natives of six other pueblos within a radius of twenty-four leagues of San Bernabe del Nombre de Díos.¹²⁶

In Nueva Vizcaya, as elsewhere, the missions were supposed to be secularized within a few years after their establishment, but, as elsewhere, the secularization of missions in Nueva Vizcaya was attended with some irregularities. The bishop of Durango complained to the queen regent that as the Jesuit missions were secularized many parish priests—unwilling to comply with various royal and ecclesiastical provisions which required them to pass a satisfactory examination in the Indian languages in which they were to give religious instruction—were obliged to hear confessions through an interpreter. In reply, the queen regent on September 6, 1670, instructed the bishop to give the matter careful and prompt attention and "to take action to remedy such a defect".¹²⁷

¹²⁴ "Account and memorandum of the baptized Indians governed in the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya", etc., pp. 153-159, *infra*. Compare this account with Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-336, and authorities therein cited. For an account dealing with Jesuit missions in Nueva Vizcaya in 1678, see the *Relacion* of the inspection of Juan Ortiz Zapata, in *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva-Vizcaya*, in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, fourth ser., III. 301-419.

¹²⁵ Papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, 1620-1622, p. 131, *infra*.

¹²⁶ Cantu's report, Santiago de Babonoyaba, May 21, 1650, pp. 167-171, *infra*.

¹²⁷ The queen regent to the bishop of Nueva Vizcaya, Madrid, Sept. 6, 1670, p. 203, *infra*.

Missionary efforts had been begun at La Junta de los Ríos, at the junction of the Río del Norte and Conchos rivers, probably as early as 1670, but by missionaries from New Mexico¹²⁸ in the jurisdiction of the Custodia de San Pablo de Nuevo Mexico.¹²⁹ Little was accomplished at first, but after the Pueblo Indian revolt in 1680 and the establishment of settlements near El Paso by the Spanish refugees from New Mexico,¹³⁰ missionaries from El Paso became very greatly interested in the conversion of the Indians at La Junta. Serious missionary work was begun there in 1683 and within one year seven missions had been built by missionaries from New Mexico for nine tribes living on either side of the Río del Norte,¹³¹ in what was unquestionably Nueva Vizcayan territory. A serious rebellion of the Conchos and Julimes Indians occurred in the summer of 1684, but the Christian Indians at La Junta remained faithful and escaped to El Parral, taking their priests and the vessels and ornaments of the churches with them.¹³² In the late spring or early summer Father Fray Agustín de Colina became president of the Franciscan missions at La Junta. There, "with the consolation that comes from obedience", he labored for one year and seven months, subject, in religious matters, to the *custodio* of New Mexico, with headquarters then at El Paso, and, in secular matters, under the orders of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya.¹³³

In November, 1693, Governor Castillo requested the viceroy to make appropriations for missionaries for 2500 persons comprising the Sunigulgila and Batayogligla nations and for eleven other friendly nations of the Río del Norte. When the request was considered in Mexico City the fiscal recommended that first the royal officials of Durango and Zacatecas should report whether there had ever been any money paid through their offices for missionaries to these Indians.¹³⁴

With reference to the fiscal's recommendations, a *junta de hacienda* in Mexico City on December 19, 1693, ordered that the Franciscan provincial of the province of Zacatecas should be requested to name four missionaries to instruct the Indians at La Junta de los Ríos and to give notice of their departure for La Junta in order that he might "be assisted with alms from the *real hacienda*". At the same time the royal treasury officials were asked to "report as to whether there had been ministers in the

¹²⁸ Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-331.

¹²⁹ See note 29, *supra*; Father Colina to Pardiñas, Nov. 18, 1688, pp. 245-249, *infra*; and *auto* of Pardiñas, El Parral, July 7, 1692, p. 285.

¹³⁰ See C. W. Hackett, "The Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso", in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI. 137-168, 259-276.

¹³¹ Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-333; Bolton and Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

¹³² Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

¹³³ Father Colina to Governor Pardiñas, San Pedro de Conchos, Nov. 18, 1688, pp. 245-249, *infra*; *auto* of Pardiñas, El Parral, July 7, 1692, *ibid.*, p. 285. For the office of *custodio*, see note 29, *supra*.

¹³⁴ Opinion of the fiscal, Mexico, Dec. 16, 1693, pp. 357, 359, *infra*.

said places at any other time and whether they had been paid from the royal depositories".¹³⁵ On February 9, 1694, in answer to the viceroy's request for information, the royal officials at Durango reported that according to the books of that royal auditor's office no payment had been made "since time immemorial" at that treasury of any sum designated as aid for any mission "in the region known as La Junta de los Ríos". In giving this answer the officials advised that there were seven missions located "eight or ten leagues beyond where the last reduced nations" were settled and that the distance from each of these missions to the next was about the same. These missions were San Pedro de Conchos, Santa María Natividad, San Pedro de Alcántara de Amiquipa, Santa Ana del Torreón, Santiago Baunoyava, Santa Ysabel, and Casas Grandes. To each mission there was annually appropriated, by order of the king, one hundred pesos in money and fifty *fanegas* of corn, valued at three pesos for each *fanega*, thereby making a total annual appropriation for each mission of 250 pesos.¹³⁶

The mission of San Pedro de Conchos in 1693 ministered to six pueblos of Indians, namely, San Pedro, San Lucas, Santa Cruz, San Pablo, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and San Antonio de Julimes. The distance from the first-named to the last-named of these pueblos was twelve leagues, and it was very difficult for only one missionary to do everything that was required. For this reason Governor Castillo on October 20 requested the viceroy to make provision for another missionary for this group of seven pueblos.¹³⁷

8. *Spain's Indian and paternalistic policy as exemplified in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century.* That the Spanish Indian policy was benevolent and humanitarian by intention but that the theory and the application of the policy were widely divergent, resulting too often in the practical enslavement of the natives, has been indicated in a previous section.¹³⁸ Documents, hereinafter published, indicate to a certain degree the extent of the divergence between the theory and the application of Spain's Indian policy in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya during the seventeenth century. They illustrate fully the fact that the crown of Spain, in theory, was ever solicitous for the welfare and spiritual uplift of those whom it regarded as its wards—the natives of the Indies.

The king was informed in 1601 that cattle ranches of the Spaniards, in violation of the laws of the Indies, were encroaching upon the towns and cultivated fields of the Indians of Nueva Galicia, with the result that the crops and even the straw huts of the Indians were being devoured by the cattle, that the Indians were dying while guarding their fields, and

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, pp. 425, 427, *infra*.

¹³⁶ Statement of the royal officials, Durango, Feb. 9, 1694, this volume, p. 361, *infra*; opinion of the fiscal, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 427, *infra*.

¹³⁷ Castillo to the viceroy, San Francisco de Conchos, Oct. 20, 1693, pp. 361, 363, *infra*.

¹³⁸ See vol. I., pp. 26-28.

that they were obliged to gather their crops prematurely in order to save them from the depredations of the cattle. Upon learning of this the king on July 24, 1601, severely rebuked the Audiencia of Guadalajara for not having remedied this situation and ordered the members of that joint administrative and judicial body¹³⁹ to go out in turn to inspect the entire district, to endeavor "to remedy the injuries and oppressions" from which the Indians alleged that they suffered, and to see that their condition was relieved and ameliorated in every way possible.¹⁴⁰ Two years later rigid instructions were issued to the same audiencia to enforce the laws which prohibited Spaniards from living in Indian towns.¹⁴¹

The king did not have occasion to rebuke solely civilians and administrative officials for their abuse of the Indians. For example, in 1605 the king was informed that members of both the regular and secular clergy of Nueva Galicia were accustomed to urge the Indians "to give them daily two or three hens and corn, and on Fridays, fast-days, and during Lent, fish and eggs, and hay for their horses, as well as personal services from both men and women without any payment whatsoever for all this". At once the king ordered the bishop of Guadalajara, on June 29, 1605, to effect immediately a reform with respect to this "very great" abuse, since the king, in order that they might "not oppress or wrong the poor natives", had supplied the clergy "with provisions and other necessities" from the royal treasury.¹⁴² In 1609, "after much consultation" the king issued a general cédula "wherein personal services from the Indians" were prohibited.¹⁴³

Despite such action on his part, designed to protect the Indians, the king was advised some years later that the Indians of New Spain were dealt with harshly, that they were forced to do personal service in the homes of the Spaniards, and that "outside work, heavy tasks, and other fatiguing burdens" were laid upon them. Upon learning this the king, "in words of great weight", personally charged the viceroy of New Spain on July 30, 1627, to enforce the laws for the protection of the Indians.¹⁴⁴

In 1645 there were in the province of Nueva Galicia, which was administered by the Audiencia of Guadalajara, 184 Indian towns, of which thirty-three were in *encomienda*. In the towns in *encomienda* there were 2640 Indians who were required to pay each year the sum of 5392 pesos, seven tomines, and six grains as tribute. On February 25, 1645, the presi-

¹³⁹ See note 23, *supra*.

¹⁴⁰ The king to the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, Tordesillas, July 24, 1601, p. 85, *infra*.

¹⁴¹ The king to the fiscal of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, El Pardo, Nov. 20, 1603, p. 89, *infra*. For the laws relating to restrictions upon the life in an Indian village, see *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias Mandadas Imprimir y Publicar por la Majestad Católica del Rey Don Carlos II. Nuestro Señor* (Madrid, 1681), lib. 2, tit. 3, leyes 19, 21, 23, 24.

¹⁴² The king to the bishop of Nueva Galicia, Lerma, June 29, 1605, pp. 93, 95, *infra*.

¹⁴³ The king to the viceroy, Madrid, July 24, 1652, p. 181, *infra*.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

dent of the audiencia, Don Pedro Fernández de Baeza, advised the king that in the collection of this "insignificant" sum the Indians suffered many extortions and damages which kept them in a state of constant anxiety, and that as a result of this and other injuries which they experienced, as from "storms and hard work in the mines and on the *repartimientos*", the Indians were about to be annihilated. Moved by "pity and compassion at seeing them suffer and die", President Baeza recommended that the Indians should be relieved of all or of a part of their tribute, so that "the entire rehabilitation of those miserable people" might be effected.

In view of the above recommendations the king in 1646 expressed to the viceroy, the Count of Alva de Salvatierra, his suspicion that the collectors were "making a business of mulcting the Indians so as to keep them more completely under control". Accordingly he instructed the viceroy to ascertain whether his suspicions were well founded or whether the tributes were in fact "heavy and intolerable". In the former case the viceroy was instructed to co-operate with President Baeza in an endeavor to find some other means whereby the tributes might be collected without hardship to the Indians, and at the same time not "diminish the royal income". On the other hand, in case the viceroy should ascertain that the injury came from the imposition of the tribute, he was, after consultation with the president of the audiencia, the bishop, and other well-informed persons, to exercise his "prudence and judgment" in reducing the amount of the tribute of the Indians, whose "consolation and relief" the king so greatly desired.¹⁴⁵ In 1649 the king advised President Baeza that it was his duty and that of the audiencia to "endeavor to secure the entire welfare of the Indians, with all the attention and wise means deemed most fitting".¹⁴⁶ Three years later Guajardo Fajardo, governor of Nueva Vizcaya, was instructed by the king to endeavor to accomplish the pacification and reduction of the Tarahumares "with the least number of deaths of Indians that is possible, first using the mild methods of friendship and kind treatment toward them, this being acceptable to the service of God", and also to himself.¹⁴⁷

The bishop of Durango advised the queen regent in April, 1669, that Don Juan Constantino, Indian governor of the Conchos nation, had complained to him that because of their harsh treatment by the Spaniards many Christian Indians had fled to the mountains. Others who had been given in *encomienda* by Governor Oca Sarmiento—notwithstanding that

¹⁴⁵ The king to the viceroy of New Spain, July 24, 1652, pp. 179-183, *infra*. When no news concerning this matter had been received by the king and the Council of the Indies by July 26, 1652, the above instructions were repeated in a cedula of that date addressed to the viceroy.

¹⁴⁶ The king to the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, Madrid, Nov. 30, 1649, p. 165, *infra*.

¹⁴⁷ The king to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Buen Retiro, May 23, 1652, pp. 177, 179, *infra*.

this was "prohibited by royal cédulas under heavy penalties"—were said to be "grievously oppressed". Don Juan further complained that Governor Oca Sarmiento had forced him "to go and fetch from the mountains the Indians who had been in *encomienda*".

Upon receipt of the bishop's letter the queen regent on June 22, 1670, sent identic letters to the viceroy of New Spain, to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, and to Governor Oca Sarmiento in which orders were given "to have the tribute or impost which . . . has been laid on the Indians removed or revoked at once", and, after an investigation, to report the cause or reason for its imposition, how long it had been collected, to what sum it had amounted, and in what this sum had been invested.¹⁴⁸

The enslaving of the Indians of America was strictly prohibited, but that this law was not rigidly enforced in northwestern New Spain in the seventeenth century there is abundant proof. In March, 1617, in the course of the Tepehuane rebellion, 220 Indian prisoners, including women and boys, "were sentenced and apportioned".¹⁴⁹ Five years later, on April 16, 1622, Cristóbal Sánchez delivered to Governor Mateo de Vesga ten Indians whom he had captured on an expedition against the rebellious Conchos nation. The prisoners included five women, a girl, an Indian buck about eighteen years of age, and three boys from three to six years old. Governor Vesga declared those prisoners to be slaves and "that from them he would set aside for his Majesty what belonged to him as his royal fifth, delivering it to the royal officials of the *real hacienda* and treasury" of Durango. Accordingly the Indian buck and one of the boy prisoners were designated as the king's share; the other eight were ordered to be sold at auction to the highest bidder. The governor further ordered that the amount of money thus to be realized should be distributed as follows: one-third to "be applied to the expenses of the honors that would have to be given" in Durango to the memory of the late king, Philip III.; another one-third was to be given to Captain Sánchez and his associates to compensate them for the expenses incurred in bringing the Indians to Durango; the final third was "to be applied to the expense of this audiencia of government", and to court costs. When the eight Indians were sold at auction, on April 17, the total amount realized from the sale was "three hundred pesos in common gold". Later, on April 19, the governor ordered that the entire sum of 300 pesos realized from the sale of the prisoner slaves should be applied "to the expenses of the said honors to his Majesty, who is in heaven".¹⁵⁰

A quarter of a century later the Tepehuanes, Salineros, and other Indians rebelled against the Spaniards.¹⁵¹ According to information reach-

¹⁴⁸ The queen regent to the viceroy, Madrid, June 22, 1670, p. 201, *infra*.

¹⁴⁹ Brief account of the Tepehuane Indian rebellion, 1616-1618, p. 109, *infra*.

¹⁵⁰ Papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, 1620-1622, pp. 135, 137, *infra*.

¹⁵¹ For details of this rebellion, see *Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Nueva-Vizcaya* in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, fourth ser., III. (Mexico, 1857) 130-178.

ing the king these Indians became restless when "certain *alcaldes mayores* and religious instructors . . . carried off and sold their children to serve in mines and elsewhere, disposing of them as slaves or giving them as presents". Later, when Governor Luis de Valdés¹⁵² began to punish them immoderately and even seized and shot some who had been summoned for religious instruction, the Indians flew to arms. On their raids they robbed and murdered and even broke into the royal treasury, thereby causing an "enormous expense". The above reports prompted the king to command Governor Valdés "to observe precisely and faithfully the provisions of the *cédulas* which have been issued commanding that the Indians shall not be enslaved nor given any cause for disturbance in that province by the *alcaldes mayores*, religious instructors, or any other person, but they shall rather be petted, treated with all kindness and benignity, kept in peace and quiet, and accorded just treatment".¹⁵³

At the request of Don Fernando de Haro y Monterroso, *oidor* of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, and acting fiscal before that court, that audiencia early in 1672 ordered that the Chinos and Chichimecos Indians and those of Sinaloa, New Mexico, and Nuevo León should be set at liberty; that owners should prove titles whereby they held slaves; and that women and children of fourteen years, "even if taken in just wars, should be free, since it has been so ordered by various *cédulas*, particularly those of the years 1653 and 1663". At the same time, in separate letters, De Haro y Monterroso and the audiencia advised the queen regent that there were still many slaves in the audiencia districts of Guatemala and Mexico.

In a letter dated December 13, 1672, the queen thanked De Haro y Monterroso for his "zeal and attentiveness" in the matter of freeing the slaves, and added that it was "just and proper to leave the Indians in freedom . . . on account of the scruples of conscience which their enslavement causes". Like sentiments were expressed in a letter from the queen to the Audiencia of Guadalajara on December 23, 1672. The Audiencias of Guatemala and Mexico were instructed by the queen on December 13, 1672, to set at liberty Indian slaves in their respective jurisdictions.¹⁵⁴

Three years later De Haro y Monterroso, as the result of a suit prosecuted before the Audiencia of Guadalajara against "various powerful personages concerning the personal services of the Indians of the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa and the division of land and water in those provinces, obtained a sentence for examination and review in favor of the Indians". At the same time he secured a writ of execution and en-

¹⁵² Bancroft (*op. cit.*, I. 337) says Valdés was governor between 1642 and 1648.

¹⁵³ Cedula to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Madrid, Nov. 30, 1647, pp. 161, 163, *infra*; cedula to the viceroy of New Spain, Madrid, Jan. 18, 1648, *ibid.*, pp. 163, 165.

¹⁵⁴ The queen regent to the fiscal of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, Dec. 13, 1672, pp. 205, 207, *infra*; the queen regent to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, Dec. 23, 1672, pp. 207, 209, *infra*.

trusted its enforcement to Don Joseph García de Salcedo, governor of Nueva Vizcaya.¹⁵⁵ At the request of the latter, however, the audiencia ordered the execution of the writ to be suspended until a report might be submitted to the queen regent. When advised of this action the queen rebuked the audiencia for having failed "to report the suit and put into execution" its writ, and ordered that all the papers bearing upon the subject should be sent to the Council of the Indies at once.¹⁵⁶

The crown of Spain did not endeavor solely to protect and uplift the subject natives of America and to prevent them from being enslaved, but gave positive instructions that were designed to secure for even the most ferocious Indian prisoners of war just and humane treatment. About 1692 the viceroy of New Spain notified Don Manuel de Agramont y Arce, captain of the presidial forces of Sinaloa, that henceforth the "heads of the forces . . . on the frontiers" were not to "punish any Indians taken in battle without first giving them a trial and having sentence passed upon them by a legal adviser".¹⁵⁷ In 1693 Governor Castillo recommended to the viceroy that his instructions be modified so as to "permit the prompt punishment of the hostiles, even permitting them, without either process or semblance of law, to be put to the sword for breaking the peace or for crimes" which they might commit. With reference to this recommendation the fiscal on December 16, 1693, advised the viceroy that since the king "with Catholic piety" had condemned such a method of procedure, the same did not permit of contravention, neither did the proposition deserve consideration. "On the other hand", the fiscal continued, "the said governor and the other captains and chiefs ought to conform to what has been decreed, conducting the cases according to law and proving them fully by admitting the least testimony that the character of the crimes may allow".¹⁵⁸

Two documents hereinafter published exemplify the paternalistic policy of the Spanish king with respect to his subjects resident in the Indies. Through recourse to bail and the payment of a certain fine, after which they continued "in their evil lives", married men in the Indies at the beginning of the seventeenth century were wont to ignore the law which required them to return to Spain to renew the marital relations with their wives. To correct this abuse the king in 1603 instructed the fiscal of the Audiencia of Guadalajara to discharge his duty rigorously with respect to this law and to report neglect or contravention of it to the Council of the Indies.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ According to Bancroft (*op. cit.*, I. 338), Salcedo was governor from 1670 to 1673.

¹⁵⁶ The queen regent to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, Apr. 2, 1676, p. 209, *infra*.

¹⁵⁷ Agramont to the viceroy, Sinaloa, Apr. 22, 1693, p. 315, *infra*.

¹⁵⁸ The fiscal's reply, Mexico, Dec. 16, 1693, p. 359, *infra*.

¹⁵⁹ The king to the fiscal of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, El Pardo, Nov. 20, 1603, p. 87, *infra*; see also note 4, *supra*.

Because the letters and reports sent by the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara were lacking in "the clarity and distinctness desired", and "habitually" caused great confusion when the time came to consider and answer them, the king, in 1624, gave specific instructions concerning the form to be observed in writing letters to the Council of the Indies. Judicial reports were to be made "with great distinctness", the various topics being kept separate. A letter for each subject was to be written on half the page; on the other half there was to "appear a brief abstract of the contents of the letter, or of the chapters, made as concise as possible, and in such a manner that from the abstract" one might decide upon the action to be taken. Chapters were to be numbered and references given to the records accompanying the letters.¹⁶⁰

SOME NOTABLE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF NUEVA VIZCAYA
BETWEEN THE YEARS 1602 AND 1693.

1. *The administration of Francisco de Urdiñola the Younger, 1603-1611.* In preceding chapters brief references were made to the services of Francisco de Urdiñola the Younger, between the years 1575 and 1591. In the latter year he was serving as lieutenant governor and captain-general at Saltillo by appointment of Rodrigo del Río de Losa, governor of Nueva Vizcaya.¹⁶¹ The services of none of the prominent characters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are so little known or appreciated, and none deserve to be as fully narrated and rightly appraised as those of Urdiñola the Younger. Fortunately, fairly complete transcripts of the records of his thirty-six years' services on the northern frontier are now available in this country.¹⁶² Of the documents hereinafter published, however, only a few relate to that remarkable frontiersman. For that reason reference is herein made to only a few events in his notable administration as governor of Nueva Vizcaya.

Urdiñola was appointed governor of Nueva Vizcaya by the viceroy of New Spain, the Count of Monterey, on May 20, 1603,¹⁶³ and he assumed

¹⁶⁰ The king to the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, Feb. 12, 1624, pp. 159, 161, *infra*.

¹⁶¹ Vol. I., pp. 17-18, 195.

¹⁶² In the Library of Congress and in the University of Texas Library there are transcripts of a number of documents in the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville, Spain, which narrate the services of Urdiñola. Notable among the *expedientes* of these documents of which there are transcripts in the above-mentioned libraries are the following: (1) "Servicios del Capitan Francisco de Urdiñola sobre que se le haga merced" (A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, 66-6-17), transcript in the University of Texas Library; dates covered, 1591-1604 (311 pp.). (2) "Servicios de Francisco de Urdiñola sobre que se le haga merced, Guadalajara, 1612, 2ª Pieza" (A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, 66-6-17), transcript in the University of Texas Library; dates covered, 1607-1611 (123 pp.).

¹⁶³ "Título del Virrey que hace merced del Gobierno de la Nueva Vizcaya a 20 de Mayo de 1603", in "Servicios del Capitan Francisco de Urdiñola". etc., *loc. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

his duties as such at Durango on June 23 of the same year.¹⁶⁴ About the same time the Acaxeos Indians of the Sierra de San Andrés renewed their incendiarism and warfare. In this they were led by a "pernicious" Indian by the name of Bishop, who even called himself God, and who baptized, said mass, married the Indians, and taught them a new creed. In a seven months' campaign against the hostiles, Urdiñola traversed the mountains, captured and punished Bishop and his apostles and other leaders of the rebellion, and succeeded in inducing the Indians to congregate in twenty-four villages. These were advantageously located and at them the Jesuits at once began their labors with marked success. Urdiñola boasted that he had accomplished all this at an expense of less than 5000 pesos to the crown and at an estimated personal expense of more than 20,000 pesos.

Urdiñola made his successes in this campaign the basis for petitioning the king to relieve him of his duties as governor and to recompense his services, since he was growing "old and infirm", by granting to himself and to his two marriageable daughters "some favor".¹⁶⁵ That his request to be relieved from active service had not been granted as late as 1611 is clear from the fact that in April, 1607, Urdiñola reported to the king that a valuable salt deposit had been discovered twenty-five leagues beyond the province of Santa Bárbara, and pointed out that great profit might be derived from it for the royal treasury. In reply, on September 3, 1611, the king, addressing Urdiñola as "governor of Nueva Vizcaya", gave instructions that laws should be obeyed which prescribed the freedom of all salt deposits in Nueva Vizcaya and in the rest of the Indies.¹⁶⁶

2. *The Tepehuane rebellion, November 15, 1616, to May 16, 1618.* In November, 1616, the previously tractable Tepehuane Indians initiated a rebellion "hardly equalled in the annals of the northwest"; it was "an outbreak of religious and patriotic fanaticism".¹⁶⁷ In a contemporary anonymous account of this rebellion, hereinafter published, the statement is made that the Tepehuanes "were inspired to apostatize through instinct and the persuasion of the devil. They set up an idol; they were governed by wizards; and, in order better to establish their new projects . . . they at once attempted . . . to convoke all the other nations of that jurisdiction".¹⁶⁸ It was the plan of the apostates to make simultaneous attacks upon all the towns of the kingdom, and November 22, 1616, had been fixed as the day for beginning the attack on the capital of the juris-

¹⁶⁴ Administration of the oath of office to Urdiñola, Durango, June 23, 1603, in "Servicios del Capitan Francisco de Urdiñola", etc., *loc. cit.*, pp. 93-94. Bancroft (*North Mexican States and Texas*, I. 306) erroneously says that Urdiñola became governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1602.

¹⁶⁵ Urdiñola to the king, Durango, Mar. 31, 1604, pp. 89-93, *infra*.

¹⁶⁶ The king to Urdiñola, San Lorenzo, Sept. 3, 1611, p. 95, *infra*.

¹⁶⁷ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I. 320.

¹⁶⁸ A brief account of the Tepehuane rebellion, 1616-1618, p. 101, *infra*.

diction, Guadiana, the destruction of which was to be the chief aim of the rebels.¹⁶⁹ Some of the Indians, however, "moved by their avaricious zeal", began their attacks as early as November 15 or 16.¹⁷⁰

As soon as Governor Don Gaspar de Alvear¹⁷¹ learned of this widespread rebellious movement he ordered on November 21 Rafael Gascue, lieutenant-captain-general, "to seize craftily" seventy-five of the governors, caciques, and principal men of the Indians. This was done, and that night, when the inhabitants of Guadiana were thrown into a frenzy of fear because of the reported advance of 2000 Indian warriors, the majority of the prisoners were executed. The following morning the others were executed at the hour at which the Indians had intended to attack Guadiana.

The death of their leaders caused the Tepehuanes to lose courage and to flee to the mountains. This in turn enabled Governor Alvear to lead in person an offensive campaign against the rebels that lasted from December 14, 1616, until March 4, 1617. In the course of this campaign Guanecebi was succored on January 15. There the town had been pillaged and burned and the survivors were making their last stand in the church. In a reconnaissance tour of the towns round about Guanecebi, Governor Alvear found the bodies of ten missionaries and over 260 other persons who had been murdered by the rebels. By a remarkable forced march of sixteen leagues on the day and night of February 12, Governor Alvear was able to make a surprise attack on the Indians at Tenerapa. Sixty Tepehuanes were killed there and 220 prisoners, including women and children, were sent in chains to Guadiana on March 4. The prisoners later "were sentenced and apportioned".

Meanwhile in three other widely separated parts of the country other Spaniards had assumed offensive operations against the rebels. At Guadiana an attack ordered by Lieutenant-General Rafael de Gascue upon the Indians assembled not far away, at El Tunal, resulted in disaster for the Indians. A successful punitive expedition was made through the Tepehuane towns to the west of Guadiana by Captain Bartolomé Juárez, presidial captain at San Hipólito. By him punishment was exacted of the Xiximes for having confederated with the Tepehuanes. From Sinaloa, 150 leagues distant from Guadiana, Captain Domingo Martínez de Hurdaide instituted a campaign against the Tepehuanes in the mountains to the west of Sinaloa. Unrest among the Indians of Sinaloa, however, prevented him from achieving much success.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Bancroft (*op. cit.*, I. 322) says that the rebellion began on Nov. 16. Unless otherwise indicated, the contemporary account, hereinafter printed (pp. 101-115), will be followed. For details not herein given, see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-329.

¹⁷¹ Bancroft (*op. cit.*, I. 306) says that Gaspar de Alvear y Salazar was governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1615 to 1618.

Between March and September, 1617, Governor Alvear, at the request of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, made a strenuous expedition to Nueva Galicia to put down rebellions that had broken out in some of the towns along the South Sea, in that province. En route to Nueva Galicia, Governor Alvear suppressed an uprising in the province of Chiametla, after which he succored the presidio of Acaponeta in Nueva Galicia. Having restored peace in that region, he returned to Guadiana. Shortly after his return three companies of soldiers arrived at Guadiana from Mexico City. These had been sent by the viceroy at the request of Lieutenant-General Gascue.

The Indians, who by that time had resumed the offensive, at once began to retire. They "separated into six armed congregations, or groups, many leagues distant each from the other, so that they had come to embrace the entire government, the Tepehuanes having mingled with many other nations". This called for offensive action on the part of the Spaniards, and between November, 1617, and May, 1618, five fairly successful expeditions were made against the rebels. Captain Juárez led a campaign against the Mesquital and the Guazamota Indians and their allies; Captains Ontiveros, Castañeda, and Aguirre were in charge of operations in the direction of Santa Bárbara; Captain Montaña was sent to Guanecebi by way of El Diablo Pass and Tecuchiapa; and Captain Mosquera proceeded against the Salineros, the Conchos, Tobosos, and the Noñoques Indians. From early February until mid-March, 1618, Governor Alvear was also in the field. Within fifteen days after he left Guadiana he had captured and executed a very warlike Tepehuane, Gogojito by name, and had put the latter's followers to flight. This influenced the Xiximes, the Acaxees,¹⁷² and various other nations in that district to submit. After an absence of seventy days Governor Alvear returned to Guadiana. The Tepehuane rebellion had been suppressed.

According to Bancroft, the Indians "had devastated the whole district of central Durango, destroying a large amount of mining and agricultural property and retarding the industrial progress of the country by at least fifty years. . . . They had lost one thousand warriors including their best chieftains; many of their women and children were captives; their fields had been ravaged; and most of their plunder was lost. Above all their god had utterly disappointed them; not one of his predictions had come to pass".¹⁷³

3. *The administration of Governor Mateo de Vesga, 1620-1625.* As early as December 14, 1620, and as late as April 30, 1625, Admiral Mateo de Vesga was governor and captain-general of the "kingdom and prov-

¹⁷² According to Bancroft (*op. cit.*, I. 324) the Tepehuanes "could not draw into the open revolt the pueblos of the Acaxees and Xiximes, though they were able through certain disaffected individuals and bands to cause much trouble, doubtless receiving aid and shelter throughout the war".

¹⁷³ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I. 328-329.

inces of Nueva Vizcaya, Chiametla, Copala, and Sinaloa, and their provinces".¹⁷⁴ If the records of his administration, hereinafter published,¹⁷⁵ do only half justice to Governor Vesga, he is to be rated not only as a most efficient and constructive administrator, but as a great pacifier of the Indians of his vast jurisdiction. In a report upon the condition of Durango and of the province of Nueva Vizcaya, dated June 17, 1624, Governor Vesga states that at the time that he took office as governor he found Durango "in a wretched state with respect to people and citizens as well as dwelling houses . . . ; farms were destroyed, the churches and dwellings of the fathers of the Company of Jesus, who were governing the affairs of the Indians, were burned and destroyed, and the reduction works for taking out silver at the mining camps and the adjacent farms were burned".¹⁷⁶ By 1624, however, commerce and population were increased, an unprecedented building campaign was under way in Durango, and new farms and mining establishments and settlements had been developed in the vicinity of the latter town. The various buildings that were in the course of construction in Durango were listed by Governor Vesga, and included an Augustinian monastery; twenty-two new residences, including one "very sumptuous and large house of great value" which belonged to the *factor*, Rafael Gascue; two houses that were being remodelled; and ten stores. A half-league from Durango the governor had founded the Indian pueblo of San Antonio, settled by recently pacified Indians. Within a radius of several leagues of Durango one lime-kiln had been established and five new farms and ranches had been settled. Furthermore, since Governor Vesga from the beginning had governed with characteristic "good management, ability, and good administration", farms, mines, and Jesuit churches and dwellings that had been burned or destroyed prior to the beginning of his administration had by the middle of 1624 been re-established.¹⁷⁷

As a pacifier of the turbulent Indians of his jurisdiction Governor Vesga deserves even greater credit than as an administrator. The records of his early successes in this respect were compiled, as the result of a gubernatorial order dated April 28, 1622, by Luis de la Puente, royal and government clerk, in order that the king and the Council of the Indies might have knowledge concerning "the present state of this government in the matter of the tranquillity and peace of its Indians".¹⁷⁸ Between December 14, 1620, and January 17, 1621, forty-six Indian governors, caciques, captains, and other natives from the district of San Pablo, the

¹⁷⁴ See papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, 1620-1622, p. 119, *infra*, and Coronado's report to Governor Vesga, *ibid.*, pp. 147-153. In a list of governors of Nueva Vizcaya given by Bancroft (*op. cit.*, p. 306) the name of Governor Vesga does not appear. For the location of the above named provinces, see note 4, *supra*.

¹⁷⁵ See pp. 119-153, *infra*.

¹⁷⁶ *Auto* of Governor Vesga, June 17, 1624, p. 145, *infra*.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 147.

¹⁷⁸ Papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, 1620-1622, p. 119, *infra*.

pueblos of Las Milpillas Grande, and those of El Zape, El Potrero, Ayupa, Las Lajas, Casaria, and Cocorotame appeared before Governor Vesga in Durango and entered into peace pacts with him individually and in the name of their subjects.¹⁷⁹

This happy progress in the pacification and submission of the Indian chiefs was rudely disturbed by reports which Governor Vesga received on January 21, 1621, from various religious and lay officials. These advised that the Tepehuanes of the valley of San Pablo and San Ignacio, together with some Tarahumares, had rebelled, and that they had committed arson and robbery in addition to having murdered some of the Spaniards and friendly Indians upon the farms of that district. A relief expedition was at once despatched to the scene of the rebellion. Later Governor Vesga himself led a punitive expedition against the rebels. From the valley of San Pablo, where the governor halted, Maestre de Campo de la Cueva with a force of Spanish soldiers and 200 friendly Indians advanced into the country of the Tarahumares. After eighteen days De la Cueva returned, bringing with him eleven Tarahumare prisoners, including Don Juan Cocle, the self-styled "king of all the Tarahumare nation, numbering four thousand Indians". Don Juan Cocle and two other Tarahumares entered into peace pacts with Governor Vesga and promised henceforth to aid the Spaniards against the Tepehuane rebels. The Tarahumare prisoners were discharged after having been paid for the time they had served.

En route back to Durango Governor Vesga divided his forces at the valley of San Bartolomé and with one division visited the pueblos and rancherias of the Tepehuane Indians, who were at peace with the Spaniards. Between May 13 and May 20, 1621, the pueblo of El Zape, in the jurisdiction of the mines of Guanecebi, the pueblos of Santa Catalina and Santiago Papasquiario, and the pueblo of Capinamaiz, in the jurisdiction of San Juan del Río, were visited. At each of these pueblos the native chiefs and the entire populace entered into peace pacts with the governor. In addition the native officials and residents of the pueblos of Las Milpillas, La Saucedá, and Canatu met the governor at Capinamaiz and asked to be allowed to make peace pacts with him.

After the return of Governor Vesga to Durango delegations of Indians continued to visit him and to solicit ratification of peace pacts. Among those who came for this purpose were an Indian chief of the Toboso nation and four other Toboso Indians. They notified the governor on May 27 that the Toboso, the Achaelame, the Nonotie, and the Xipocale Indians had gone down to the pueblo of Atotonilco for the double purpose of making peace and harvesting their crops in the valley of San Bartolomé. The governor entered into peace pacts with them and, in order to insure their protection, offered a writ of protection in their favor to be issued to the justice court of the valley of San Bartolomé.

¹⁷⁹ Papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, pp. 119-121, *infra*.

The following year, on January 16, 1622, the cacique and governor of the Tepehuanes, who lived near the mines of Mapimi, craved peace of the governor. On March 6 a very bellicose Tepehuane chieftain named El Xixicutta accepted from the governor an offer of pardon for himself and followers, after they had been in retirement in the sierras for four years. On April 11, 1622, Cocani, the governor and cacique of the pueblo of Guaricame, one of the pueblos of the Umes nations, and twenty of his subjects entered into peace pacts with Governor Vesga. Seventeen days later Cristóbal, the *alcalde*, and eight natives of the new pueblo of San Francisco de Ocatán appeared before the governor to notify him that theretofore they had been afraid to come down from the sierras, but "trusting that his lordship as a Christian would favor and protect them, they had come down and had settled the new pueblo called San Francisco de Ocatán". The governor entered into peace pacts with them as they desired.¹⁸⁰

After this Governor Vesga received reports from Captain Francisco de Castro, *alcalde mayor* of the mines of Guanecebi, which advised that Don Pedro, cacique of El Zape pueblo, and Don Lorenzo, of El Potrero pueblo, had disappeared and, in co-operation with a half-breed by the name of Captain Mateo Canelas, were conspiring to effect a rebellion and elect "for their king and chief the said Mateo Canelas". Current reports that the Indian Francisco Oñate, who had rebelled some days earlier, was operating in the mountain ranges of El Carnu in the vicinity of El Zape and El Potrero, together with the slight confidence which the governor had in the Tepehuanes, induced Governor Vesga to proceed cautiously and to endeavor to induce Oñate to make peace. Accordingly he sent to Oñate an offer of friendship and as a present a handsome "banner of crimson taffeta silk, bearing in the centre a picture of Our Lady of the Rosary". The present and the offer of peace were both accepted by Francisco Oñate and on April 27, accompanied by his two sons, he appeared before *alcalde mayor* Francisco de Castro at Las Casas, the latter's place of residence. In the presence of several military and religious persons Francisco Oñate, at his earnest solicitation, was pardoned for his offenses and entered into peace pacts with the Spaniards.¹⁸¹

Meanwhile disorders among the Conchos Indians had occasioned Governor Vesga considerable anxiety. It appears that during the year 1621 Captain Cristóbal Sánchez, deputy chief justice and war captain of the residents of the valley of San Bartolomé, had despatched a Concho cacique into the interior country to summon his fellow-tribesmen to come to work in the fields and farms of the valley, as was their annual custom. On this occasion, however, the native emissary of the Spanish justice was attacked and seriously wounded. Because of this the residents of the valley

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-129, *infra*.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-131, *infra*.

of San Bartolomé offered to make a punitive expedition against the offending Conchos at no other expense to the king than a barrel of powder, necessary iron for shoeing horses and mules, and the cost of a pack-train to carry the provisions for the friendly Indians who were to accompany the expedition. Governor Vesga learned of the above developments on November 5, 1621. The following day he assembled a junta, composed of the persons experienced in war, to deliberate upon the proposed expedition to be made by the citizens of the valley of San Bartolomé against the bellicose Conchos Indians. The members of the junta unanimously recommended that the governor should accept the offer of the citizens of the valley of San Bartolomé to serve without pay, that he should appoint an experienced soldier to lead the expedition, and that the latter should be warned not to permit any harm to be done to the Indian women and children. It was further recommended that the equipment asked for by the citizens of the valley of San Bartolomé should be provided, and that a pack-train of thirty mules should be equipped for a period of two months, the cost of all of which should be taken from the 6000 pesos that was annually appropriated as a peace and war fund.

The above recommendations were carried out on November 8 and the same day instructions were drawn up for Captain Cristóbal Sánchez, deputy *alcalde mayor* of the province, as the leader of the expedition. Captain Sánchez received his commission and the supplies on November 22 and at once enlisted a Spanish force and eighty-five caciques, governors, captains, and subjects of the Concha nation. The expedition left the town of San Francisco on December 25, 1621, and after several encounters with the rebellious Indians a number of the latter were captured and punished. As a result the others made peace.¹⁸²

During 1624 Governor Vesga continued to receive the submission of Indians of Nueva Vizcaya. In March, 1624, he was visited by Don Baltasar, cacique and governor of the pueblo of Ticonazo, who, with his Christian Indian followers, was then residing by command of the governor in Cerro Gordo. Don Baltasar was accompanied by a Tepehuane Indian named Don Agustín, who told Governor Vesga that eighty-five Indian men and women, desiring peace, had come down to submit, and that he had established them at a settlement in Cerro Gordo. At the same time Don Baltasar notified the governor that he had imprisoned and hanged in El Canutillo a Tepehuane Indian named Juan, a native of the pueblo of El Zape, who had engaged in highway robbery and rebellious activity. As a result of this drastic warning the other Indians had remained quiet and the country was pacified. As a reward for their services and because they promised thenceforth to arrest any highwaymen, the two Indians begged the governor to give them some clothes and to permit them to continue to dwell in the pueblo of Santa María del Cerro Gordo. The

¹⁸² Papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, pp. 131-135, *infra*.

governor gave them the craved-for permission to remain and live in the pueblo of Santa María, and ordered that Don Baltasar and Don Agustín and their followers should be supplied with such articles as common cloth, serges, hats, blankets, petticoats for their women, axes, machetes, and two young bulls which they were to kill and distribute among their people. In addition they were given seven pesos and a fraction of money. The cost of these presents was ordered paid from the 6000 pesos which was appropriated annually as a peace and war fund.

On May 7, 1624, Father Fray Lázaro de Espinosa, guardian of the Franciscan convent of San Buenaventura at the pueblo of Atotonilco, in the province of Santa Bárbara, arrived in Durango, accompanied by Don Jusepe, the Indian governor and cacique of Atotonilco; Diego, son of Don Agustín, the captain and governor of the Toboso nation; Alonso, captain of a rancheria of Toboso Indians; and another Toboso Indian named Jacobo. The chiefs Diego and Alonso told Governor Vesga that they and their subjects, the Noñojes, or Cochames Chicos, and some of the Tepehuanes and Salineros had been at war with the Spaniards for twenty years, during which time they had not submitted to the Spanish king, nor had they received Christian instruction; on the visit of Governor Vesga in 1622 to the Santa Bárbara district they had declined to accept his peace terms and had dared the governor to come into the mountains against them. It was against them that the governor had sent an expedition under Captain Cristóbal Sánchez. Confessing the errors of their past actions, they begged the governor in the name of a large number of their subjects, settled at a place fifteen leagues from Atotonilco, to accept their offer of peace and to indicate where they might settle. The governor accepted their offer and gave instructions that they were to settle six leagues from Atotonilco, at San Felipe on the Río Florido, where they were to build a church and dwellings and plant their crops. Before they left the governor ordered that gifts of clothing, knives, shoes, hats, needles, and thread should be given to the Indians. As a token of appreciation of his efforts to effect this happy submission, and as reimbursement for what had been spent in the undertaking, it was ordered that Fray Espinosa should be paid seventy-five pesos in silver.¹⁸³

From the far western province of Sinaloa on the last day of April, 1625, Pedro Coronado, a duly accredited emissary of Captain Diego Martínez de Urdaide, lieutenant governor and captain-general of the province of Sinaloa, arrived in Durango to report to Governor Vesga concerning the state of that province and the progress of the war which Captain Urdaide had waged against the Soes, Calimones, and other nations of that province. Coronado informed the governor that the chief operations of Captain Urdaide had been directed against the Soes Indians,

¹⁸³ "From the bundle of papers touching upon the affairs of the rebellious Indians of Nueva Vizcaya", etc., pp. 137-143, *infra*.

who lived only four leagues from the presidio and Jesuit mission of Montesclaros. A Soes Indian named Jocopillo had been the chief organizer of the rebellion and had enlisted the co-operation of the Calimones, who lived five leagues from the Soes, and the Apacales, whose captain was a very bellicose Indian by the name of Huechuri.

At the time of the moon agreed upon, the Soes assembled for the purpose of killing the Jesuits, Fathers Castin and Julio Pascual, and the Christian neophytes. Fathers Castin and Pascual escaped because of having gone to other missions, but eight Christian chiefs were killed at the pueblo of Vaca because they were not willing to join in the rebellion. At the same time the Indians at the pueblo of Calimones, which was not far from that of Vaca, rebelled, burned the town, and defied Captain Urdaide to meet them on the field of battle. A messenger who was sent to them with certain demands was roasted and eaten by them.

Fearing that the uprising would spread to the other nations of the province, Captain Urdaide took the field against the rebels with forty-eight well-equipped Spaniards and five hundred friendly Indians. At the end of a twelve-days' campaign, Captain Urdaide laid siege to the hostile Indians who had retired to a "rough and strong" rock. The siege endured thirty days, at the end of which the Spaniards and their allies divided into squads, "gained the said rock, and gave battle to the enemy". One hundred and fifty of the hostiles were killed, many were wounded, forty men and women were taken prisoners, and the others fled to the sierras. During the siege four Spaniards were wounded and thirty of their Indian allies were killed. Before he returned to Montesclaros Captain Urdaide hanged twenty Indians, and after he reached Montesclaros twenty-six of the prisoners, "criminals and murderers", were either banished from the province or sentenced "to personal service for a limited time". One-third of the profit therefrom was applied "to the court expenses of his Majesty and the expenses of the expedition". At the time that Coronado left Sinaloa Captain Urdaide was ill in bed, suffering from a broken arm, but the province was entirely at peace. Three soldiers who had accompanied Coronado to Durango corroborated his statements.¹⁸⁴

4. *The administration of Governor Antonio de Oca Sarmiento, 1666-1670.* Antonio de Oca Sarmiento formally entered upon his duties as governor of Nueva Vizcaya at Durango early in January, 1666.¹⁸⁵ Under instructions from the crown he was, without limitation as to time, to conduct the *residencia* of his predecessor, Don Francisco de Gorraez,¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Coronado's report to Governor Vesga, pp. 141-153, *infra*.

¹⁸⁵ Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, I. 337) says that Oca Sarmiento was governor of Nueva Vizcaya during the period from 1665 to 1670. See *Documentos de la Nueva Vizcaya*, in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, fourth ser., III. 231-266, for correspondence relating to missionary interest in the Casas Grandes region during the administration of Governor Oca Sarmiento.

¹⁸⁶ Bancroft (*op. cit.*, I. 337) says that Francisco de Gorraez Beaumont was governor of Nueva Vizcaya during the years 1662-1665.

and in addition was to investigate the murder of some natives, alleged to have been due to the negligence of Governor Gorraez and his ministers, and also certain alleged frauds in the administration of the finance of the province. A special cedula of June 8, 1665, issued in his favor granted him, during his incumbency as governor of Nueva Vizcaya, complete immunity from interference by *residencia* judges of the Audiencia of Guadalajara.

Upon his arrival at Durango Governor Oca Sarmiento learned that the Salineros, Tonoza, Yacoclames, and other Indians were allied in a formidable rebellion. Two weeks later, while the governor was en route to El Parral, which was then the permanent residence of the provincial governors, a wagon-train, which had been despatched for quicksilver under the command of Captain Pedro de Andrade, was attacked at a point seventy leagues distant from El Parral and all of the men in it, including the soldier escort, were killed. Accordingly, before proceeding to El Parral, Governor Oca Sarmiento recruited all the soldiers and Indian allies that he could and took the field against the rebels. First he put to flight the Indians who had attacked the wagon-train, after which he reconnoitred the adjacent country and the passes by which the Indians were accustomed to enter. Upon finally reaching El Parral the governor learned that the rebellious activity of the Conchos Indians was seriously interfering with the normal commerce between the rich and productive territory of those Indians and the provinces of New Mexico and Sinaloa. The governor accordingly led an expedition against them. He met with quick success, and after he had punished the leaders he was able to conclude a complete reconnaissance of the entire kingdom.

The *residencia* of Governor Gorraez had been partially concluded by Governor Oca Sarmiento, assisted by Don Juan Zessati, *oidor* of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, by March 19, 1667, and the former governor had been sentenced "except in the matter of a forced loan", which he asserted that he had secured under direct authority from the king. The sentence as passed required Gorraez to make restitution of certain funds to the *real hacienda*. In the matter of the forced loan, Oca Sarmiento found that Gorraez had called for it in Durango, the Real de Cuencame, the Real de Guanecebi, and a few other settlements without authority for having done so, and also that "he had not proceeded judicially either in safeguarding the fund or in keeping an account of it in proper manner". Oca Sarmiento also reported that the declarations of Gorraez did not seem to conform with the amounts which he declared that he had collected, "the amounts being greater and the provinces more numerous" than he acknowledged in his declaration. The investigation concerning the forced loan had not been concluded by March 19, 1667, at which time Gorraez, whose health was greatly impaired, had been granted permission to go to Mexico City for treatment, after having been required to designate by power of attorney a competent person to represent him.

The *residencia* of Gorraez revealed the fact that Valerio Cortés, who had served during the entire term of Gorraez as *sargento mayor*, had been found guilty, "upon his own answers", of insubordination to Governor Gorraez. Particularly was he under suspicion because on one occasion he had even boasted that he was "the key to the kingdom". In order to put to a test the loyalty and ability of Cortés, Governor Oca Sarmiento placed him in command of an expedition against some Indians. Cortés disobeyed his instructions, proved himself to be incompetent, and was removed from his command by the governor, who charged him "with all the faults and crimes which were shown in the answers given by Don Francisco de Gorraez". The ensuing investigation revealed that Cortés had been guilty of habitual mistreatment of the natives, which had resulted in many murders and in uprisings of friendly Indians, who were then "waging the worst wars" in that kingdom. It was also revealed that he had committed atrocities against his "slaves and servants from which deaths resulted".

At this juncture Cortés, who had been proceeding in a most patronizing manner, secured from the Audiencia of Guadalajara a writ instructing Governor Oca Sarmiento to remit the case against him and to take no cognizance of it. In view of his royal commission, which instructed him to conduct the *residencia* of the preceding administration, Governor Oca Sarmiento denied that the audiencia had power to inhibit him in the matter and continued to investigate the crimes of Cortés. These investigations revealed that Cortés had as accomplices an expelled Jesuit by the name of Don Francisco de los Ríos, who had been most bitter and lacking in decency in his opposition to Governor Gorraez, and a fractious individual and murderer by the name of Don Francisco Samosa, to whom Cortés had agreed to give his daughter in marriage. At the request of Governor Oca Sarmiento, the bishop of Durango ordered Don Francisco de los Ríos to quit both the kingdom and the diocese, while the governor arrested and imprisoned Samosa. The latter soon afterward escaped during the absence of the governor on a campaign to pacify the Conchos and to punish the Tobosos Indians. Thereupon the three men appealed to the Audiencia of Guadalajara. Fearful that these men would attempt to embarrass him in the further prosecution of his duty, in contravention of the specific cedula of June 8, 1665, which gave him immunity from interference of *residencia* judges of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, Governor Oca Sarmiento requested the queen to give orders that the above cédula should be respected. With reference to the investigation into the conduct of Cortés, the governor requested the queen to "command the Audiencia of Guadalajara to stop interfering in a matter of so great importance to the service of his Majesty as the peace and quiet of this kingdom and its provinces, the satisfaction of the *real hacienda*, and the relief of the natives" whom Cortés had "so often persecuted with harshness". Similar requests were made of the viceroy, who was asked further

to instruct the audiencia "that in the affairs of ordinary jurisdiction" they should "admit appeals only".¹⁸⁷

5. *The administration of Don Lope de Sierra Osorio, 1676-1678.* Don Martín de Revollar, governor of Nueva Vizcaya, died at El Parral on November 19, 1676.¹⁸⁸ After his death so many murders and other atrocities were committed by eleven nations of hostile Indians who lived in the mountain ranges on the right side of the highway from Guadiana to El Parral that the entire province, according to reports made to the viceroy, was in danger of being lost. These hostiles were commonly referred to as Tobosos, although that name was applied only to the bravest of the several nations. To cope with this dangerous situation the viceroy appointed Don Lope de Sierra Osorio, *oidor* of the Audiencia of Mexico, as governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya.¹⁸⁹ Don Lope left Mexico City for El Parral on January 23, 1677, and arrived at the latter place on April 21, 1677.¹⁹⁰ His term was a short one for in December of the next year he was serving as visitor of Guatemala.¹⁹¹

Upon his arrival in Nueva Vizcaya Don Lope found that throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom the "hostile Indians were wandering about, committing murders and robberies without resistance". He at once assumed the offensive, with the result that in a few days after his arrival thirty-three of the hostiles were killed in a surprise attack. His subsequent successes the governor later naïvely reported to the king as follows: "In the period of the first four months our Lord favored me with other very happy successes in that we killed and took from them more than three or four hundred persons, while they did not kill or wound any of our force." The Tobosos were finally reduced to peace and by Governor Sierra Osorio were settled at San Francisco de Conchos. There they soon became "such enemies to the rebellious Indians" that they constituted in 1678 "the principal defense of Nueva Vizcaya", and were the ones whom the hostile Indians feared most.

Because of their faithlessness, apostasy, and inhuman methods of warfare, Governor Sierra Osorio did not feel very charitably disposed to some of the Indians of Nueva Vizcaya. In fact it was his expressed conviction that there was among them no Indian with bow and arrow who did not "merit pain of death". The governor predicted that unless very determined war was made upon them there was a risk of Nueva Vizcaya, Nueva Galicia, and New Mexico being completely lost. It is interesting

¹⁸⁷ Oca Sarmiento to the viceroy, El Parral, Mar. 12, 1667, pp. 189-195, *infra*; Oca Sarmiento to the queen, El Parral, Mar. 19, 1667, *ibid.*, pp. 195-199.

¹⁸⁸ A. Robles, *Diario de los Años 1665-1703*, in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, first ser., II. (Mexico, 1853) 224.

¹⁸⁹ *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, 1678, pp. 211-217, *infra*.

¹⁹⁰ Robles, *op. cit.*, p. 230; *Documentos de la Nueva-Vizcaya*, in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, fourth ser., III. 298-300.

¹⁹¹ J. A. Villcorta, *Historia de la America Central* (Guatemala, 1920), p. 99.

to note that this statement was made only two years before the disastrous Pueblo Indian rebellion in New Mexico.

During his administration Governor Sierra Osorio learned of a royal order which fixed the price of quicksilver at 220 pesos per quintal and required the miners to go to Vera Cruz for it. The governor at once notified the king that he believed that this price was exorbitant and that it would have a very depressing influence on the mining industry. At the same time he told the king that if quicksilver were supplied to the miners at cost the royal fifths¹⁹² alone would amount to "three times as much as the price of quicksilver sent to the Indies". Finally, because of the excessive poverty of the miners and the great distance to Vera Cruz the king modified his ruling and ordered the quicksilver to be placed in royal depositories and apportioned to the miners on four months' credit.¹⁹³

6. *The administration of Governor Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, 1687-1693, and fears of French aggressions on the Texas coast.* Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos assumed the governorship of Nueva Vizcaya in the early fall of 1687 and served until the early part of 1693.¹⁹⁴ After he entered upon his duties there was discovered in the region of the recently converted Tarahumare Indians one of the richest mineral deposits that had thereto been discovered. By the latter part of 1688 this deposit was yielding a great deal of silver, and machines, both for fire and quicksilver, were being utilized for extracting the ore.

The paucity of the Spanish population and the hostility of the Indian tribes constituted the greatest potential handicaps for the peace and development of Nueva Vizcaya. Governor Pardiñas in 1688 reported some success in his efforts to reconcile the Indians who lived along the highway between El Parral and Sonora to the settlement of Spaniards in their territory, but stated that he had not been able to reduce the hostiles of the kingdom despite the fact that he had made constant war upon them. In part he attributed his lack of success in this respect to the openness of the country, which enabled the Indians to attack, rob, and kill with impunity.

In order to put an end to this deplorable situation, Governor Pardiñas made offensive war upon the hostile Indians, yet his only success was in a campaign against the Pimas. This populous and brave Indian nation had repudiated its allegiance to the king and had caused some of the best mines in the province of Sonora to be depopulated. Governor Pardiñas

¹⁹² A tax paid by miners to the Spanish crown and amounting to a fifth on all metals mined. "The 'fifth' was the name always applied to this tax, though it soon became only a tenth." H. I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation: a History* (New York, 1923), p. 131.

¹⁹³ *Informe* of Sierra Osorio, 1678, pp. 211-217, *infra*.

¹⁹⁴ Pardiñas to the king, El Parral, Nov. 21, 1688, p. 229, *infra*; fiscal's reply, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, pp. 419, 455.

sent reinforcements to the *alcalde mayor* of Sonora, with the result that the enemy was harassed, "after many deaths on both sides", and finally was forced to sue for peace. After this Governor Pardiñas reported that the Pimas had been settled in pueblos and rancherías and that they had asked "for the largest number of ministers to instruct them in the holy Catholic faith (a thing which it has not been possible to accomplish in more than forty years)".

It was the boast of Governor Pardiñas that he controlled and patrolled his vast jurisdiction without extra expense to the *real hacienda*. This was effected by making use of three grades of soldiers, namely, regular presidial soldiers, drafted civilians, and Indian auxiliaries. The presidials were employed in guarding the highways and in serving as convoys for commercial expeditions. The civilians were used upon expeditions which the governor led in person. The auxiliaries, who were paid and provisioned from the annual fund for peace and war, were regarded by Governor Pardiñas as absolutely indispensable for maintaining order and for obstructing the expeditions of the hostiles. It was Governor Pardiñas's expressed belief that by the use of these soldiers Sonora had been spared "the same peril that was experienced in New Mexico" in the Indian rebellion of 1680.

In the latter part of 1688 Governor Pardiñas received ominous reports of foreign aggression in the north. In a letter to the king on November 21, 1688, he said: "The Indians of the Río del Norte, in whom I have confidence, have informed me that some foreign people are in that territory . . . and are trying to thrust themselves upon the natives".¹⁹⁵ Such a menace called for and resulted in a prompt investigation. The documents which narrate the full story of the Spanish defensive preparations in Nueva Vizcaya in view of what proved to be the French menace on the Texas coast are hereinafter published for the first time. They show, for the first time, that the selfish interest displayed by La Salle in the silver mines of Nueva Vizcaya at the time that he presented his two petitions, or memorials, to Louis XIV.¹⁹⁶ did not wane, even in the face of discouragement and hardships, after the establishment of Fort St. Louis on the Texas coast. In fact, the documents hereinafter published show that expeditions were actually made by the French up the Río Grande del Norte to within seven days' journey, or an estimated distance of sixty-seven leagues,¹⁹⁷ of La Junta, at the junction of the Río Grande and Conchos rivers. A summary of this, one of the most romantic episodes in the history of the Spanish advance in North America, follows:

Between the years 1685 and 1689 the Spanish and viceregal courts in Madrid and Mexico City were profoundly agitated by the news that an

¹⁹⁵ Pardiñas to the king, El Parral, Nov. 21, 1688, pp. 229-233, *infra*.

¹⁹⁶ See F. Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (Boston, 1884), pp. 322-330.

¹⁹⁷ Declaration of Don Juan Xaviata, El Parral, Apr. 11, 1689, pp. 263, 265, *infra*.

expedition under La Salle had established a foothold for France somewhere on the Gulf Coast between Tampico and Apalache Bay.¹⁹⁸ Expeditions were promptly sent out, both by land and by sea, to find and to destroy this settlement. In 1688 Alonso de León, governor of Coahuila, who had previously led two expeditions from Nuevo León in search of the French, learned that some Indians north of the Río Grande were ruled over by a white chief. Concluding that this man must be a Frenchman, Governor De León at once organized an expedition to go in search of him. At a distance of forty-two leagues northeast of present Monclova, De León and his force crossed the Río Grande, and about twenty leagues further on reached the rancheria of the white chief.¹⁹⁹ He proved to be a demented Frenchman, by the name of Jarri, or Jean Gery,²⁰⁰ who was pretending, in grotesquely crude yet barbaric splendor, to play the rôle of king.²⁰¹ Apparently he was not one of La Salle's settlers, but instead was an independent adventurer who had wandered into Texas from the Illinois country or from Canada.²⁰²

Governor De León carried the Frenchman to Monclova and later sent him to the viceroy in Mexico City. Little or no satisfactory information could be secured from him, however, and the search by the Spaniards for La Salle's settlement was continued. The following year De León finally reached the then abandoned French fort near the so-called Bay of Espíritu Santo on the Texas coast.²⁰³ By that time the French menace, at least temporarily, had been dispelled as the joint result of maritime disaster, pestilence, Indian hostility, and the treachery and jealousy of some of the Frenchmen themselves.²⁰⁴ Before the menace was dispelled, however, it agitated profoundly far-western Nueva Vizcaya and aroused the heroic and defensive efforts of the officials of that distant frontier province. Indeed, these efforts were so effective that the officials of Nueva Vizcaya learned of "the activities and final fate of La Salle's colony before the viceregal government, with all its industry, succeeded in clearing up the mystery".²⁰⁵

The first news to reach Nueva Vizcaya of foreign aggressions on the Gulf Coast appears to have been received by way of La Junta de los Ríos. In the course of the year 1687 some Cíbolo and Jumano Indians, whose rancheria was three days' journey below La Junta,²⁰⁶ asked Father Colina,

¹⁹⁸ Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, pp. 36-47.

¹⁹⁹ Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87.

²⁰⁰ H. E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921), p. 214; Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 88, n. 9.

²⁰¹ Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

²⁰² Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

²⁰³ For the location of La Salle's fort, see H. E. Bolton, "The Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico", in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II, 165-182.

²⁰⁴ Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-109.

²⁰⁵ Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

²⁰⁶ Declaration of Don Juan Xaviata, p. 265, *infra*; declaration of Miguel, *ibid.*, p. 269.

president of the Franciscan group of missions there, for a letter for some Spaniards who, they stated, "were going and coming among the Texas Indians". By way of reply Father Colina requested that a letter from these Spaniards should first be brought to him, and this the Cíbolos and Jumanos promised to do. The following year, in September, five Cíbolos visited Father Colina and reported that a white man, whom they referred to as a Moor, was living with a nation "adjacent to the Texas Indians"; that he possessed a long but damaged harquebus and a plate of armor, with helmet; and that he had been of so much help to the Indians with whom he was living that they had been able to destroy half of the Michi Indians, their enemies.²⁰⁷ It seems safe to infer that the white man referred to was the demented Frenchman Jean Gery.

Still later other Cíbolo Indian traders arrived at La Junta de los Ríos. They reported that strangers were accustomed to go among the Texas Indians to trade axes, clothing, and other things for horses and fruits of the land "and also some portions of red earth". It was further reported that these strangers went about in plate armor, that they went to sleep at night on the water where they had wooden houses, one of which had been sunk, and that the strangers had said that the Spaniards of El Parral were not good people, but that they, the strangers, were, and that they were going to penetrate the land of the Spaniards in wagons.²⁰⁸ The visiting Indian traders further reported that the Cíbolo captain, Don Nicolás, and all of his people, from their rancheria three days' journey below La Junta,²⁰⁹ were en route to La Junta and that with them was a "Moor (for in this manner they referred to him)" who claimed to have escaped from others, "marching near the kingdom of the Texas Indians", because they desired to kill him. This Spaniard, in addition to possessing a damaged harquebus, was reported to have cut off his beard and to have trimmed his hair in Indian fashion.²¹⁰ It was further reported that the Cíbolos en route to La Junta were bringing letters from the Spaniards, or foreigners, who were near the Texas Indians, that were addressed to the missionaries on the Río del Norte.²¹¹

Before the Cíbolos arrived at La Junta the superiors of the Order of Saint Francis instructed the missionaries there to abandon that region because of unrest among the Sumas Indians²¹² and because of the inability to afford protection to the missionaries.²¹³ On November 20, 1688,

²⁰⁷ Declaration of Father Agustín de Colina, pp. 241, 243, *infra*.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*; declaration of Father Hinojosa, p. 243, *infra*.

²⁰⁹ Declaration of Don Juan Xaviata, p. 265, *infra*; declaration of Miguel, *ibid.*, p. 269.

²¹⁰ This may have been Jean Gery, who was captured by Governor De León in the early summer of 1688.

²¹¹ Declaration of Fathers Colina and Hinojosa, *loc. cit.*; declarations of Don Nicolás, Juan de Salieses, and Salvador, pp. 235-239, *infra*.

²¹² The Sumas Indians lived on the Mexican side of the Río del Norte, about twelve leagues below present El Paso. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 310, and authorities cited.

²¹³ Father Colina to Governor Pardiñas, San Pedro de Conchos, Nov. 18, 1688, pp. 245, 247, *infra*.

General Juan de Retana, captain of the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, learned that Fathers Colina and Hinojosa, accompanied by three Indians from La Junta, were at the mission of San Pedro de Conchos. General Retana heard the testimony of the three Indians on November 21, 1688;²¹⁴ the following day he despatched two Indian couriers to La Junta to bear messages of friendship and cheer to the Indians of La Junta and to the captains of the upper Río del Norte. General Retana also requested Don Nicolás, the Cíbolo captain, to send him the letters which he was bringing and to meet him at La Junta.²¹⁵ The following day General Retana heard the testimony of Fathers Colina and Hinojosa.²¹⁶ Two days later, November 25, General Retana forwarded the original depositions of the two missionaries and of the three Indians to Governor Pardiñas at El Parral.²¹⁷

Meanwhile Governor Pardiñas had heard that foreigners, whom he suspected to be Frenchmen, were settled at the Bay of Espíritu Santo, and were approaching La Junta. In view of this, and because of the rebellious activity of the Tobosos, Salineros, Cabezas, Chizos, Chichitames, and Cholemes Indians, Governor Pardiñas as early as November 2, 1688, had ordered General Retana, with ninety Spaniards, to set out from his presidio of San Francisco de Conchos on November 15 and to proceed to La Junta. With reference to the rebellious Indians, General Retana was instructed to wage a vigorous campaign until they were "reduced or punished so that through fear they may desire peace". Detailed instructions for combating the purported French menace were given to him. He was to cross the Río del Norte at La Junta, and by entering into friendly relations and making satisfactory peace terms with the Indians living on the north side of the river he was to forestall a possible alliance between them and the Frenchmen supposed to be approaching La Junta. Next, formal possession of the region was to be taken, both in the name of the king and for the church, after which the locality was to be reconnoitred. In case he should learn of any Indians in that region who, like the Texas Indians, lived under an organized government "with a king, cacique, or chief whom they obey", General Retana was to form an alliance with them, thereby "to prevent the said strangers from doing it", while the religious were to "cause them to know . . . the things of our holy faith". He was also to see that the soldiers behaved most respectfully in their relations with the natives. Finally, General Retana was instructed to reconnoitre the Bay of Espíritu Santo, or any other port where he might learn that any foreigners were settled. Through spies he was to endeavor to learn of the number of the foreigners and the character of their fortifications. A full record of "the places, day's marches,

²¹⁴ See note 213.

²¹⁵ *Auto* of Retana, pp. 239, 241, *infra*.

²¹⁶ Declarations of Fathers Colina and Hinojosa, pp. 241, 243, *infra*.

²¹⁷ *Auto* of General Retana, San Francisco de Conchos, Nov. 25, 1688, p. 245, *infra*.

routes, altitudes, and rivers" was to be kept and sent to the governor. Ample authority was conferred upon General Retana to exercise discipline over the Spaniards and Indian auxiliaries who were to accompany him. Munitions, supplies, and mules necessary for the expedition were furnished on the governor's personal credit, until the accounts might be paid.²¹⁸

En route to La Junta, General Retana exacted punishment of three rebellious Indian nations and took from them stolen horses, which he sent back to the rightful owners. After he reached La Junta he sent Indian scouts to study the routes from there to the Bay of Espíritu Santo. Shortly afterward General Retana learned that the principal chief of the Cibolo and Jumano Indians was approaching La Junta on his return from a visit to the Texas Indians, that he was the bearer of letters for the Spaniards, and that he would give an account of everything. Accordingly General Retana went out to meet the Indian chief, who proved to be an old friend of the Spaniards by the name of Juan Xaviata, or Sabeata.²¹⁹ This Indian, in the interval between the issuance of Governor Pardiñas's instructions to General Retana on November 2, 1688, and the latter's arrival at La Junta some time before March 3, 1689, had made a journey to the east as far as the country of the Texas Indians—without having waited for General Retana, as the latter had requested—to trade and "to bring more certain news concerning everything".²²⁰ Xaviata cordially welcomed the Spaniards with General Retana and told them "that the Moors, for it is thus that the Indians call the French, were already dead, for the neighboring nations attacked and killed them . . . and that there was not now one alive where they resided". However, four or five Frenchmen were reported to be living among the Texas Indians, described as "an extensive nation that ought in reason to border on Florida". Xaviata stated that he had seen some spoils taken from the French, among which were "some papers" and a painting of a ship on parchment which had been given to him. These Xaviata stated he was taking to Governor Pardiñas.

True to his expressed intentions Don Juan Xaviata, accompanied by Miguel, a captain of the Cibolo and Jumano Indians and by two heathen Indians, presented himself before Governor Pardiñas at El Parral on April 10, 1689. Xaviata assured the governor that the "Moors" had been destroyed, and as proof presented to him "two sheets of paper which appear to be from some book printed by hand, apparently in the

²¹⁸ *Auto* of Governor Pardiñas, El Parral, Nov. 2, 1688, pp. 249, 251, *infra*; "Order for an expedition to reconnoitre the Río del Norte", El Parral, Nov. 2, 1688, pp. 251-257, *infra*.

²¹⁹ For brief references to Juan Xaviata, see H. E. Bolton, "The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690", in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI. 19-20; H. E. Bolton, "The Jumano Indians in Texas", in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association, XV. pp. 72-73; and Dunn, *op. cit.*, 96-99, 133.

²²⁰ Declarations of Don Juan Xaviata, pp. 263, 265, *infra*.

French language, and a frigate painted on parchment with some annotations", all of which were "tied up in a neckcloth of fine wide lace".²²¹ To-day these most interesting papers, "preserved in this most interesting manner" and characterized as "doubtless the only relics of La Salle's Texas colony",²²² are still preserved in the Archives of the Indies, at Seville, Spain. Photographs of them are herein published for the first time.²²³

The day after the arrival of Don Juan Xaviata and his companions at El Parral Governor Pardiñas took the sworn testimony of each concerning the country and the foreigners to the east of La Junta. The witnesses were asked the distance and the condition of the road from El Parral to the Texas Indians and to the Bay of Espíritu Santo—whether there were obstacles along it, or rivers to be forded; how many and what nations lived along this road; whether the foreigners were still at the Bay of Espíritu Santo; and, in case the foreigners were still there, whether they had conversed with them, and, if so, what had been said.²²⁴ The depositions of these Indians, which shed some new light upon the sad fate of the La Salle expedition and which are printed hereinafter,²²⁵ are most interesting, even though they are not satisfactorily illuminative in all details.

According to the Indian deponents, foreigners, with "coats or breast-plates of steel, and helmets on their heads", and carrying long harquebuses, had on no less than three occasions ascended the Río del Norte. On the first two visits they ate and danced with the Indians, told them that they were going to be their relatives, and gave them axes, knives, and ribbons, and, to the women, beads. They had with them an interpreter, and through him they inquired how far it was to where the Spaniards were mining silver.²²⁶ Between the first and second visits there was a lapse of two moons and between the second and the third visit there was a lapse of over three moons.²²⁷ On the third and last visit six foreigners and an Indian interpreter came up the river in canoes and four other foreigners came by land to a rancheria seven days' journey, or an estimated distance of sixty-seven leagues, below La Junta. Again the foreigners fraternized with the natives, to whom they gave copper ladles, ribbons, table-knives, and pocket-knives; to the captains they gave some shirts. Again they asked the Indians how many Spaniards there were in the

²²¹ "The governor arrives from the Río del Norte", p. 261, *infra*.

²²² Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 99, n. 28. See the Appendix to this volume.

²²³ See opposite pp. 257 and 476. It was through the courtesy of Miss Irene A. Wright that these photographs were secured.

²²⁴ Auto of Governor Pardiñas, El Parral, Apr. 11, 1689, p. 263, *infra*.

²²⁵ Pp. 263-281, *infra*.

²²⁶ Declaration of Cuis Benive, a heathen Cibolo, p. 275, *infra*; declaration of Muisofac, a heathen Cibolo, *ibid.*, p. 279.

²²⁷ Declaration of Miguel, a Christian Cibolo, p. 269, *infra*; declaration of Cuis Benive, *ibid.*, p. 275.

region of El Parral where silver was being mined, and they interrogated those Indians who had been to harvest crops for the Spaniards in the valley of San Bartolomé. They also told the Indians that the Spaniards were not good people, but that they were. The visitors remained at the rancheria for three days, after which they returned by way of the river. Because the foreigners had rosaries, and "spoke to them of God", and took nothing from them, the Indians judged them to be good people, like the Spaniards. The only thing that seemed strange to them was that they wore doublets of steel.²²⁸

Three moons after the Frenchmen had left the Indian rancheria on the Río Grande, Don Juan Xaviata and certain of the Cibolo chiefs started on their journey to the country of the Texas Indians.²²⁹ While on this journey they learned that all the foreigners, except a few who had gone to trade with the Texas Indians for maize, had been killed,²³⁰ and that those who had killed them intended "to do likewise with as many as might come in wooden houses".²³¹

The Cibolos also saw "plunder of garments and clothing and other articles" that had belonged to the foreigners, including a cape at one rancheria which resembled those worn by the Franciscan missionaries. At one place the Indians danced about much plunder, around which they "had placed banners of silk on sticks".²³² None of the Christian Cibolos ventured to visit the site of the French settlement, but two heathen Cibolos did so. One estimated the site to be ten and the other twelve days' journey from La Junta. One of them stated that "they found it abandoned and almost in ruins. They saw some very large harquebuses (the way these people have of describing pieces of artillery), but they saw no living thing except some of the pigs which they had". The other heathen Cibolo stated that "inside the place where the strangers had lived were many broken chests".²³³ Thus did two Río Grande Indians who had been to the Texas coast, who had returned from there to La Junta, and who had gone on eighty leagues from there to El Parral describe the ruins of La Salle's settlement. This description, it is interesting to note, was given

²²⁸ Declaration of Don Juan Xaviata, governor of the Cibolos, p. 265, *infra*; declaration of Miguel, captain of the Cibolos, *ibid.*, pp. 269, 271; declaration of Cuis Benive, *ibid.*, p. 275.

²²⁹ Declaration of Don Juan Xaviata, p. 265, *infra*; declaration of Cuis Benive, *ibid.*, p. 277.

²³⁰ Don Juan Xaviata testified (p. 265, *infra*) that the Indians near the sea told him that they had killed the foreigners. Miguel, captain of the Cibolos, testified that "the Indians of the region where the sun rises had destroyed and killed the said foreigners" (p. 221). Cuis Benive, a heathen Cibolo, testified (p. 275) that the Indians of the sierra had killed the foreigners. Muygisofac, another heathen Cibolo, testified (p. 279) that the "Indians who live in the sierras and those of the sea-coast had killed them all".

²³¹ Declaration of Don Juan Xaviata, p. 265, *infra*.

²³² *Ibid.*; declaration of Miguel, *ibid.*, pp. 271, 273; declaration of Cuis Benive, *ibid.*, p. 275; declaration of Muygisofac, *ibid.*, p. 279.

²³³ Declaration of Cuis Benive, pp. 275, 277, *infra*; declaration of Muygisofac, *ibid.*, p. 279.

in El Parral eleven days before Governor De León of Coahuila on his fourth expedition reached the ruins of the French fort on April 22, 1689.²³⁴

Before returning to La Junta the Cibolo Indians visited the Texas Indians, who lived at an estimated distance of from eighteen to twenty-six days' journey from La Junta.²³⁵ While among the Texas Indians the Cibolos met and conversed with five of the survivors of the La Salle expedition, who received the Indians courteously and inquired concerning the Spaniards. Because Miguel, the Cibolo captain, offered to conduct them "to a land of Christian Spaniards", the Frenchmen started to accompany the Cibolos on their return journey to La Junta. But on the third day's journey, because they heard that there were many warlike Indians along the way, the Frenchmen returned to the Texas Indians,²³⁶ after having instructed the Cibolos to notify the Spaniards of their presence among the Texas Indians, and to ask them to come and "take them out".²³⁷

En route to La Junta, after having left the Texas Indians, Don Juan Xaviata was presented with "a good bundle of papers" by an Indian captain of one of the rancherías near the Texas Indians. Later all of these papers, except the two sheets of paper and the picture of a ship which Xaviata presented to Governor Pardiñas upon his arrival at El Parral, were stolen from him by a Coahuila Indian who spoke Spanish.²³⁸

The testimony of the four Indians who had been to the Texas country convinced Governor Pardiñas that no longer was there urgent necessity for reconnoitring the Bay of Espíritu Santo. Accordingly on April 12, 1689, just ten days before Governor Alonso de León reached the deserted French settlement, and, as later evidence showed, corroborated in large measure the testimony of the four above-mentioned Indians, Governor

²³⁴ For a description of De León's discovery of the French fort, see Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-109.

²³⁵ Declaration of Don Juan Xaviata, p. 267, *infra*. Miguel, the captain of the Cibolos, estimated (p. 273) that the distance from La Junta to the Texas Indians was only eight days' journey. This was a gross underestimate of the distance. Upon evidence secured while he was in the La Junta region in 1689, General Retana estimated that the distance from La Junta to the country of the Texas Indians was twenty-two days' "marches by wagon". See Retana to Pardiñas, Río Salado, Mar. 3, 1689, pp. 257, 259, *infra*.

²³⁶ In the latter part of April, 1689, Governor De León met two of the survivors of La Salle's colony twenty-five leagues beyond the San Marcos River, and learned of two other Frenchmen who had been living among the Texas Indians. The Frenchmen encountered by De León were Jean Larchevêque and Jacques Groslet (see Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 105). Doubtless these were two of the Frenchmen whom the Cibolo Indians had conversed with when they were visiting the Texas Indians. Five other Frenchmen were rescued by De León in Texas in 1690, and were sent by him to the viceroy. Letter of Father Font Cuberta to the father *custodio*, p. 283, *infra*.

²³⁷ Declaration of Don Juan Xaviata, pp. 265, 267, *infra*; declaration of Miguel, *ibid.*, pp. 271, 273; declaration of Cuis Benive, *ibid.*, p. 275; declaration of Muymisofac, *ibid.*, p. 279.

²³⁸ Same references.

Pardiñas countermanded his previous instructions for General Retana to reconnoitre the site of the French settlement.²³⁹

The following year, 1690, Don Juan Xaviata again visited the country of the Texas Indians, where he found the situation very different from what it had been on his former visit. The De León-Massanet expedition of 1690 had burned the desolate French fort near the Bay of Espíritu Santo, had encountered several other Frenchmen, and had founded the temporary mission of San Francisco de los Texas at a site eighteen leagues northeast of the Trinity River. After the establishment of the mission Governor De León and Father Massanet had departed for Coahuila on June 2,²⁴⁰ leaving at the new mission only three missionaries, one lay brother, and three Spanish soldiers.²⁴¹ Father Massanet was absent until the following year, when he returned to the Texas country with the Terán expedition. Soon after his departure for Coahuila Don Juan Xaviata arrived at San Francisco de los Texas. On September 4 Father Font Cuberta, one of the three missionaries who had been left there, wrote a letter to the Father *custodio* at El Paso and entrusted it to Don Juan Xaviata. The letter related briefly the circumstances that had left him and his associates at San Francisco de los Texas and told of reports that white men, whom he suspected to be Frenchmen, were "some distance to the north" of the Texas country, where there was reported to be a river so large that it could not be crossed on horseback. Father Font Cuberta stated that Don Juan Xaviata had told him that it was "no more than five days' journey" from San Francisco de los Texas to El Paso,²⁴² and, in view of this, and the rumors that the French were going to come there, suggested that "it would be a great assistance" if it were "possible for some soldiers to come and see if these Frenchmen were approaching".²⁴³

Don Juan Xaviata did not return to La Junta promptly, and the following June, 1691, the Terán expedition while en route from Coahuila to Texas encountered Don Juan Xaviata and a large number of Jumanos and their allies on the Guadalupe River. Xaviata had letters from the missionaries at San Francisco de los Texas which told of the death of Father Font Cuberta.²⁴⁴ A year later, July 7, 1692, Don Juan Xaviata gave to Governor Pardiñas at El Parral an account, hereinafter published,²⁴⁵ of his latest expedition to the Texas country. He stated that he had gone there in fulfillment of Governor Pardiñas's request that he

²³⁹ *Auto* of Governor Pardiñas, pp. 281, 283, *infra*.

²⁴⁰ Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

²⁴¹ Father Font Cuberta to the father *custodio*, p. 283, *infra*; Dunn (*op. cit.*, p. 122) says that only six Spaniards were left at San Francisco de los Texas.

²⁴² Don Juan Xaviata later repudiated this estimate and stated that the missionary doubtless had misunderstood him. See *auto* of Governor Pardiñas, p. 287, *infra*.

²⁴³ Father Font Cuberta to the father *custodio*, pp. 283, 285, *infra*.

²⁴⁴ Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

²⁴⁵ Pp. 285-289, *infra*.

try to ascertain whether any foreigners had returned to the Bay of Espíritu Santo. He explained his long absence by the fact that the Spaniards whom he had met in Texas "were not suspicious people . . . and so he wandered among different nations . . . a period of ten moons". After his return to La Junta he had exacted vengeance on certain Indian nations who had killed, during his absence, a number of his people because they had not been willing to join in a rebellion against the Spaniards.²⁴⁶

During the closing months of Pardiñas's administration, and while the decision was pending with respect to the question of removing or retaining its presidio,²⁴⁷ the western province of Sinaloa was enjoying comparative peace and stability. At that time, however, it appears that the authority of the *alcalde mayor* of Sinaloa was not recognized along the boundary with Nueva Vizcaya, for Captain Agramont complained to the viceroy in April, 1693, that his subordinates there did "only what the *alcalde mayor* of the Real de San Juan, and deputy of Nacosari", who resided in Corodéguachi "for the guarding of that frontier", told them to do.

The most serious troubles in Sinaloa in the spring of 1693 were occasioned by "an epidemic of measles in its worst form" and by a prolonged drought. Because of the former, work at the camps was at a standstill, there not being "so much as the stroke of a pick". As a result of the drought, and consequent hunger because of short crops, the Indians at first had blamed "the God of the Spaniards", and later some had run away from their pueblos and rancherías. The drought was also blamed for "another epidemic among the animals".

Captain Agramont reported to the viceroy in April, 1693, that 9800 pounds of quicksilver had previously been distributed among the miners of that region and that another consignment of 10,200 pounds was expected. An assayer and his assistant were also expected and upon their arrival the most advantageous site for a smelter was to be selected.²⁴⁸

7. *The administration of Governor Don Gabriel del Castillo.* Don Gabriel del Castillo arrived at Durango on March 30, 1693, and at once assumed the governorship of Nueva Vizcaya; as late as April 28, 1696, he was still serving as governor.²⁴⁹ Upon his arrival he found that a crisis was threatening the very existence of that kingdom. A "general epidemic" prevailed and many of the soldiers were ill. About two weeks before his arrival the Indians renewed their depredations and by the beginning of April they had committed so many murders, atrocities, and

²⁴⁶ *Auto* of Governor Pardiñas, pp. 285, 287, *infra*.

²⁴⁷ See pp. 317, 379, *infra*.

²⁴⁸ Agramont to the viceroy, Sinaloa, Apr. 22, 1693, pp. 315, 317, *infra*.

²⁴⁹ Castillo to the viceroy, Durango, Apr. 4-May 2, 1693, p. 301, *infra*; fiscal's report, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, p. 419; reply of the fiscal, Madrid, Apr. 2, 1698, *ibid.*, pp. 459, 461.

horse-thefts that the governor expressed the fear that outlying ranches and towns of the kingdom would be totally destroyed.

To forestall such a contingency Governor Castillo commissioned *Sargento Mayor* Juan Bautista Escorza, captain of the thirty-five soldiers stationed at the presidio of El Pasaje, to make a two-month campaign against the hostiles. Escorza was instructed to take in all fifty soldiers, recruited in part from his own presidial force and in part from those at the presidios of El Gallo and Cerro Gordo, and with these to reconnoitre twelve designated localities and four mountain passes by which the hostiles were accustomed to enter the kingdom. In case the hostiles were not encountered at any of these places, Escorza was to proceed to the Sierra del Diablo and reconnoitre various water-holes and camping sites frequented by the Indians; in case the Indians were encountered he was to endeavor to completely put them to the sword; in case they were put to flight he was to pursue them until he either overtook them or forced them into a place where he could besiege them, at which time reinforcements were to be summoned if they were needed. Should Escorza find a trail of the Indians that led toward either of the presidios of El Gallo or Cerro Gordo, or toward El Parral, he was to notify the respective captain, so that, co-operating, they might "catch the enemy between them and completely put them to the sword". Under no circumstances was he to consider peace proposals unless the hostiles and all their families agreed to submit to the unconditional terms of the governor.²⁵⁰

Escorza was delayed in starting upon his expedition because of being obliged to await the arrival of some flour from El Parral, and in making other necessary arrangements. Governor Castillo expressed his belief on May 2, however, that Escorza with fifty soldiers and twenty-four friendly Indians was by that time in the field.²⁵¹

A royal cedula of July 21, 1691, had instructed the governors of Nueva Vizcaya not only to obey the orders of the viceroy of New Spain but to report to him "concerning everything which they might accomplish".²⁵² In conformity with this cedula Governor Castillo gave an account to the viceroy on May 2, 1693, of his activities, and at the same time made various recommendations concerning the distribution of the soldiers in Nueva Vizcaya. Under the arrangement existing at that time, as has been stated, thirty field soldiers were assigned to the Real del Parral, although fifteen of them were usually kept there and the other fifteen were kept at Durango. At first Governor Castillo had been of the opinion that it would be unnecessary to keep the fifteen soldiers at Durango, but later he came to the conclusion that it was essential to keep at least ten of them there.

²⁵⁰ Governor Castillo's instructions to *Sargento Mayor* Juan Bautista Escorza, Durango, Apr. 2, 1693, pp. 297-301, *infra*; fiscal's report, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, p. 427.

²⁵¹ Castillo to the viceroy, Apr. 4-May 2, 1693, p. 303, *infra*.

²⁵² Fiscal's report, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, pp. 419, 421, *infra*.

He thought that a minimum of thirty field soldiers should be kept at El Parral instead of fifteen, as was then the case, but that it would be much better if forty field soldiers were permanently stationed there. Accordingly, he recommended that five of the fifteen soldiers at Durango and twenty additional soldiers should be sent to reinforce the fifteen soldiers at the Real del Parral, thereby increasing to forty the soldiers at that place.²⁵³

Indeed, the need of soldiers at El Parral was felt to be so urgent that early in May Governor Castillo countermanded previous instructions for the fifteen soldiers there to come to Durango and serve as his convoy to El Parral.²⁵⁴ In lieu of this plan he took under advisement the withdrawal of three soldiers from each of five presidios to serve as his body-guard;²⁵⁵ later he expressed doubt as to the advisability of diverting a single soldier from any presidio.²⁵⁶

About the time of Governor Castillo's arrival in Durango decision was pending as to whether the viceroy should transfer fifty soldiers from New Mexico—where Governor Diego de Vargas the year before had received the nominal submission of all of the rebellious Pueblo Indians of New Mexico²⁵⁷—to Nueva Vizcaya for the purpose of enforcing the garrison of General Juan de Retana.²⁵⁸ Governor Castillo told the viceroy in his letter of May 2, 1693, that in case these soldiers were transferred to Nueva Vizcaya, which action he regarded as a necessity,²⁵⁹ it was his intention to put two additional squads in the field, comprising in all one hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers and one hundred friendly Indians, and to keep them there until the kingdom was made safe. Governor Castillo justified these plans by expressing the belief that the only remedy for a province, "with Indians scattered over 200 leagues of it committing atrocities", was for three such squads to pursue them "simultaneously for more than 300 leagues in their own country, in order to destroy or reduce them".²⁶⁰ General Retana, captain of fifty men at his presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, was to be in command of one squad of sixty men, and was to leave ten men at his presidio during his absence. Martín de Ugalde, captain of twenty-four soldiers stationed at the presidio of Cerro Gordo, was to command another squad of forty men, and was to leave eight others at his presidio.²⁶¹ These with the fifty soldiers then in the field with Escorza would make a total of 150 men in the three

²⁵³ Castillo to the viceroy, Durango, Apr. 4–May 2, 1693, pp. 303, 307, 313, *infra*; fiscal's report, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, p. 421.

²⁵⁴ Castillo to the viceroy, Durango, Apr. 4–May 2, 1693, p. 305, *infra*.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

²⁵⁷ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 197-202.

²⁵⁸ Castillo to the viceroy, Apr. 4–May 2, 1693, pp. 303, 311, *infra*.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 305, 309.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 299, 311.

squads. It was not purposed to take any troops from Janos, and Captain Luis de Quintana was to remain with all of his troops at his presidio of El Gallo.²⁶²

Governor Castillo advised the viceroy that the so-called war and peace fund of 6000 pesos that was annually appropriated to the government of Nueva Vizcaya for the expense of maintaining one hundred Indian allies in the field would not be sufficient for that purpose and at the same time allow for emergency expenses that might arise in case the hostiles should submit and congregate in pueblos under the governor's orders. Accordingly Governor Castillo urged the viceroy to authorize the royal treasury officials at Durango to supply him, in case of an emergency such as suggested above, with necessary funds.²⁶³

Just at the time that Governor Castillo's hopes were high, as a result of prospective reinforcements from New Mexico, that a vigorous offensive might be undertaken against the hostiles, disquieting news came from Sonora that the viceroy had decided to withdraw fifty soldiers from the five presidios in Nueva Vizcaya and constitute of them a flying squad for Sonora,²⁶⁴ under the command of Don Domingo Jironza Pétriz de Cruzate, former governor of New Mexico.²⁶⁵ This information brought forth a vigorous protest to the viceroy from Governor Castillo. He argued, while admitting the desirability of such a company for Sonora, that he was unable to spare a single soldier and that it would be far more sensible to strengthen rather than thus to weaken his provincial forces. He therefore implored the viceroy "to raise the fifty men for Sonora in some other place than Vizcaya".²⁶⁶ Governor Castillo supported his several requests and recommendations by detailing various murders and outrages recently committed by the Indians.²⁶⁷

Late in April a shipment of silver valued at 4000 marks reached Durango from El Parral. This was despatched from Durango south on May 2, by Governor Castillo.²⁶⁸

As the instructions issued by Governor Castillo on April 2 had called for him to do, Captain Escorza remained in the field with his squad for two months and even longer. The route which he followed carried him south and southeast to San Juan de Acosta, on the frontier of Nueva Galicia. From there he turned north on June 16, going by way of the Nieves, Parras, and Laguna regions to Mapimi, where he arrived on July 1. Eleven days later he reached the presidio of Cerro Gordo.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 305; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 421, *infra*.

²⁶⁴ Castillo to the viceroy, Durango, Apr. 4-May 2, 1693, p. 309, *infra*.

²⁶⁵ For Cruzate, see Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

²⁶⁶ Castillo to the viceroy, Durango, Apr. 4-May 2, 1693, p. 309, *infra*; fiscal's report, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, pp. 421, 423.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 307, 309.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

From the standpoint of military achievements Escorza's expedition could hardly be characterized as successful. At no place did he engage any hostile Indians in battle, and on the Nueva Galicia frontier nothing at all was heard of the hostiles. On the night of June 20 Escorza chased the enemy all night "without being able to catch or kill a single one". Between Laguna and Mapimi the Indians fled from their rancherías at the approach of the Spaniards; along this stretch Escorza reported the loss of eight horses and the exhaustion of one-half of the remainder. Between Mapimi and Cerro Gordo, Escorza reconnoitred various places frequented by the Indians but without having engaged any in battle, although one party of approximately forty well-equipped and armed Indians was sighted in the sierra.

When Escorza reached Cerro Gordo he reported to Governor Castillo that in the region visited affairs were "in a worse state" than they had ever been. He stated that many new people were among the enemy, including nations from the region of the Río del Norte and northern Coahuila, not less than sixty leagues distant, and that they were having a very demoralizing effect upon the friendly Indians. Accordingly Escorza recommended that action be taken both in Nueva Vizcaya and by the captain of Coahuila to prevent these Indians from entering the former province. Furthermore, Escorza found that the enemy nations, under the name of Tobosos, had been "driven by necessity . . . to increase their ravages". This, and the fact that the local Indians were so weak that they were helpless to prevent strange Indians from coming in "but rather solicit them and invite them", constituted, in Escorza's opinion, the causes for the bad situation on the eastern frontier of Nueva Vizcaya.²⁶⁹

Governor Castillo heartily congratulated Captain Escorza on July 15 for having "entirely fulfilled" his obligation, and thanked him for all that he had done. At the same time he ordered Escorza to send the soldiers comprising his squad back to the presidios from which they were enlisted, and to instruct the lieutenant at El Gallo to arm and provision the twenty soldiers from that presidio who had been with Escorza and "enough others to make up the number of forty-two". These were instructed to take the field at the latest by the end of this month. Escorza was also told to send scouts to various places in the mountains with orders to maintain great vigilance until the squads took the field.²⁷⁰

Meanwhile in Mexico City the viceroy had called a *junta general de guerra* on June 5, 1693, to consider the recommendations of Governor Castillo. By this junta it was decided that twenty soldiers, to be paid "in cash and goods", should be added to the thirty field soldiers assigned to the Real del Parral, and that the fifteen soldiers at Durango, out of

²⁶⁹ Escorza to Castillo, Cerro Gordo, July 13, 1693, pp. 319-325, *infra*.

²⁷⁰ Castillo to Escorza, El Parral, June 15, 1693, pp. 327, 329, *infra*.

deference to the opinion of the governor, the bishop, the ecclesiastical cabildo, and the municipal cabildo, should remain there. Later, on December 19, 1693, a *junta de hacienda* authorized the fifteen soldiers assigned to Durango to go out twenty leagues from the city to explore, provided they were accompanied by the lieutenants of the governor. It was also resolved at the June junta that the royal treasury officials of Durango should be authorized, "in urgent cases which did not admit of communication with the viceroy", to supply Governor Castillo "with what he might ask for, in case the six thousand pesos peace and war fund should not be sufficient, its distribution and account to fall to the care of the factor of the Real del Parral", who should be obliged to account for all expenditures to the Court of Accounts. The junta also agreed not to take soldiers from the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya for the proposed flying company of Don Domingo Jironza. At the same time the instructions which Governor Castillo had given to Captain Don Juan Bautista de Escorza when he made his reconnaissance to the borders of Nueva Galicia were approved by the junta.²⁷¹

In the course of the summer and autumn of 1693 punitive and reconnoitring expeditions, similar to the one that Captain Juan Bautista de Escorza had led, were sent out by Governor Castillo. The bases from which these later expeditions were sent out were San Francisco de Conchos and Janos, on the northeastern and northwestern frontiers of the kingdom, respectively. On the expeditions that were sent out from San Francisco de Conchos against the Chizos and other allied Indian tribes, General Juan de Retana, captain of the presidio at that place, played the leading rôle. On his first expedition, while he was at the post of Los Posalmes, on July 19, he was visited by a Sunigugligla captain, who was escorted by Don Nicolás, governor of the Cíbolo Indians. To the Sunigugligla captain Retana pointed out the advantages of submitting to the Spaniards. By way of reply the native chief stated that he had recently deserted the hostiles and expressed a desire to settle with his people at that place and also a willingness to conduct Retana to three rancherías of the hostile Chichitames, Guazapayogliglas, and Sisimbles Indians, which were distant three days' journey from that place. These propositions Retana accepted. Thereupon Don Nicolás, accompanied by the Sunigugligla captain, whom Retana had greatly pleased by giving him gifts of biscuit, jerked beef, and tobacco, went away to bring "the rest of the friendly people of the lower river" for the proposed expedition against the hostiles, who were said to have scattered in different directions.²⁷²

On July 28 plans were agreed upon by General Retana and the captains of the Indian allies for an attack upon the Chizos Indians. These plans called for an assault early the following morning upon the *peñol* of Santa

²⁷¹ Fiscal's report, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, pp. 425, 427, 429, *infra*.

²⁷² *Auto* of Retana, Los Posalmes, July 19, 1693, p. 329, *infra*.

Marta, upon which the Chizos were stationed, and in this assault the Spaniards under Retana were to be aided by more than 200 Indian allies; among these were three Cibolo spies.²⁷³ When the attack was made at daybreak on the morning of July 29, the Chizos, through failure of some of the Indian allies to adhere to the plans that had been agreed upon, were able to retreat to the most inaccessible part of the *peñol*. Retana was not to be outdone, and between daybreak and four o'clock in the afternoon he made three or four ineffective assaults upon the *peñol*, in the course of which one Indian was killed and four Spaniards and ten Indian allies were wounded. At this juncture the Chizos sent word to Retana that they were willing to come down from the *peñol* "even though they should be hanged". Retana accepted the offer, whereupon they requested that Father Fray Gabriel Montes de Oca should be sent to the slope of the *peñol* in order that he might accompany them. Retana also agreed to this, and gave instructions for the Chizos to be conducted to the camp of the Spaniards. Instead of following these instructions, however, the Chizos were located at twilight at a spring at the foot of the sierra. Shortly afterward it was reported to Retana that the Chizos had not come down from the sierra in good faith;²⁷⁴ the following morning a bloody trail indicated the route by which the hostiles had fled during the night. In a reconnoissance of the slopes of the *peñol* the bodies of twenty-two dead Chizos men and eight women were found.²⁷⁵

The same day among the pillage that the Chizos had assembled at their rancheria were found various articles and papers, apparently from a mission in Coahuila; a commission issued by the viceroy, the Count of Galve, to Don Diego de Valdés,²⁷⁶ Indian governor of the Nadadores nation in Coahuila;²⁷⁷ and the saddle and other articles of a Spaniard, Andrés de Jáuregui, whom the hostiles had killed on San Pablo Hill.²⁷⁸

According to the testimony of a young Indian captive heard by Retana on July 30, the Chizos and their allies, guided by "two old Indian women who had escaped after having been captured by the Spaniards of Coahuila", had attacked eight days earlier a mission in Coahuila, distant four days' journey from that place. The missionary doubtless escaped martyrdom by being absent from the mission. Ten people, however, including an Indian governor, were reported to have been killed. A young Spanish girl who was captured was killed and eaten by the old women. Other Spaniards in the district of Coahuila, or Parras, were also reported to have been killed. According to the same deponent the Sunigugligla Indians "some days before" had attacked the Chizos and had killed five

²⁷³ *Auto* of Retana, July 28, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 331.

²⁷⁴ *Auto* of Retana, *peñol* of Santa Marta, July 29, 1693, *ibid.*, pp. 331-333.

²⁷⁵ *Auto* of Retana, *peñol* of Santa Marta, July 30, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 333.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ Decree of the viceroy, the Count of Galve, with enclosures, Mexico, May 31, 1691, pp. 335-339, *infra*.

²⁷⁸ *Auto* of Retana, *peñol* of Santa Marta, July 30, 1693, p. 333, *infra*.

of them and taken off all of their horses. Two days before the Spaniards attacked the Chizos "another rancheria of many people left them".²⁷⁹

Several weeks later, September 5, at his presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, General Retana received the submission of several Indian chiefs, including Don Santiago, the Chizo captain who had violated his pledge at the *peñol* of Santa Marta. General Retana interrogated these Indians and from them he learned that the Hijos de la Tierra (Sons of the Earth), Las Piedras (the Stones), and the Acoclames had planted their crops at a water-hole in the mountains, and that their usual habitat was in the vicinity of the Sierra de Xacue and Las Encinillas. The deponents told Retana that these Indians had tried to dissuade them from joining the Spaniards, and, failing in this, they had intimidated them. They stated that the Cocioimes and their allies under Don Francisco Tecolote, Lorencillo, Contreras, and other leaders were in the Sierra de Xacue and in the region between Acatita, La Grande, and Guapague. The deponents made suggestions concerning a proposed attack on these Indians, and offered to join Retana upon it. On cross-examination they stated that the Osatayogliglas, the Guazapayogliglas, the Chichitames, and the Sisimbles had only forty-two, thirty-eight, thirty, and fifty-four bow and arrow men, respectively.²⁸⁰

In November, 1693, as a result of Retana's campaigns, four of the Chizos nations namely, the Chichitames, the Satapayogliglas, the Guazapayogliglas, and the Osatayogliglas, had been settled at the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos. Led by the Cocioimes, however, other hostiles between that presidio and the Río del Norte continued to harass the entire kingdom.²⁸¹ Finally, exasperated by the deplorable situation resulting from their atrocities, convinced that there was "no other remedy than to pursue them and seek them in their own country", and aware that the "gentle methods" used theretofore against the hostiles "had only served to encourage them", Governor Castillo in November, 1693, decided that the only alternative left was "to make war upon them with blood and fire", not only because he felt that they deserved it but because the kingdom was being "annihilated with the thefts of horses and the murders therein of many people".

Acting upon authority granted by the viceroy, in a *junta general* of June 5, Governor Castillo on November 10 instructed General Juan de Retana to take the field at once with eighty soldiers and sufficient supplies for four months. At the same time provision was to be made for two other squads to be in the field at the same time, one to be under the command of Captain Juan de Escorza and the other under Martín de

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 335.

²⁸⁰ *Auto* of Retana, San Francisco de Conchos, Sept. 5, 1693, p. 343, *infra*; declaration of Retana, San Francisco de Conchos, Sept. 5, 1693, *ibid.*, pp. 343, 345.

²⁸¹ Castillo to the viceroy, El Parral, Nov. 20, 1693, p. 349, *infra*; Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 399.

Ugalde. Of the soldiers for this expedition Retana was to take forty from the fifty at his own presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, twenty were to be taken from the presidio of El Gallo, and another twenty were to be taken from the field company of Captain Antonio de Medina. Also, Retana was to take fifty paid Indians, including some from the four recently surrendered Chizos nations, and two hundred and fifty other Indians from the nations that had recently submitted. These were to be given only their food and "some assistance in expenses upon their return".

Retana was instructed to seek the enemy, beginning at the Sierra de Conula and Papagua and continuing from there to the "interior of the Río del Norte region", examining at his discretion El Diablo Sierra. In case he should encounter old enemies of the Spaniards he was to endeavor "to put them completely to the sword or else pursue them until they were forced by hunger and thirst to surrender". In this contingency Retana was to receive the unconditional surrender of the men, women, and children, in the name of Governor Castillo, who was to be notified at once so that he might dictate terms to them. In case General Retana should pick up a trail of the enemy that led to either of the three distant pueblos, he was to advise them so that they might be on their guard and might be advised of the fact that two other squads were then in the field besides Retana's.

Because the chiefs, Don Francisco El Tecolote, Contrerillas, Loren-cillo, Luguillas, Cola de Coiote, and Maimara, had been the unyielding ring-leaders in the atrocities committed against the Spaniards, Governor Castillo felt that it would be fitting to exterminate them altogether. Accordingly Retana was instructed to offer the Indian allies in the name of the king a reward of one hundred pesos for either of these chiefs.²⁸²

Just as General Retana was ready to take the field from the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, Governor Castillo at El Parral heard rumors of the disloyalty of the four Chizos nations settled at the above presidio. It was reported to him that these nations had entered into a conspiracy with the Cociomes and other hostile nations whereby General Retana was to be allowed to take the field, after which the Chizos at Conchos were to kill all the women and the ten soldiers left there on the first feast day when they should be celebrating mass, and were then to join the hostiles in an endeavor to destroy Retana's squad. Since Retana was taking seventy Chizos Indians with him, Governor Castillo expressed the opinion that the Indians could succeed in their plans.

Upon receipt of this disquieting information Governor Castillo sent instructions to Governor Don Nicolás of the Cíbolos at La Junta to meet Retana, with reinforcements, twenty leagues beyond Conchos. At the same time instructions were issued to Captain Martín de Ugalde to pro-

²⁸² Order of Castillo to Retana, El Parral, Nov. 10, 1693, pp. 345-349, *infra*.

ceed in haste and secrecy to the vicinity of Conchos and enter into communication with Retana. By a prearranged plan between the two captains two days after Retana took the field from San Francisco de Conchos, Ugalde with his squad was to appear unexpectedly at that pueblo. There he was to investigate the reports of the projected uprising of the Chizos, while Retana was to conduct a similar investigation wherever he might be encamped. In case the reports were confirmed as a result of these investigations, Retana was to execute "without further scruple" the seventy Chizos with him; Ugalde, after executing the Chizos men left at San Francisco de Conchos, was to send the women and children to Governor Castillo at El Parral.²⁸³

Again Retana's forces proved to be invincible before the heathen Indians. The royal fiscal in Madrid summed up Retana's achievements in 1698 as follows: "In the space of one year the presidial squads, including friendly Indians, commanded by Retana, made eight surprise attacks on the enemy Indians, killed more than three hundred of them, and reduced to the dominion of his Majesty at La Junta de los Ríos, in the north, two nations which contain more than four hundred families, and, at the pueblo of San Francisco, near the presidio of Conchos, four other nations, containing more than one hundred and thirty families."²⁸⁴

Meanwhile Governor Castillo had made the reports of the projected uprising of the Chizos Indians at San Francisco de Conchos the basis, as already shown, for requesting the viceroy to "amplify" his instructions so as "to permit the prompt punishment of the hostiles, even permitting them, without either process or semblance of law, to be put to the sword for breaking the peace or for the crimes" which they might commit. In making this request Governor Castillo said: "Before God I assure your Excellency that it is contrary to reason not to put the Indians to the sword. . . . By merely making some attacks upon them they can escape by retiring far into the impenetrable mountains . . . where . . . they can hold their convocations and can decide to fall upon us when we are least expecting it."²⁸⁵ The reasons for the fiscal's disapproval of these suggestions have already been noted.²⁸⁶ At the same time the fiscal also unqualifiedly disapproved Governor Castillo's suggestion that the women and children of the executed warriors should be deported to Mexico City. Aside from the expense necessary for their transportation, the fiscal stated that the demoralization of the unfortu-

²⁸³ Castillo to the viceroy, El Parral, Nov. 20, 1693, pp. 349, 351, *infra*; opinion of the fiscal, Mexico, Dec. 16, 1693, *ibid.*, pp. 355-361.

²⁸⁴ Fiscal's report, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 427, *infra*. The number of families in the four nations congregated at San Francisco de Conchos was one hundred and forty-eight. See fiscal's opinion, Mexico, Dec. 16, 1693, p. 357, *infra*.

²⁸⁵ Castillo to the viceroy, El Parral, Nov. 20, 1693, p. 351, *infra*; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, pp. 427, 429.

²⁸⁶ See p. 129.

nates would be such because of lack of work and a place to live that they would be a constant expense to the *real hacienda*.²⁸⁷

At the time that Governor Castillo requested the viceroy to modify instructions so as to permit the summary execution of certain notorious Indians, there were one hundred and forty-eight families of Chizos Indians settled at the presidio of Conchos for whom the governor held some slight hope that they would "continue in the reduction and peace agreed to". Since their arrival at this presidio Governor Castillo had been assisting these Indians with supplies of meat and corn and in November, 1693, he requested the viceroy to continue this assistance for the year that they would have to wait until their crops might be planted and harvested, the expense of which would amount to 6000 pesos. On December 16 the fiscal in Mexico City pointed out to the viceroy the slight benefits that had resulted from similar grants made in the past, but nevertheless advised the viceroy to grant the request—the royal treasury officials to be instructed to deliver to the factor, Don Joseph de Ursua, the necessary funds, and the governor to be cautioned "to effect rigid economy in the said expenditures".²⁸⁸ A *junta de hacienda* in Mexico City on December 19, 1693, adopted the recommendations of the fiscal, and authorized the treasury official at El Parral to deliver to Governor Castillo as much as ten thousand pesos for emergency measures.²⁸⁹

Meanwhile, plans had been formulated for an expedition to be sent into far distant Sonora. In August, 1693, Governor Castillo despatched Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente from El Parral with instructions for him to take a squad of soldiers and make a reconnoissance through that province. At the same time Don Manuel de Agramont, captain of the presidio of Sinaloa, was instructed to aid De la Fuente with as many soldiers as possible, in case the latter might feel the need of them.²⁹⁰ The following month, September, 1693, found Governor Castillo at the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, where he was expediting, although convalescing from a serious illness, the organization of Retana's expedition that was about ready to be sent from that presidio against the rebellious Indians on that frontier.²⁹¹

Captain De la Fuente started from El Parral for his presidio at Janos, but when he reached Cusiguriáchi he was told that the Pimas of Sonora were in rebellion. He at once wrote a letter to Governor Castillo in which he advised him of this report and assured him "that if a remedy were not applied the whole province [of Sonora] was on the verge of being lost". At the same time De la Fuente despatched a courier to re-

²⁸⁷ Fiscal's opinion, Mexico, Dec. 16, 1693, p. 359, *infra*.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 357, 359.

²⁸⁹ Fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 427, *infra*.

²⁹⁰ Castillo to the viceroy, El Parral, Nov. 23, 1693, p. 353, *infra*.

²⁹¹ Auto of Marín, El Parral, Sept. 14, 1693, pp. 365, 367, *infra*; auto of General Domingo de la Puente, El Parral, Sept. 13, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 369.

quest Don Manuel de Agramont to send him twenty-five soldiers at once.²⁹²

Captain De la Fuente's letter was received at El Parral on September 13 by General Domingo de la Puente, lieutenant captain-general at El Parral during the absence and illness of Governor Castillo at San Francisco de Conchos. The latter at once sent orders to Captain De la Fuente at Janos to observe the instructions which Governor Castillo had previously given to him "for the aid and defense of Sonora", to leave such a guard as he deemed proper at Janos, and "to succor the said province with all promptness". At the same time he called upon "all the present citizens and inhabitants" of Sonora to take orders from Captain de la Fuente; and, as lieutenant captain-general, he sent "orders on his own behalf to the captains of presidios to obey him" and to do as he commanded.²⁹³

The authority thus assumed and the orders thus issued by General de la Puente were to be of no avail. It happened that at that time there was an official in El Parral clothed with authority by the viceroy to countermand De la Puente's orders. This was the *alcalde mayor*, Don Joseph Francisco Marín, who had earlier been sent to Nueva Vizcaya as judge of the *residencia* of ex-Governor Don Juan de Pardiñas Villar de Francos. In August the viceroy, who desired to restore "the arms of his Majesty . . . to their former standing against the enemies and rebels", had written to Marín that since he was about to assume his duties as *residencia* judge he would receive "no slight information concerning the state of those provinces, the condition of their inhabitants, and the character of the forces of their frontiers and presidios". Therefore the viceroy had commissioned Marín to inform him of the condition of those provinces and of the means which, "in view of the damage that has been and is now being experienced", might be put into practice "for the purpose of chastising the enemy Indians, establishing the security, peace and tranquillity of the inhabitants, and avoiding disagreements among them which may prejudice their good government".²⁹⁴

Clothed with such authority, Marín, the day after General De la Puente had on his own behalf sent commands to Captain De la Fuente at Janos and to other captains, issued an order requiring De la Puente "to abstain from sending, despatching, or issuing orders to the captains of presidios" under penalty of a fine of 500 pesos. At the same time Captain De la Fuente at Janos was advised that after he had repelled the numerous

²⁹² Castillo to the viceroy, El Parral, Nov. 23, 1693, p. 353, *infra*; *auto* of Domingo de la Puente, El Parral, Sept. 13, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 369.

²⁹³ Notification given by General Domingo de la Puente, El Parral, Sept. 13, 1693, p. 365, *infra*; *auto* of Marín, El Parral, Sept. 14, 1693, *ibid.*, pp. 365, 367; *auto* of General Domingo de la Puente, El Parral, Sept. 13, 1693, *ibid.*, pp. 369, 371.

²⁹⁴ The Count of Galve to Marín, Mexico, Aug. 3, 1693, pp. 385, 387, *infra*. See also *auto* of Marín, El Parral, Sept. 13, 1693, *ibid.*, pp. 365, 367; Valdés to Marín, El Parral, Sept. 26, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 379; Marín to the viceroy, El Parral, Sept. 20, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 387; decree of the viceroy, Mexico, Sept. 7, 1693, *ibid.*, p. 411.

invasions reported to have occurred on his frontier²⁹⁵ he might then "secure the safety of the province of Sonora". Also, general orders were issued to the other captains not to obey the commands of any lieutenants-general "who may not have served or who do not have practice and experience in affairs of war".²⁹⁶

Marín justified his action on the ground that the governor of the kingdom had once complained to the viceroy that De la Fuente was not a military man and had had but slight knowledge and experience in military matters, which fact caused resentment among the presidial captains who were obliged to receive orders from him. The slight experience of General De la Fuente, said Marín, was quite evident from the mere fact that the latter had instructed Captain De la Fuente, who had only thirty-five men under his command, to leave a guard of fifteen men at Janos and with the other soldiers, only two of whom had horses, to penetrate almost one hundred leagues into the enemy's country for the defense of Sonora at a time when "very active war" was in progress in the vicinity of his own presidio. To do this would, Marín felt, only embolden the enemy with consequent loss to the crown and the Church. For these reasons, and because he deemed it to be his duty during the illness of Governor Castillo "to promote the greater service of his Majesty", Marín countermanded De la Fuente's instructions. At the same time he enjoined and requested Governor Castillo not to permit De la Fuente or any of his other lieutenants to give orders to the presidial captains.²⁹⁷

In this way and in other ways did Don Joseph Francisco Marín exercise in a thorough-going fashion his authority as visitor of the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya. By the last of September he had actually visited most of the presidios and knew "their distances, the manner in which the enemy Indians practise their hostilities, and everything else . . . such as their natural barbarity, ferocity, and the slight insecurity of the peace terms" which they were accustomed to make.²⁹⁸

The above orders were issued by Marín at the Real del Parral on September 14. Four days later, but apparently before Marín's instructions were received, Captain De la Fuente at Janos expressed his intention of taking some citizens from his jurisdiction and proceeding as far as the Sierra de Chiguicagui.²⁹⁹ In case he was joined there by twenty-five soldiers whom, by authorization of Governor Castillo, he had requested Manuel de Agramont, captain of the presidio of Sinaloa, to send him, it was his intention to go at once on a campaign against the Pimas and their allies. Captain De la Fuente felt that this offensive action

²⁹⁵ For an account of the atrocities committed in the vicinity of Janos, see De la Fuente to Almazán, Janos, Sept. 18, 1693, p. 373, *infra*.

²⁹⁶ Auto of Marín, El Parral, Sept. 13, 1693, pp. 367, 369, *infra*.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁹⁸ Valdés to Marín, Sept. 26, 1693, p. 381, *infra*.

²⁹⁹ For the location of this sierra and the character of its Indians, see note 171, p. 468.

would be wise because it was uncertain when General Don Domingo Jironza would arrive with his soldiers from New Mexico; even after he arrived De la Fuente predicted that there would be further delay because he would "come lacking everything and his soldiers will not be able to serve to good advantage until the coming year".³⁰⁰

On account of his illness, Governor Castillo at San Francisco de Conchos was not shown Captain De la Fuente's letter, advising of the reported Pima rebellion, until September 17. That same day, apparently unaware of the action that had been taken at El Parral by the visitor Marín, Governor Castillo instructed De la Fuente to advise the inhabitants "to maintain themselves with the fifteen soldiers that were there" until De la Fuente might arrive in that province. After having sent this cheering message, De la Fuente was instructed to leave a guard at Janos and, with the other soldiers under his command, together with a citizens' contingent, to take the field against the Pimas—instructions being left at Janos for the soldiers from Sinaloa, upon their arrival at Janos, to join him in Sonora.

Some days after these orders had been issued Governor Castillo was advised by Captain De la Fuente that the report of an uprising of the Pimas was untrue. About the same time he received equally gratifying information from Don Manuel de Agramont that, despite "the great need experienced by all the people" at his presidio, he would send the soldiers which De la Fuente requested. This information and the fact that the residents of Sonora would co-operate with Captain De la Fuente caused Governor Castillo to express confidence to the viceroy late in November that De la Fuente would "obtain good results with his squad".³⁰¹

PROPOSALS FOR THE DEFENSE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NUEVA VIZCAYA, 1693-1698.

1. *Marín's inspection of Nueva Vizcaya.* About the beginning of 1693 the suggestion was made to the viceroy, the Count of Galve, that expenses in Nueva Vizcaya might be reduced if the soldiers stationed at the presidios that were erected in the year 1686 were formed into a flying company, which might repair to whatever section was in need of assistance and which might, at the same time, serve as a convoy to the travelers and traders in the kingdom. By so doing it was thought that some of the soldiers as well as some of the presidial captains might be dispensed with.

On February 20, 1693, soon after this recommendation was made to the viceroy, Don José Francisco Marín left Mexico City for El Parral for the purpose of conducting the *residencia* of ex-Governor Don Juan

³⁰⁰ Captain De la Fuente to Don Pedro de Almazán, Janos, Sept. 18, 1693, pp. 371-375, *infra*.

³⁰¹ Castillo to the viceroy, El Parral, Nov. 23, 1693, pp. 353, 355, *infra*.

Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos. Because he held him to be "a person of intelligence", the viceroy instructed Marín to endeavor "to ascertain whether it would be best to unite the forces of the presidios and to form a flying company which would keep constantly moving, and also to ascertain the state of the provinces, the character of the forces of their frontiers and presidios, and the means that might be put into effect . . . to chastise the hostiles, to establish the security of peace and quiet for the inhabitants, and to avoid the discords that might prejudice their good government".

In view of his instructions Marín proceeded in a most thorough manner to get information bearing upon the subject. First, Marín asked for the written opinions of twelve of "the most practical and experienced persons" at El Parral.³⁰² In the reports which they made, three of which are published hereinafter,³⁰³ all of the men consulted agreed that none of the presidios should be abolished, since they were situated "adjacent to the hostiles"; that there should "be no diminution or withdrawal of any of the men at the presidios" for the purpose of creating a flying squad; and that it would be well for squads from the presidios "to go out in different directions, accompanied by the friendly Indians, to hunt for the hostile Indians in their homes and on their rancherias and to punish them all at once and to destroy them". They further stated that until such an offensive war was made upon the Indians there would be no lasting peace, and it would be unwise to diminish the number of the soldiers, for, by doing so, "the kingdom would be in imminent peril of destruction".³⁰⁴

Don Agustín Herbante del Camino felt that to reduce the number of presidial soldiers would be false economy. He also thought that the soldiers should not be permitted to take the field without being accompanied by a number of friendly Indians, and that not less than forty Indians should regularly be employed, at the rate of four pesos per month, the total cost of which would be approximately the equivalent of the salary for the same period for eight soldiers. By this arrangement the presidial captains would be relieved of having to go to the Indian pueblos and forcibly enlisting auxiliaries when they were needed.³⁰⁵

Diego García de Valdés believed that no improvement in the Indian situation and no reduction of expenses could be expected unless offensive war were waged against the hostiles. He was of the opinion that the soldiers of four presidios should be employed in waging war upon the hostiles of Nueva Vizcaya and Nueva Galicia, and that twenty-five soldiers should be used for convoy purposes. In case this plan were adopted he

³⁰² Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, p. 387, *infra*; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, pp. 427, 429.

³⁰³ Pp. 375-385, *infra*.

³⁰⁴ Fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 429, *infra*.

³⁰⁵ Herbante del Camino to Marín, Sept. 12, 1693, pp. 375, 377, *infra*.

anticipated the possible "reduction to pueblos and to Christian instruction of the enemy Indians, exhausted by punishment".³⁰⁶

Raphael de Ibarguen's twenty-six years' experience in Nueva Vizcaya convinced him that "almost the entire multitude of rebellious Indians" had been guilty of treason, and that a flying squad would not suffice to keep them quiet except in the district where for the time being it might happen to be. He regarded the presidios as necessary, provided the captains with their squads made offensive campaigns against the Indians; he thought that they should merely be posts to which the soldiers might retreat and at which the horses might recuperate. Ibarguen supported his opinions by citing various Indian atrocities of recent years.³⁰⁷

After he had requested prominent and experienced men in Nueva Vizcaya to render opinions concerning the advisability of suppressing the presidios and creating a flying squad of soldiers, Don Joseph Francisco Marín continued his investigation on this subject in a thorough-going manner. He was reported on September 26 to have actually seen most of the presidios and to "know their distances, the manner in which the enemy Indians practise their hostilities and . . . their natural barbarity, ferocity, and the slight security of the peace terms which they are accustomed to make".³⁰⁸

After he had completed his investigations of conditions in Nueva Vizcaya, Marín made his report to the viceroy on September 30, 1693. This report, hereinafter published,³⁰⁹ is the clearest and most comprehensive account of the geography, natural resources, native races, and Spanish civilian and military forces of Nueva Vizcaya in the latter seventeenth century of which the writer has knowledge. Particularly significant for the ethnologist are the recorded names of the Indian tribes that occupied the region from Durango to La Junta and New Mexico, and those who lived between the Río Conchos and the Gulf of California.³¹⁰

2. *Marín's first recommendations with reference to Nueva Vizcaya.* Part of Marín's report was devoted to recommendations with reference to the military defense and the civil and judicial administration of Nueva Vizcaya, in connection with which he urged the desirability of encouraging immigration to that kingdom.

In Marín's opinion the quickest and, in fact, the necessary way to obtain relief from the Indian depredations was to retain the presidios of El Pasaje, El Gallo, Cerro Gordo, Conchos, and Janos, and, with the fifty soldiers under Don Domingo Jironza that had been granted for the defense of Sonora, to erect a sixth one in the latter province. Since the hostiles were accustomed to enter the province by way of the valley of

³⁰⁶ García de Valdés to Marín, Sept. 26, 1693, pp. 377-381, *infra*.

³⁰⁷ Ibarguen to Marín, El Parral, Sept. 20, 1693, pp. 381-385, *infra*.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

³⁰⁹ Pp. 387-409, *infra*.

³¹⁰ For Marín's report on these Indian tribes, see pp. 393, 395, *infra*.

Caaguiona, thirty leagues distant from the Real de San Juan, that of Bapispe, and that of Teuricache, Marín stated that the consensus of opinion was that "the most essential and important place" in which to establish the new presidio was the Real de Nacosari, which was nine leagues from the valley of Teuricache.³¹¹ Because the Indians near the presidio of Montesclaros were "naturally peaceable", were then "rooted in the faith", and were "devoted to the cultivation of their farms and the raising of cattle" and because the new reinforcements already provided for no longer made it necessary to maintain it, Marín recommended that the presidio of Montesclaros in Sinaloa be definitely suppressed. Moreover, he saw prospects for the ultimate suppression of the presidio of Santa Catalina de Tepehuanes, and in time for the reduction of the number of soldiers at the other presidios.³¹²

The soldiers, distributed as thus recommended, while few in comparison with the number of hostile Indians, would, Marín thought, "if well employed at opportune times", be more than was necessary for the defense of the kingdom. Indeed, he felt that there were sufficient soldiers "not only to chastise and reduce the barbarous nations, but also to contemplate new conquests should it be feasible to maintain and settle them". In emphasizing his belief that the only way to restrain and reduce the hostiles was by waging continuous war against them, Marín stated that experience showed that the roads and cattle were safe only when the Indians were kept "in perpetual uneasiness" and no opportunity was given for them to make raids and forays upon the Spaniards. This was true because the principal care of the Indians was "to flee from the fury of the troops and secure the safety of their rabble of women and children. . . . But on the instant that the troops return to their quarters or presidios they at once resume their daily abominations". The success of General Retana in reducing the four Chizos nations at San Francisco de Conchos was cited as proof of the efficacy of this method.

In waging offensive war upon the Indians Marín thought that ten or a dozen soldiers should be left at each presidio for its defense and as convoys for travellers, and that squads of from forty to fifty soldiers, accompanied by friendly Indians, who proved to be most successful as spies, should reconnoitre the sites and locations of the hostiles. When the Indians should be forced to surrender, Marín thought that they should not, as theretofore, be allowed to choose the locations and sites where they were to live, "which were always apart from the soldiers and presidios . . . and from which they committed with impunity, under the security of peace, more hostilities than when they were at war". Instead, he recommended that the subjugated Indians should be required to settle in

³¹¹ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 397, 399, *infra*; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, pp. 431, 433.

³¹² Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 405, 407, *infra*.

sight of the presidios, that they should "be compelled to build their houses correctly, to raise chickens, and to plant their corn-fields", so that they might acquire an attachment for their settlements and might lose their inherent instinct to roam in the mountains. The actions and movements of the Indians, he thought, should be under the constant observance of their protectors. In case robberies and murders occurred the protector should ascertain whether any were missing; above all he should maintain firm control over the women and children, thereby keeping the Indians submissive and obedient. As proof that the hostile Indians might be won over from their old habits Marín cited the sedentary life and domesticity of the Tepehuanes and Tarahumares.

Because the Cociomes and Tobosos Indians had "failed time without number in the obedience which they had promised", and because they were "apostates from the Evangelical law . . . and the most pernicious and malevolent among them all", Marín was of the opinion that "active and bloody war, without quarter, should be waged against them". Until these nations might be extirpated and destroyed entirely and their rabble reduced, Marín predicted that trouble would not be lacking in the kingdom nor considerable expense to the king.⁸¹³

In connection with his recommendations concerning the military forces of the kingdom, Marín stated that it was very important that the governor should be "competent and experienced, in affairs of war as in political matters". Such a man, Marín thought, might artfully introduce and sow discords and distrust among the Indians, thereby affording greater security for the Spaniards. With respect to the purchase of the office Marín said that it was "essential that the king close the door to the purchase of such governorships" as that of Nueva Vizcaya, the Philippines, and Campeche. In his opinion a "highly educated man with discretion and judgment" would overcome lack of military experience, while one who bought an office did so solely for mercenary reasons, thereby causing "a greater loss to his Majesty than the highest priced offices could possibly yield to him". Marín deprecated the fact that governors who bought their offices often issued commissions to incompetent men, occasionally merchants or mine workers, who had had no military experience whatever. It was not surprising therefore that the professional presidial captains resented being obliged to take orders from such men; as a result "discords and disturbances" arose.⁸¹⁴

With reference to the administration of justice Marín stated that because there was no lawyer in the territory from Durango to Sonora to advise the citizens, who "readily" engaged in lawsuits, each person was "a lawyer for himself", and each one was prone to presume that "jus-

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 397-403; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, pp. 431-435, *infra*.

⁸¹⁴ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 403-405, *infra*; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, *ibid.*, pp. 435, 437.

tice and right" were on his side. As a result, "for slight and unsubstantial causes" they were accustomed to appeal to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, all of which made for inquietude and "no slight injury and damage to the entire kingdom". To make these appeals, it was necessary, because of the little commerce between Durango and Guadalajara, to utilize couriers, at "no slight expenditure of money". For these reasons and because "the entire commerce" of Nueva Vizcaya was with Mexico City, so that the viceroys could easily obtain information at least every two or three months concerning what might be happening and what might be worthy of emendation or punishment, Marín stated that it would be a great convenience if Nueva Vizcaya, in judicial matters, were taken from under the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Guadalajara and placed under that of the Audiencia of Mexico. The chief advantage in making the proposed change, however, lay in the fact that the viceroy was president of the Audiencia of Mexico; in addition, as captain-general, in the exercise of original military jurisdiction³¹⁵ in the territory in which the Audiencia of Guadalajara exercised judicial authority, he was kept fully advised concerning the military needs of Nueva Vizcaya. Under such an arrangement Marín pointed out that the viceroys as presidents of the Audiencia of Mexico could utilize to advantage in the sessions of the audiencia the information which they might secure as captains-general, and would therefore "attend entirely to the restoration of the kingdom and to remedying the pernicious damages which result from these lawsuits". Finally, Marín pointed out that if the lieutenant appointed for El Parral were a lawyer he could, much to the relief of the governor and citizens alike, "devote himself to bringing to a conclusion many political matters which they present and press before him".³¹⁶

Such were the recommendations with respect to the military defense and the civil and judicial administration of Nueva Vizcaya that were made by Marín. A second but admittedly a slower and more deliberate way by which Marín thought that Nueva Vizcaya might obtain some relief from the depredations of the Indians was "to remedy, in part, the depopulated condition" of the kingdom. Greater safety on the highways, and more tranquillity and peace in the province generally, the possibility of ultimately reducing the number of the presidios, relief from mounting military expenses, and a greater income for the king from royal fifths were some of the advantages which Marín felt might be realized in case more settlers went to Nueva Vizcaya, and in case five or six designated sites in the kingdom were settled.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ For a brief statement concerning the judicial, military, and administrative functions of the viceroy, see C. W. Hackett, "The West Indies, Castilla del Oro, and New Spain, to 1535", in vol. I. of this series, pp. 22-24.

³¹⁶ Marín to the Count of Galve, El Parral, Sept. 30, 1693, pp. 407, 409, *infra*.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 405; fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 437, *infra*.

3. *Marín's modified recommendations of December, 1693, with respect to Nueva Vizcaya.* After he had made the above recommendations in writing on September 30, Marín appeared in person before the viceroy on December 13, 1693. On this occasion he assured the viceroy that the plans previously suggested by him would suffice only to maintain the *status quo* of the kingdom, and would do that only "as long as the aid, promptly given", was continued. With reference to the military forces of Nueva Vizcaya proper, Marín reversed his original recommendations, which emphasized the necessity for maintaining the presidios, and instead emphasized the necessity of encouraging immigration to Nueva Vizcaya and of requiring that all settlers on the frontier serve as militiamen, in order that the presidial forces might in time be reduced. By encouraging immigration to Nueva Vizcaya Marín estimated that the king's profits would be increased 180,000 pesos annually. The principal for such a sum, reckoned on the basis of five per cent. interest thereon, would amount to 3,600,000 pesos, and to this amount Marín stated that the king had come to be obligated to promote immigration to Nueva Vizcaya. In addition to the king's profits, Marín stated that as a result of the population of the kingdom being increased, many current expenses would be reduced and an increase of commerce would be assured.

With reference to the presidial soldiers Marín recommended that since most of them were married they should be encouraged to settle at the presidios where they were stationed, that they should be given lands, and that they should be encouraged to cultivate these. Such a method he believed would "serve greatly to unify and strengthen the other settlements". He declared that the twenty soldiers added that year to the field company at El Parral were superfluous and recommended that they be withdrawn as soon as General Retana returned to his presidio from his campaign to the Río del Norte. He also believed that five of the fifteen soldiers stationed at Durango might be removed, and that the governor should be given absolute command over them "without any interference by the cabildo". Finally, Marín made the optimistic prediction that in case "events of that year should turn out well, as he expected them to do, some of the presidios could be abolished".³¹⁸

With respect to the civilian settlements Marín recommended that these should be composed of from sixty to seventy men. They should be provided with harquebuses, ammunition, and horses for use in case of an emergency, and "with oxen, plows, plow-shares, and grain for the cultivation of the fields, the lands and farms to be divided among them with equality and justice". Since all the settlers were to be required to serve as militiamen, Marín recommended that they be granted "all the prerogatives, exemptions, and enfranchisements of such, as well as freedom from all tributes". In this way and by requiring the subjugated Indians

³¹⁸ Fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, p. 437, *infra*.

to settle near the Spanish settlements Marín estimated that the crown would save "the sum total of the pay of the captains and soldiers of the presidios", amounting to 84,000 pesos annually, and, in addition, would profit from the increased revenue accruing from the *alcabala* tax. He estimated that the latter tax alone should, at the rate of five per cent. on gross sales amounting to from 500,000 to 600,000 pesos, yield a return of from 20,000 to 30,000 pesos; with the increase of population this tax would yield proportionally more. Marín stated that it had been estimated that royal assistance for only the settlements of El Parral and those of Janos and Sonora would be as much as 800,000 pesos, but that this could be afforded in view of the benefits that would result therefrom.

Finally, in case it should be decided to found the settlements, Marín said that it would be a great advantage if the governor might have building materials and a supply of maize for planting and maintenance awaiting the settlers at the designated sites. After the settlements were founded he thought that an *alcalde mayor* and an efficient captain of war should be named to enforce alike military preparedness and the cultivation of the land.

Marín admitted that the execution and permanent success of his plan were predicated upon certain essentials. In the first place, it would be necessary to have a viceroy with the "zeal and disinterestedness" of the Count of Galve; secondly, it would be necessary to find a person to whom the viceroy might entrust, for a period of at least five years, the execution of the plans; thirdly, it would be necessary to find someone who, in spite of losses in the past, would be willing to underwrite the proposition; and fourthly, it would be necessary to arrange for the transportation of settlers from Galicia and the Canary Islands to Nueva Vizcaya—the Canary Islanders to be conducted by water to the mouth of the Río del Norte and thence transported "in large boats" up that river to Nueva Vizcaya.

On December 15, two days after Marín had made the above recommendations, the viceroy submitted to him for his consideration and recommendations thereon the various proposals that had been made with reference to the military re-organization of Sinaloa and Sonora. By way of reply Marín recommended that the fifty men in the flying company under Don Domingo Jironza should establish their headquarters and supply-base at Teuricache. From there, where fifteen soldiers were to be left at all times, thirty-five soldiers "should answer the most urgent calls for aid"; if necessary, "they should join with the people of Janos for the success of any operation that should give a lesson to the Indians". With respect to the presidio of Sinaloa, Marín was of the opinion that it was no longer profitable where it was, since there was little danger of an uprising on the part of the peaceable and sedentary Sinaloa Indians, and because aid might be quickly sent to Sinaloa from Rosario, Teuricache, or Janos. "Simply through the consideration that the soldiers would be

missed", however, Marín recommended that those at the presidio of Sinaloa should remain there, but in the capacity of settlers and not as soldiers. In this way the king would be relieved of the expense for salaries and at the same time sudden outbreaks along the coast would be prevented.

As regards the formation of a company of militia at the Real de los Frailes, Marín reiterated his belief that it would be best to withdraw the forty-three soldiers from Sinaloa, form more companies of militia, and appoint captains for them who would be under the direct command of the governor. These companies could repel attacks of Indians, and could assist the Jesuits when they were needed. However, they should be granted "the exemptions and privileges of military rights and exemptions from tributes". In Marín's opinion, this was the only way by which Sinaloa might be made safe and defended and the king "relieved in part of the very great expense" to which he had been put in that province.³¹⁹

4. *Other recommendations concerning Nueva Vizcaya.* Such were the comprehensive plans of Marín for the rehabilitation of Nueva Vizcaya. In this connection it is interesting to note that a contemporary of Marín, Don José de Manzanique, did not concur in Marín's recommendations. The latter, in an undated memorial to the king, stated that as a result of the effective offensive campaigns waged by former governors Neira and Pardiñas Villar de Francos "the country was somewhat secure". Subsequently, as a result of a pestilence in the year 1693, many Indians including some of their chiefs had died. For these reasons Manzanique was unqualifiedly in favor of reducing the number of the presidios and soldiers of Nueva Vizcaya.³²⁰

On the other hand, the royal officials of Durango, on April 28, 1696, advised the king that they had slight hope for the pacification of the Indians, and that it was only possible to realize this by creating a flying squad at each presidio, each one to be supplemented by a company of twenty-five Indian allies, paid for from the 6000 pesos appropriated as a peace and war fund. When the Indians were subjugated the royal officials thought that they should be transported to Campeche and placed in *encomienda*, thereby assuring peace for Nueva Vizcaya and at the same time cutting down expenses.³²¹

5. *The recommendations of the royal fiscal to the Council of the Indies concerning Nueva Vizcaya, April, 1698.* The various recommendations made by Marín and other officials with respect to Nueva Vizcaya were not to receive prompt consideration from the Council of the Indies. In fact, it was not until April 1 and 2, 1698, that the fiscal of the Council made a report concerning them to that body. At that time the fiscal, after

³¹⁹ Fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, pp. 437-441, 445-449, *infra*.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 453, 455.

³²¹ Fiscal's reply, Madrid, Apr. 2, 1698, p. 459, *infra*.

having taken into account the various opinions and decisions of viceregal officials and governing bodies, and looking "only to the means that should be applied as necessary to prevent the constant attacks committed by the Indians", recommended to the Council that the presidios which Nueva Vizcaya then had "should be retained with soldiers, supplemented, by action of the viceroy, with thirty field soldiers and fifty soldiers of the flying company in charge of Captain Don Domingo Jironza". The fifteen soldiers from the field company that were assigned to Durango were to be especially charged to scout the country between the Real de Arzate and Gamón, and other regions, as necessity might dictate, within a radius of eighteen leagues of Durango.

The fiscal admitted that he had been influenced in his decision to retain the presidios by a remembrance of the Pueblo Indian uprising in New Mexico in 1680, the origin of which he attributed to the "lack of soldiers and presidios to keep the Indians in fear". In case his recommendation met the approval of the Council, the fiscal thought that the governors should be impressed with the necessity of having the captains of the presidios leave a sufficient number of soldiers as a guard at the presidios and to escort travellers, and, with the remaining soldiers, accompanied by friendly Indians, should reconnoitre the places frequented by the hostiles and endeavor to crush them completely. In case the Indians submitted, the fiscal approved the plans suggested by Marín for encouraging them to become peaceable and sedentary like the Tepehuanes and the Tarahumares. Rather than to send the subjugated Indians to Campeche to be placed in *encomienda*, the fiscal thought that it would be better to separate altogether the Indian chiefs from their people, and to force the people, thus separated from their chiefs, to cultivate their fields.

Frequent reports, the fiscal thought, should be made by the governors to the viceroys concerning full details of the offensive campaigns. This would enforce the fulfillment of their duty by soldiers, captains, and the governor; in case they defaulted in their duty their pay might "be held back for the time that they did not perform" it.

With reference to the encouragement of immigration through the aid of royal funds, the fiscal was of the opinion that the fertility and potential wealth of Nueva Vizcaya were sufficiently great to attract settlers "without its being necessary for any increase to the expenses of the *real hacienda*". In particular did the fiscal disapprove of the suggestion that "the settlers should constitute their own militiamen and that they and building materials should be transported by sea to the mouth of the Río del Norte and thence up that river to Nueva Vizcaya". The expense of this, the fiscal said, would "be greater than the said *maestre de campo* supposes"; furthermore, since the chief employment of the settlers would be to cultivate their farms—"the settlements being far apart and exposed, and the presidios abandoned"—they would not make good militia-

men. The result would be that they could easily be attacked and destroyed and the king at the same time put to even greater expense.

With regard to the recommendations of Don José de Manzanique that the number of presidios and soldiers of Nueva Vizcaya ought to be reduced, the royal fiscal held that this recommendation was nullified by Manzanique's own statement. For, in his desire to discredit Governor Castillo and to establish it as a fact that some security had been netted to the kingdom during the preceding administration of Pardiñas and Neira, Manzanique had failed to take into account the fact that in none of the certified copies did "it appear that either of those governors ever went to hunt for the Indians during their administrations". As proof that these governors had achieved little stability for Nueva Vizcaya, the fiscal referred to the records "concerning the constant robberies and murders which Indians committed during the entire year 1692 and part of 1693 . . . until Governor Don Gabriel del Castillo assumed office". The fiscal even asserted that the memorial alleged to have been written by Manzanique appeared "on its face to be in the self-same handwriting as that which was written by Governor Don Juan Isidro on April 1, 1693".

With reference to the proposal to transfer Nueva Vizcaya in judicial affairs from the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Guadalajara to that of the Audiencia of Mexico, the fiscal recommended that representation should be made to his Majesty of the many advantages that would result from the proposed change.³²²

In a memorial dated April 28, 1696, the royal officials of Durango had charged that the miners of Nueva Vizcaya were not being protected; that little attention was being paid to augmenting the royal fifths; that Governor Castillo and Captain Juan de Retana had even incited the Tarahumara Indians to demolish a quicksilver establishment belonging to a miner by the name of Don Francisco González Ramírez; and that, as a result of the destruction of the quicksilver establishment, the king had been deprived of more than 6000 pesos in mining fifths, and Ramírez had been obliged to apply three times to the Audiencia of Guadalajara for justice. In view of these charges the fiscal recommended to the Council of the Indies on April 2, 1698, that Governor Castillo be censured for permitting the quicksilver establishment to be destroyed and that the entire matter be legally adjusted so as to secure "the greatest increase and preservation of the mines".³²³

The royal officials of Durango in the above-mentioned memorial also complained of the heavy expense of being obliged to alternate each year from Durango to the Real del Parral for the administration of the royal quicksilver when their contracts did not call for them to do more than

³²² Fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, pp. 451-457, *infra*; fiscal's reply, Madrid, Apr. 2, 1698, *ibid.*, pp. 459, 461.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 461, *infra*.

serve at the former place. Accordingly they recommended that an administrator be stationed at El Parral who would be subordinate to them and for whom they would be liable. This was disapproved by the royal fiscal in a report to the Council of the Indies on April 2, 1698.³²⁴

In Mexico the viceregal fiscal had opposed Marín's recommendations for the erection of a presidio at Teuricache to serve as a base for the flying company of General Domingo de Jironza on the ground that the erection of such a presidio would be contrary to royal orders. The royal fiscal in Madrid, however, recommended to the Council of the Indies in 1698 that "some fort or castle" should be erected at Teuricache; he also approved Marín's recommendations that a small detachment of soldiers should be kept there at all times and that the remaining ones should carry on constant offensive operations against the hostiles.

With reference to the removal of the presidio of Sinaloa to the site of Los Cedros, or to Gentiles, the royal fiscal left the decision to the judgment of the Council of the Indies.³²⁵

³²⁴ Fiscal's reply, Madrid, Apr. 2, 1698, pp. 461, 463, *infra*.

³²⁵ Fiscal's opinion, Madrid, Apr. 1, 1698, pp. 455, 457, *infra*.

III. 2. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO NUEVA VIZCAYA IN
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Al Audiencia de la nueva Galicia que haga la visita de la tierra como esta ordenado saliendo a ella cada uno de los oydores por su turno sin escusarse por ninguna causa.^a [Tordesillas, 24 de Julio de 1601.]

El Rey. Pressidente y oydores de mi Audiencia Real de la ciudad de guadalajara de la provincia de la nueva galicia he sido informado que muchos indios del distrito dessa audiencia se an quejado en ella de los agravios y vexaciones que reciben y pedido que un oydor saliesse a visitar y ver los daños que los ganados les hazen para que se quitasen las estancias de los dichos ganados que ay en mucho perjuicio de sus pueblos porque les comen quanto siembran hasta las cubiertas de las casas que son de paja y que mueren de los dichos yndios y sus mugeres y hijos guardando sus sementeras de los serenos y soles que les da y coxen los fructos sin sazón y os consta desto y no se remedia y que aunque algunas partes dessa Provincia se avian visitado otras por ser algo distantes fragosas y Remotas nunca se han visitado reusando lo los que de Vosotros los oydores os tocan las dichas Vissitas y por que no es justo que se de lugar a semejantes ynconvenientes os Mando que hagais la Vissita de la tierra como esta ordenado saliendo a ella cada uno de vos los oydores por su turno sin escusaros por ninguna causa comenzando la dicha vissita por los lugares mas cercanos a essa ciudad de guadalajara hasta los que estuieren mas distantes y apartados que no se han visitado hasta agora sin que por ningun caso se dexede de cumplir Visitandose todo por la mucha necesidad que tienen dello y procurando con mucho cuidado que se remedien los excessos y agravios que se representa que reciben los yndios y que sean desagraviados y aliviados en todo lo que se pudiere y que no los reciban de los oficiales que fueren con los Visitadores y sin que los unos ni los otros recivan ni tomen nada de los yndios ni de los encomenderos y de lo que resultare de las dichas Visitas me avisareis fecha en tordesillas a veynte y quatro de Julio de mill y seiscientos y un años Yo EL REY refrendado de JOAN DE YBARRA señalada del consejo.

^a A. G. I., 144-1-15.

To the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, ordering it to perform the visitation of the country as commanded, each of the oidores going out for this purpose in his turn and being excused therefrom under no circumstances whatever. [Tordesillas, July 24, 1601.]

The King. To the president and *oidores* of my royal Audiencia of the city of Guadalajara¹ in the province of Nueva Galicia: I have been informed that many Indians of the district of that audiencia have made complaint before it of the injuries and oppression which they suffer, and have asked that an *oidor* should go out to make a visitation and see the damages done to them by the herds, so that the cattle ranches may be removed. These are detrimental to their towns because the cattle eat up everything that they plant, even devouring the straw roofs of the houses.² Furthermore, the Indians, their wives and children, are dying while guarding their fields, on account of their sufferings from wind and sun, and they [are obliged to] gather their produce while yet unripe [in order to save it].

It appears that you are aware of this, but it is not remedied, and that, although some parts of that province have been visited, others, somewhat remote and mountainous, have never been visited at all because your *oidores*, to whom such visitations fall by lot, refuse to perform the visitations.

Wherefore, since it is not just that such things should occur, I command you to perform the visitation of the country as it is ordered, each of your *oidores* going out for the purpose in turn, none of you being excused for any reason. The visitation is to begin in the places nearest to the city of Guadalajara, and pass then to those more remote which have not hitherto been visited, none of them whatsoever being omitted, as they all have great need of visitation. You shall carefully endeavor to remedy the injuries and oppressions from which the Indians claim that they suffer, and see that their condition is relieved and ameliorated in every way possible; and you shall see that they receive no injury from the officers who go with the visitors, and that neither of these take or obtain anything from the Indians or from the *encomenderos*. You will report to me whatever may be the result of these visitations. Dated at Tordesillas, July 24, 1601. I THE KING. Countersigned by JUAN DE IBARRA and signed by the Council.

Al Virrey de la nueva españa con una Carta del dean de la nueva Galicia en que dize lo que convernía que los religiosos de la compañía de Jesus se encargasen de la conbersion de ciertos yndios para que ponga en ello el rremedio y rrecaudo necessario.^b [Villalpando, 7 de Febrero de 1602.]

El Rey. Conde de monterey pariente mi Virrey governador y capitan general de la nueva españa el dean de la yglesia cathedral de la nueva galicia me ha escripto la carta cuya copia va con esta en que como por ella vereis advierte de lo que convernía que los de la compania de Jesus se encargasen de la conversion de los yndios gentiles que ay en las serranias de aquella provincia y se reduxesen por buenos medios y lo que asimesmo ymportaria aliviar del servicio de los quatro Reales que pagan los naturales de la provincia de Culiacan y otras comarcanas donde ay algunos pueblos recién poblados, por su pobreza y que se reduxessen a poblaciones los yndios de aquella provincia para que se les pudiesen mejor administrar los sacramentos y Porque han parecido las cossas que el dicho dean advierte de mucha consideracion y en que se deve mirar, os mando que haviendoos enterado muy bien de todo aquello y tomado Relacion del audiencia y otras personas inteligentes y del dicho dean pongais en todo el Remedio y buen recaudo que conviniere y me aviseis de lo que oviere desproveydo imformandome sobre esto con vuestro parecer fecha en Villalpando a siete de hebrero de mill y seiscientos y dos años Yo EL REY refrendada de JOAN DE YBARRA y señalada del Consejo.

Al fiscal de la audiencia de la Nueva Galicia sobre que hagase oficio en lo que toca a los casados quienes viven sin sus mugeres y acerca de que españoles no biven en pueblos de indios.^c [El Pardo, 20 de Noviembre de 1603.]

El Rey. Fiscal de mi Real audiencia de la ciudad de guadalaxara de la nueva Galicia, en mi consejo de las Yndias se ha entendido que no se guardan las ordenes dadas para que los casados vengán a estos Reynos a hazer vida maridable con sus mugeres porque luego los sueltan enfiado y con cierta pena si no se embarcan la qual pagando se quedan en su mala vida y que destos ay muchos en esa tierra, y porque conviene no dar lugar a esto os mando que hagais vuestro oficio con rigor procurando el cumplimiento de las dichas ordenes, y que si Ubiere omision o contravencion, en esto en esa audiencia me aviseis luego dello en el dicho mi consejo para que provea y mande lo que convenga.

^b A. G. I., 144-1-15.

^c A. G. I., 103-3-1.

To the viceroy of New Spain, inclosing a letter from the dean of Nueva Galicia saying that it would be desirable that the religious of the Company of Jesus should be placed in charge of the conversion of certain Indians so that this work may be properly provided for and improved. [Villalpando, February 7, 1602.]

The King. Count of Monterey,⁸ relative, my viceroy, governor, and captain-general of New Spain: The dean of the cathedral church of Nueva Galicia has written me a letter, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, wherein, as you will see, he calls attention to the desirability of intrusting the Company of Jesus with the conversion of the pagan Indians, in the mountains of that province, who should be reduced by proper methods. He also points out that because of their poverty, it would be worth while to remit the "service" of four reals, paid by the natives in the province of Culiacán and other regions where there are some recently converted towns. [He also recommends] that the Indians of that province be reduced to settlements for the purpose of better administering the sacraments to them.

Inasmuch as the things which the dean points out are worthy of consideration and ought to be attended to, I command you, after informing yourself thoroughly concerning the entire situation, and after receiving a report from the audiencia and other intelligent persons including the dean, to take measures to improve and provide suitably for all that is needed. Also you will report to me whatever is unprovided for, giving me your opinion concerning it. Dated at Villalpando, February 7, 1602. I THE KING. Countersigned by JUAN DE IBARRA and signed by the Council.

To the fiscal of the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia ordering him to take action in regard to married men who live apart from their wives, and to see that Spaniards shall not live in Indian towns. [El Pardo, November 20, 1603.]

The King. To the fiscal of my royal audiencia of the city of Guadalajara of Nueva Galicia: It has been learned in my Council of the Indies that the orders are not kept which provide that married men shall return to these kingdoms [Spain] to renew the marital relations with their wives,⁴ in that the men free themselves by bail and the payment of a certain fine if they do not embark; then, after paying their fines, they continue in their evil lives. It has also been reported that there are many such men in that country.

Wherefore, since it is not fitting to allow this, I command you to discharge your duty rigorously, effecting compliance with the orders given, and, if they are neglected or contravened within the territory of your audiencia, you will report the fact to me through my Council in order that it may issue suitable orders.

Y porque asimismo se a hentendido que tanpoco se guarda lo proveydo acerca de que españoles no biban en lugares de yndios os mando que en lo que a esto toca hagais tanvien vuestro oficio con todo el cuydado posible, y que de vos confio por lo mucho que ynporta a mi servicio La observancia de las ordenes dadas en esta razon.—Del pardo 20 noviembre 1603. Yo EL REY.

[*Carta de Francisco de Urdiñola*] a su magestad.^a [Durango, 31 de Marzo de 1604.]

Señor: por cartas del Virrey conde de monterey y del marques de montesclaros abra entendido vuestra magestad como por aber echo don Rodrigo de bibero gobernador y capitan general que fue desta nueva vizcaya dexacion de estos cargos fui nombrado para el exerçicio dellos y por aberse començado a ençender el fuego de la guerra e nuevos yncendios de los yndios acaxes de la sierra de san andres que no avia quedado bien apagado ni aber dado la obediencia los ymbentores de los primeros daños y aber Remaneçido entre ellos un yndio pernicioso que embestido del demonio con nombre de obispo y llamandose dios traya a todos ynquietos y çitandoles que se alçassen todos y nos matasen bautizandolos y casandolos y diziendoles missa y enseñandoles nueva seta [secta] y oraciones acudi luego al Remedio y en siete meses que andube en las sierras entre ellos prendi y castigue al dicho obispo y sus apostoles que con este nombre los traya y a los demas ymbentores de las Rebeliones haziendo Justicia dellos y bine a ganarles a todos los demas tanto las voluntades o fuese de temor que de setenta y tantos puebleçuelos y Rancherias que avia en la sierra Repartidos em peñoles y picachos bine a Reduçirlos en veinte y quatro asentandolos y congregandolos en tierras llanas y acomodadas con mucho gusto donde se haze mucho fruto en su conbersion y dotrina por los Religiosos de la compaña y se quitaron parte de los soldados que estaban en el pressidio y se quitaran los demas muy breve en todo este suçesso y tiempo no tubo vuestra magestad costa de çinco mill pesos e yo le tube de mas de veinte mill que fue poco para lo que yo desseo servir a vuestra magestad y lo que me queda y la vida se am de emplear en su Real serviçio. [*Al margen dice:*] Indio heresiarca.

Por no aber sido vissitada de ningun gobernador de veinte años a esta parte la provincia de çinaloa que es desta gobernaçion fui alla donde hize las ynformaçiones y diligençias que embio a vuestra magestad con esta.

Gran serviçio haze vuestra magestad a dios nuestro señor en aquella comberssion de los naturales y por ser muchos los que se continuan en aquella tierra y adelante se promete mucho mas lo qual se conseguira mandando vuestra magestad continuar y Reforçar los soldados y Religiosos que alli se ocupan y aunque parezca que a esto contradizen algunos por ber que a vuestra magestad no le viene probecho al presente dios que tiene cuydado y prometido dara quando fuere servido como

^a A. G. I., 66-6-17.

And, since it has also been understood that the orders prohibiting Spaniards from living in Indian towns⁶ are also disobeyed, I command you to do your duty in this matter with all possible care. I confide to you the observance of the orders herewith issued because they are of great importance to my service. Dated at El Pardo, November 20, 1603. I THE KING.

[*Letter of Francisco de Urdiñola to his Majesty. [Durango, March 31, 1604.]*

Sir: By letters from the viceroy, the Count of Monterey,⁶ and from the Marquis of Montesclaros,⁷ your Majesty will have learned that on account of the resignation of Don Rodrigo de Vivero, former governor and captain-general of this province of Nueva Vizcaya,⁸ I have been named for the discharge of those duties.

Inasmuch as renewed warfare and repeated incendiarism began to appear among the Acaxeas, of the Sierra de San Andrés—the warfare never having been thoroughly stopped nor complete obedience secured from the originators of our first injuries, largely because there remained among the Indians a pernicious individual, who, invested by the devil with the name of Bishop, and calling himself God, made them all restless by inciting them to rise against us and kill us, and who also baptized, said mass, married them, and taught them a new creed and prayers—I set about immediate improvement, and, during seven months in which I traversed the mountains among them, I seized and punished the Bishop, his followers who adhered to him under the designation of apostles, and the other instigators of rebellion, executing justice upon them. I also succeeded in gaining the good will of the other Indians, or perhaps it was through fear, to such an extent that I was able to reduce to twenty-four the seventy odd villages and rancherias, scattered about among crags and peaks in the mountains, and to locate them together on level lands where the people are adequately provided for and satisfied, and where much success is being obtained in their conversion and religious instruction by the members of the Company [of Jesus]. Part of the soldiers who were in the presidio have been removed, and the remainder will be taken away presently. During all this time, while these things were occurring, your Majesty did not incur as much as 5000 pesos' expense, while my expenses were over 20,000 pesos, which was little in comparison to what I should like to do in your Majesty's service, for all that I possess and my life itself I desire to employ in it. [*In the margin it says:*] An Indian heresiarch.

Because the province of Sinaloa, part of this governmental unit, had not been visited by any governor during the past twenty years, it was in that province that I made the investigations and attended to the affairs of which I send report to your Majesty herewith.

Your Majesty is performing a great service to God our Lord in the conversions of the natives, and, since they are numerous both in that

lo hizo en la tierra de los goachichiles donde en la guerra della gastamos a vuestra magestad gran suma de dinero y luego que tubimos la paz se descubrieron las minas de san luis y otras de donde se a sacado mucho mas de lo que se gasto y no promete menos aquella tierra de çinaloa por aber en ella mucha notiçia de minas de plata y lo demas que a vuestra magestad constara por las ynformaçiones y por no ollarse por la poca fuerça de los españoles y asta agora aber sido todo guerras con los naturales y serranos no estan descubiertas. [*Al margen dice:*] Minas.

Vuestra magestad se satisfaga que toda la nueva españa no tiene tierra tan Rica de beneros de plata como estas provincias de la nueva vizcaya y por estar a trasmano y en lo ultimo de la nueva españa donde no ay serviçio de yndios mansos y echos al trabajo como en la nueva españa y nueva galicia para labrarlas no se saca mas plata que en todas las demas partes y a de benir tiempo en que se a de hazer mas quenta de esta tierra que de todo lo Restante della porque ençierra en si gran Riqueza de plata.

Y para que a vuestra magestad conste lo que es toda la nueva vizcaya y los mineros y vezinos que tiene y de las demas haziendas y entretenimientos dellos hize las diligençias que embio a vuestra magestad y una memoria que saque dellas donde ba todo Recopilado y no pude embiar en esta ocassion la descrescion de la tierra en buena orden y com puntualidad con las alturas y distançias de cada lugar por aber salido de la sierra agora poco ay no dar lugar el tiempo para que fuera con esta en la flota hazerlo e en otra ocassion.

Visto y entendido Vuestra magestad la pobreza y falta de serviçio que oy tienen los vezinos desta gobernacion que es grande por cuya causa todas las haziendas de minas y las demas son tan cortas y los tratantes que se llaman mercaderes de caudal de quinientos pesos y de mill y dos o tres y al tono desto los mas y de mandarles pagar vuestra magestad alcabala desta miseria le viene muy poco provecho siendo vuestra magestad servido les podria hazer merced—que no pagasen por algun tiempo porque con gozar de esta merced—y otras que vuestra magestad les haze se animen a benir a poblar estas provincias donde ay gran suma de descubrimientos de minas de buena ley que estan descubiertas y no pobladas por la pobreza y poca gente que ay en ellas que solo en la comarca de san andres y goaneçevi ay mas de treinta descubrimientos y en el balle de santa barbara y comarca otros ocho y aunque por agora les Relebe vuestra magestad desta deuda por ser poca y tierra nueva quando este mas poblada e ynteressada con las mercedes que vuestra magestad les haze se Restaurara este menoscabo—vuestra magestad mandara lo que fuere servido.

[*Al margen se lee:*] que se consulte que se podria exenptar de pagar alcavala por espaçio de quinze años. [*Una rúbrica.*] Minas.

Con esta embio assimismo un memorial fecho con el cuydado que debo al serviçio de vuestra magestad tocante a materia de labrar minas y menoscabo que viene a los Reales quintos y las causas de ello. Y el Remedio que me parece se puede tener vuestra magestad lo bera y mandara lo que fuere servido. [*Al margen se lee:*] Minas.

En toda esta gobernacion asta goadalaxara y mexico que a qualquiera destas partes ay mas de çien legoas no ay un letrado a quien se le pueden Remitir la determinacion de las causas de derecho e ynterese de partes por

land and farther beyond, the prospect is good for added conversions. These will be obtained if your Majesty will order the soldiers and religious who are there to be continued and reinforced, notwithstanding that some persons, seeing that your Majesty is receiving no benefit at present, seem to deny this. But God, who has care for this and has promised it, will grant it when it pleases him, as he did in the land of the Guachichiles,⁹ where we spent great sums for your Majesty in war with them, and where, as soon as peace was secured, the mines of San Luis¹⁰ and others were discovered whence much more was obtained than had been spent. Nor does that land of Sinaloa promise less, for there are frequent reports of silver mines in it as well as other resources which will be apparent to your Majesty from the reports submitted. Many of the mines are not worked, however, because the Spaniards have insufficient forces; others, because until now wars have been incessant with the natives and the inhabitants of the hills, have not been discovered. [*In the margin it says:*] Mines.

Your Majesty may rest convinced that in all New Spain there is no land so rich in veins of silver as these provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, although, because they are remote and in the farthest part of New Spain, where the labor of docile Indians, trained to labor, is not obtainable as it is in New Spain and Nueva Galicia, no more silver is taken out than in other places. But the time will come when this territory will be considered more important than all the rest because it is so rich in silver deposits.

In order that your Majesty might be well informed as to the character of Nueva Vizcaya, the miners and settlers which it contains, and the farms and other enterprises being operated by them, I made investigations, reports of which I sent to your Majesty, together with a memorial which I drew up concerning them, wherein all the information is assembled. I could not at this time, however, send the description of the country, with proper arrangement and detail, with the latitudes and distances of each place, because I have been down from the mountains only a short while, and there has not been sufficient time to send it with this letter by the fleet; hence I defer sending it until another time.

When your Majesty has seen and understood [from my report] the poverty and lack of labor from which the settlers to-day in this large government suffer, as a result of which all the mining camps and other enterprises are so meager, and the traders, called *mercadeles*, have capital of only five hundred, or one, two, or three thousand pesos thereabouts for the most part, your Majesty will see that to command them to pay *alcabala*¹¹ on this poverty will bring your Majesty very little profit. If your Majesty would be pleased to grant them the concession of not having to pay it for some time, they would be encouraged by this, and by other favors which your Majesty concedes to them, to come and settle these provinces where there have been numerous discoveries of mines of good assay, discovered, but not settled, on account of the poverty and sparseness of the population. In the district of San Andrés and Guanecebi alone there are more than thirty discovered mines, and eight others in the valley of Santa Bárbara and its district. Therefore, if your Majesty should, since they are few and the land is new, temporarily relieve them

lo qual tiene el gobernador destas provincias neçessidad de un açessor asalariado como le tienen en otras partes del nuebo Reyno e yslas—vuestra magestad se sirba de prober pues sera conforme a su cristianisimo pecho y çelo y de ello sera muy servido Dios nuestro señor.

Yo he servido a Vuestra magestad desde mi moçedad en todas las ocasiones que se an ofreçido en las guerras y paçificacion de los yndios chichimecos destos Reynos con mucha aprobaçion de los virreyes y audiencias y generales como constara por los papeles y Relaciones que a vuestra magestad se le a fecho y se aran y boy Cargando en años y enfermedades y aunque es verdad que mientras me durare la vida no e de faltar en lo que pudiere y fuere de provecho. Vuestra magestad se sirba de Remunerar mis serviçios como ellos mereçen haziendome merced a mi y a dos hijas que tengo y para Casar como de su poderosa y christiana mano espero guarde nuestro señor la Catolica persona de Vuestra Magestad de durango p'o^e 31 de março 1604. FRANCISCO DE URDINOLA.

Al obispo de la nueva Galicia que ponga remedio en los excesos que se an entendido hazen los curas beneficiados y Religiosos que acuden a la administracion de los sacramentos dexandolos sin pagarles nada no embargante que de la Real hazienda se les da lo que an menester.[†]
[Lerma, 29 de Junio de 1605.]

El Rey. Reverendo y en christo padre obispo de la ciudad de Guadaluara de la provincia de la nueva galicia del mi consejo e entendido que los clerigos curas beneficiados y Religiosos que acuden a la administracion de los sacramentos de los yndios y naturales de essa provincia no se contentando con los bastimentos y las demas cosas necessarias conque para

^e It is not clear for what this abbreviation stands.

[†] A. G. I., 144-1-15.

of the payment of this tax, later, when the country is settled more and has prospered by the favors which your Majesty grants to them, the concession may be compensated. Your Majesty will order whatever seems desirable.

[*In the margin it reads:*] Let there be consultation as to whether they can be exempted from paying *alcabala* for the space of fifteen years. [*A rubric.*] Mines.

Herewith I send you also a memorial, drawn with the care suitable to your Majesty's service, concerning the matter of working the mines and the diminution which has occurred in the royal fifths, with the causes thereof, and the remedy which may be applied. Your Majesty will see it and order as seems pleasing.

[*In the margin it reads:*] Mines.

In all this government as far as Guadalajara and Mexico, which are distant more than one hundred leagues from any of these parts, there is no lawyer to whom may be referred the settlement of cases at law or the interests of litigants. For these reasons the governor of these provinces needs a salaried counsellor such as are had in other parts of the new kingdom and in the islands.¹² Your Majesty will please provide one, as this will be in conformity with your Christian spirit and zeal and by your so doing God our Lord will be well served.

I have served your Majesty since my youth upon all occasions which have offered in the wars and pacification of the Chichimeca Indians of these kingdoms, with the pronounced approbation of viceroys, audiencias, and generals, as will appear by the documents and narratives which have been and will be submitted to your Majesty. Now I am growing old and infirm, and, while it is true that as long as my life lasts I shall not fail to do what I can to be of service, will not your Majesty be pleased to recompense my services as they deserve to be, by granting me for myself and two marriageable daughters some favor which I expect from the powerful and Christian hand of your Majesty. May our Lord keep your Catholic person. Durango, March 31, 1604. FRANCISCO DE URDIÑOLA.

To the bishop of Nueva Galicia, directing him to correct the abuses which it has been understood that the parish priests, beneficed clergy, and regulars commit in the administration of the sacraments, [demanding from the Indians compensation in services and produce for this] and paying them nothing therefor, in spite of the fact that they receive from the royal treasury amounts sufficient for their expenses.
[Lerma, June 29, 1605.]

The King. Reverend sir and father in Christ, bishop of the city of Guadalajara of the province of Nueva Galicia, and member of my Council: I have been informed that the clericals—both parish priests, beneficed clergy, and regulars¹³—who administer sacraments to the Indians and natives of that province, not contenting themselves with the provisions and other necessities which are provided for their sustenance from

su sustento se les acude de mi Real hacienda para que no hagan ni se les haga ninguna vejacion ni agravio a los pobres naturales y que no obstante lo que tengo mandado les apremian a que les den cada dia dos y tres gallinas y maiz y los biernes vigalias y quaresmas pescado y huebos y çacate para sus caballos y servicio de yndios e yndias sin pagarles por todo ello ninguna cossa en que hay grande exceso y particularmente en algunos de los rreligiosos que no son muy compuesto y que aunque lo quieren remediar los prelados y audiencias no pueden hazerlo rrespecto de que como son tan miserables no tienen ni hazen resistencia alguna y que para su remedio conbernia, se os ordenase a Vos y a los Comisarios y Provianciales de las ordenes mandasedes so pena de descomunion y graves penas a los dichos Curas beneficiados y religiosos que no tomen cossa alguna a los dichos naturales si no es pagandoselas a justos y moderados precios y aviendose visto en mi consejo Real de las yndias se acordó que devia mandar dar la presente para vos e yo lo tenido por bien y os Ruego y encargo que pongais Remedio, y que remedieis esto de manera que cesen estos ynconbenientes y los que adelante se podrian seguir pues beis lo mucho que conviene avitarlos que demas de que en ello hareis lo que sois obligado me terne por servido y de lo que hicieredes me dareis aviso para que lo tenga entendido de lerma a veynte y nueve de Junio de mill y seiscientos y cinco años Yo EL REY Refrendada de ANDRES DE TOREALINA y señalada de los del consejo.

Respuesta al governador de la nueva Vizcaya en lo tocante a las salinas de aquella provincia.⁹ [San Lorenzo, 3 de Septiembre de 1611.]

El Rey. Francisco de Urdiñola . . . governador de la Nueva Vizcaya se ha visto Lo que por Un capitulo de Carta Vuestra de 15 de abril de 607 escrivis acerca de la inportancia de la salina que se ha descubierto en essa governacion en Veinte y cinco leguas adelante de la provincia de santa barbara y el fruto grande que de ella se podria sacar para mi Real hacienda mas porque mi Voluntad es que sin embargo, Se guarde lo probeido Ultimamente acerca de la Livertad de todas las Salinas de essas provincias y las demas de las Yndias, os mando que assi lo hagais. Sin contravenir en cossa alguna a La cedula que se despacho en esta Raçon avisandome de lo que hizieredes para que Lo tenga entendido. San Lorenzo a 3 de Septiembre de 1611. Yo EL REY.

Servicios hechos a su Magestad Por El Cappitan don Hieronimo Velasquez Davila [en Nueva Galicia, 1617].^h

Don Luis Ponce de leon Cappitan y Cavo de la gente de guera que vino y esta de presidio en este de acaponeta y su Jurisdiccion y alcalde mayor

⁹ A. G. I., 103-3-1.

^h A. G. I., 67-1-4.

my royal treasury, in order that they may not oppress or wrong the poor natives, have, in spite of my commands, urged the latter to give them daily two or three hens and corn, and on Fridays, fast-days, and during Lent, fish, and eggs, and hay for their horses, as well as personal services from both men and women, without any payment whatsoever for all this.

The abuse is very great, particularly among certain of the religious, who are decidedly immoderate; and, while the prelates and audiencias have endeavored to remedy the situation, they are unable to do so because the [Indians] are so impoverished that they do not offer any resistance whatever. It would seem proper, therefore, in order to effect the needed reform, to command you and the commissaries and provincials¹⁴ of the orders to issue commands, under pain of excommunication and serious penalties, to the parish priests, beneficed clergy, and the religious, not to take anything from the natives except upon payment of just and moderate prices.

The matter having been considered by my royal Council of the Indies, it was agreed that the present order should be sent to you. I have accepted the decision, and I therefore command and charge you to effect a reform, and to remedy the situation so that these improprieties shall cease and shall not recur. You can see how very desirable it is to prevent them, and you may be assured that, whatever you do in the matter beyond what is your obligation, I shall consider myself well served thereby. Whatever you do you will report to me, in order that I may be informed. From Lerma, June 29, 1605. I THE KING. Countersigned, drawn up by ANDRÉS DE TOREALINA, and signed by the members of the Council.

Reply to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya concerning the salt deposits of that province. [San Lorenzo, September 3, 1611.]

The King. Francisco de Urdiñola . . . governor of Nueva Vizcaya: I have considered that which you write in an article of your letter of April 15, 1607, concerning the importance of a salt deposit which has been discovered in that government twenty-five leagues beyond the province of Santa Bárbara, and the great profit which might be derived from it for my royal treasury. Nevertheless, since it is my will that recent orders shall be obeyed which prescribe the freedom of all the salt deposits of those provinces and of the rest of the Indies, I command that you so maintain them, not contravening in anywise the cédula despatched for that intent. You will advise me of what you may do that I may have due understanding thereof. San Lorenzo, September 3, 1611. I THE KING.

Services performed for his Majesty by Captain Don Jerónimo Velásquez Dávila [in Nueva Galicia. 1617].

I, Don Luis Ponce de León, captain and leader of the soldiers who came here and are serving in this presidio of Acaponeta¹⁵ and its jurisdiction, *alcalde mayor* for his Majesty in this province and land, certify that

Por su Magestad en esta provincia e tierra Certificco que el Capitan Hieronimo Velasquez davila Vino a este Presidio de socoro Con Una compañía de veinte soldados españoles bien armados Por horden del señor don Alonso Perez Merchan governador etc., en este Reyno Presidente de la real audiencia de guadalaxara por la necesidad que abia en esta dicha frontera del dicho socoro por averme dado asalto en ella ochocientos gaudules de la nacion Tepeguanes y otras que a las suyas se abian agregado y tenido conmigo batalla canpal y con muerte de algunos dellos Retirandose a la sierra Para Reforçados Bolverme segundo asalto y conseguir el Efecto de sus malos deseos Los quales Se le Reprimieron con la dicha Venida del dicho capitan y su compania que como tan gran soldado Vino buscando el peligro deceso de Encontrar al dicho Enemigo Por las Faldas de la sierra donde se an retirado y Vviendo que no bolvia a darnos Las cinco batallas prometidas se horden de Yrles a buscar y se les dio Un albaço En el qual Son algunos muertos y heridos que fueron Se cogieron cinco bibos de la nacion tepeguana que en su Persona y con su Parecer Justice En este dicho Presidio y En todo esto y lo que mas se a ofrecido del servicio de su Magestad En todos los cassos de guera que aqui subcedieron durante su asistencia acudio con muy gran Valor y con muy particular cuidado Hordenando diciplinando y animando En todas dichas ocasiones A los susodichos sus Soldados Los quales Cumpliendo con Las hordenes E instrucciones que para ello traya pasado todo Lo susodicho me los Entrego para que esten de asistencia en este dicho presidio porque con las confesiones que con tormento de ganucha se dieron a los dichos cinco yndios que fueron presos declararon que pasadas Las aguas nos bolvieran a dar segundo asalto y Por estar Nonbrado Por capitan a guera En la ciudad de guadalaxara Cumpliendo con las ynstrucciones me Entrego La dicha compania Segun dicho es Cuya venida y averla traydo y echo Lo demas Rescevido En ocasion de tanta necesidad a sido Un muy Particular Servicio a su Magestad y es merito de toda la merced que se le hiziere.¹

*Probança de Miguel de Barrasa Residente en las Yndias de nueba España en la Villa de Durango: De los servicios que a echo a su Magestad en los Reynos de Viçcaya y Galicia.*¹ [1618.]

Señor: Miguel de Barrasa residente en las Yndias de nueba españa en la Villa de Durango sita en el Reyno de la nueba Vizcaya: Dice quel a servido a Vuestra Magestad en las dichas Indias desde el año de 84 siendo de edad de Veinte años Particularmente en la guerra contra los Yndios

¹ F. R. B., Aug. 28, 1914.

² A. G. I., 67-1-4. [*Como titulo lleva:*] Al Presidente de yndias. Señor. Miguel de Barrasa Residente en las Yndias de Nueba españa en el Reyno de la Nueba Vizcaya en La villa de Durango. Pide el Corregimiento de santa barbara en la nueba Vizcaya y caso que no se tome resolucion informe del util, y sus servicios Virrey y Audiencia de Mexico.

Captain Jerónimo Velásquez Dávila¹⁶ came to this presidio with a relief company of twenty well-armed Spanish soldiers, by order of Don Alonzo Pérez Merchán,¹⁷ governor of this kingdom, and president of the royal Audiencia of Guadalajara. He was sent because of the need of a relief party on this frontier, inasmuch as I had here been attacked by eight hundred vagabonds of the Tepeguanes nation and others who had joined them. They had given me battle in the open field, but, upon the death of a few of them, they had retired to the sierra in order that, reinforced, they might attack me a second time and achieve the purpose of their evil desires. They were, however, prevented by the coming of the captain and his company; he, great soldier that he was, came in search of danger, desiring to meet the enemy upon the slopes of the sierra whither they had retired. Seeing that they did not come back to offer us the five battles which they had promised, orders were given to go in search of them, and they were surprised at dawn by an attack in which some were killed, some were wounded but escaped, and five of the Tepehuanes nation were taken alive. The latter, upon the judgment and advice of the captain, I executed.

In this presidio, in all the foregoing fighting, and in all other situations of war requiring service to his Majesty which arose during his presence here, the captain acted with great valor, and marked carefulness. He commanded, disciplined, and encouraged his soldiers in all these situations, and then, when the orders and instructions for the observance of which they came had been fulfilled, he turned them over to me, that they might remain in service in this presidio. This was because the five Indians who had been captured had declared, in confessions made under torture by the *ganucha*, that when the rainy season should have passed they would come again to attack us. He, therefore, having been named war captain in the city of Guadalajara, in compliance with his instructions, turned over to me the company, as has been said. His coming, his having brought the company, and his having done all the other things which he did upon an occasion of such necessity, has been of particular service to his Majesty, and is worthy of any favor which may be conceded to him.

Proof by Miguel de Barrasa, a resident of the villa of Durango, New Spain, in the Indies, of services which he has performed for his Majesty in the kingdoms of Vizcaya and Galicia. [1618.]*

Sir: Miguel de Barrasa, a resident of the villa of Durango, situated in the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, New Spain, in the Indies, says that he has served your Majesty in the Indies since the year 1584, at which time he was twenty years old. He served, specifically, in the war against the Guachichiles Indians of Nueva Galicia, with his arms, servants, and

* [The title is:] To the president of the Indies: *Sir:* Miguel de Barrasa, a resident of the villa of Durango, in the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, New Spain, in the Indies, prays to be granted the *corregimiento*¹⁸ of Santa Bárbara, Nueva Vizcaya; and, in case no decision is reached requests that the viceroy and the Audiencia of Mexico make a report concerning his utility and his services.

Guachichiles de la nueva Galicia Haciendo guarda con sus armas criados y caballos a todos los pasajeros y a los que con carretas y recuas metian Vastimentos y Vituallas a las minas de Vuestra Magestad en el Masapil y saltillo cuyos caminos heran offendidos de los salteadores yndios allandose en todas las ocasiones con mucho trabajo y riesgo de su vida y todo a costa de su hacienda sin llebar a Vuestra Magestad salario ni acostamiento alguno. Y en la guerra quando se alçaron Los Yndios Conchos, que residen en las comarcas de Sancta Barvara, Donde asistio a su costa en todas Las ocasiones, particularmente aviendole cometido el Governador y Capitan Alonso diaz el ir a hazer gente Para el castigo dellos a la Alaguna y Meszquitalas donde estaban Revelados Los dichos yndios y alçadas Las Rancherias, el dicho Miguel de Barrasa con sus soldados tubieron Batallas de mucho riesgo con ellos y los redujo a la paz sacando dellos mucha cantidad con los quales se hizo guerra a los de la dicha Provincia de Santa Barvara y prosiguiendo La guerra y castigo de los Dichos indios fue hasta Las comarcas de Nuevo Mexico, haciendo guerra a todos los Revelados hasta Reducirlos al servicio de Vuestra Magestad En cuyas ocasiones recivio muchas y muy grandes heridas y una que se le ue en el Rostro sobre el carrillo derecho y en la guerra que se hiço al casique Atibuliaga y a los Yndios de su nacion questaban retirados en un peñol fuerte hasziendo guerra a los españoles de la dicha provincia fue uno de los primeros que lo ganaron con gran riesgo de su vida de que resulto quedar La dicha Provincia quieta y los Yndios della asentados y de Paz en que se hizo gran servicio a Vuestra Magestad y sin costa alguna de su Real acienda. Y en la guerra quando se alçaron los Yndios de las salinas de Machete y Posso ediondo Donde yendo el Capitan Alonso Hernandes con numero de soldados nombro al dicho Miguel de barrasa por su caudillo y como tal servicio a Vuestra Magestad a su costa todo el tiempo que duro La dicha guerra hasta dejar Los yndios asentados y de paz, y a ayudado juntamente a hacer muchos descubrimientos de Minas en particular las de Sancto Andres Topia y las de los Papudos y las de Guanacevi en que a sido Vuestra Magestad muy bien servido y crecido sus Reales quintos y aumentadas sus poblaciones como consta Por sus papeles.

En consideracion de lo qual y de los grandes cervicios que hizo Hernando trexo carvajal governador que fue destas provincias sobredichas, suegro del suplicante y de los de sus antepasados ansi en las yndias como en otras partes como es publico y notorio A Vuestra Magestad Pide y suplica se sirba de mandar nombrar al dicho miguel de Barrassa Por corregidor de la dicha Provincia de Sancta Barvara con nombre de Protector de ellas y de sus Naturales como de Protector de las Minas de Guanacevi San Juan de ynde Santhiago de Mapini Minas de guancame que son las Reales de aquella Vereda.

Advirtiendole a Vuestra Magestad que importa a su Real servicio conservacion y augmento de los Naturales el que se reduçgan Las cinco Alcardias en que esta Repartida La dicha Provincia, a correjimiento que se intitule della Porque cada uno de los alcaldes con nombre de Protector y poder de alcalde se bale del trabajo de aquellos pobres Yndios Para sus granjerias a titulo de Protectores Sin tratar del augmento de Vuestra Magestad y poblacion de sus tierras Llebando cada Uno trecientos pesos

horses, as a guard for all the travellers and all those who transported supplies and food by wagon or packtrain to your Majesty's mines in Mazapil¹⁰ and Saltillo. The roads over which this traffic passed were infested by Indian highway robbers, and this suppliant, though continuously undergoing great hardships and risk to his life, served entirely at the cost of his own estate, receiving from your Majesty neither salary nor payment of expenses whatsoever. In the war at the time of the revolt of the Conchos Indians, who dwell in the vicinity of Santa Bárbara, he served upon all occasions entirely at his own cost.

Specifically, when Governor and Captain Alonzo Díaz²⁰ had charged him to go and enlist men for the punishment of the Indians at La Laguna and at Mezquitales, where they were in rebellion and where the rancherías were devastated, Miguel de Barrasa and his soldiers fought dangerous battles with them, reduced them to peace, and obtained from them a large number of men with the assistance of whom they made war upon the Indians of the province of Santa Bárbara. In the pursuit of this war and in the punishment of these Indians, he went as far as the confines of New Mexico, warring upon all the rebels until they were subjected to your Majesty's service. On these occasions he received many serious wounds, one of which is visible upon his right cheek. In the war waged against the cacique, Atibuliaga, and the Indians of his nation who had retired to a strong position on a cliff whence they waged war upon the Spaniards of that province, Barrasa was, at great risk to his life, one of the first of those who scaled the cliff. As a result of the fight there, that province was pacified and the Indians in it peaceably took up fixed abodes. This was a great service to your Majesty, and it cost your royal treasury nothing.

In the war when the Indians of Las Salinas de Machete and Pozo Hediondo revolted, Captain Alonzo Hernández, going thither with a number of soldiers, named Miguel de Barrasa as their leader; in that capacity he served your Majesty at his own expense throughout the war until the Indians were settled peaceably in fixed abodes. He has also assisted in numerous discoveries of mines, particularly those of San Andrés, Topia, Los Papudos, and Guanacebi. By these discoveries your Majesty has been well served, your royal fifths²¹ have been increased, and your settlements made more numerous, as appears from Barrasa's papers.

In consideration of all the foregoing, and of the great services rendered by Hernando Trexo Carbajal,²² former governor of these provinces and father-in-law of the applicant, and in consideration of the publicly and widely known services of his forbears both in the Indies and elsewhere, Miguel de Barrasa begs and supplicates that your Majesty will be pleased to order that he be named *corregidor*²³ of the province of Santa Bárbara with the title of Protector of the provinces and of the natives thereof, and also Protector of the mines of Guanacebi, San Juan de Indehe [Indé], Santiago de Mapimi, and the Mines of Cuencame, which are the camps along that trail.

He calls the attention of your Majesty to the fact that it is of importance to your royal service and the preservation and welfare of the natives

de salario de su Real aver. Todas Las quales Reduziendolas a correjimiento Dios y Vuestra Magestad seran muy bien servidos y el sueldo que son mil y quinientos pessos Puede ser La tercera parte menos o lo que Vuestra Magestad se sirviere y la tierra se poblara y aumentara La hacienda de Vuestra Magestad como se a visto en otras Provincias que se a echo Lo propio que ademas del Real servicio de Vuestra Magestad a que el suplicante atiende y a de atender toda su Vida Recivira Particular merced y Resplandecera La clemencia de Vuestra Magestad Premiando Los muchos servicios que a echo y los de su suegro y los de sus antepasados, etc.

(y en caso que no se tome Resolucion pide y suplica a Vuestra Magestad se sirva que informe del util y sus servicios el Virrey y audiencia de mexico.)^k

Relacion breve y succinta de los sucesos que ha tenido la guerra de los Tepehuanes de la governacion de la Nueva Vizcaya desde 15 de Noviembre de 1616 hasta 16 de Mayo de 1618.^l

Año y medio ha que empeço esta guerra y es fuerça que la que tubo tan rigurosos y pensados principios, no aya de tener tan facil el dexo. Movieronse estos Yndios Tepehuanes a mudar religion por instinto y persuacion del Demonio y assi levantaron Ydolo, y se governaban por hechizeros, y para establecer mejor su nueva eleccion, no obstante que ellos son en mucha cantidad y corren muchas leguas, de la Nueva españa, por mayor seguridad trataron desde luego de convocar todas las otras naciones de la Governacion, y fueron tan astutos, y mañosos en hazer este movimiento que apenas ha quedado en toda la governacion (que tiene de distrito mas de 250 leguas a lo largo y casi otras tantas de trabesia) quien no aya entrado en el dicho alcámbiento.

Luego que sucedio se hizieron informaciones del caso y por ellas consto aver tres, o quatro años, que andaban amasando, lo que despues executaron el año de 1616 a los 15 de Noviembre, y fue su primer artificio querer dar a un mismo tiempo en todos Los puertos y pueblos de la Governacion y si Dios Nuestro Señor no les atajara este designio con la golosina de robar cantidad de ropa y mercancia, con que se encontraron

^k F. R. B., Sevilla, July 31, 1914.

^l A. G. I., 66-6-17.

that the five *alcaldías*²⁴ into which the province is divided should be combined into one *corregimiento* to be called by the name of the province. For each one of the *alcaldes*, with the designation of protector of the Indians and possessing the power of an *alcalde*, takes advantage, by virtue of his title of protector, of the labor of those poor Indians for his own traffic, at the same time neglecting the prosperity of your Majesty and the settlement of your land, notwithstanding each of them receives a salary of three hundred pesos from the royal treasury. If all these *alcaldías* were to be reduced to one *corregimiento*, God and your Majesty would be well served. The salary, which now amounts to 1500 pesos, might be reduced by one-third or whatever amount your Majesty might please; the land would be settled, and your Majesty's treasury would be increased, as has been the case in other provinces where the change proposed has been made. If your Majesty will reward the many services which the applicant has performed, those of his father-in-law and his forebears, he will receive, in addition to the pleasure of serving your Majesty as he does and will do throughout his life, an especial favor whereby the clemency of your Majesty will be resplendent.

(In case no action is taken, the suppliant asks and beseeches your Majesty to ask the viceroy and Audiencia of Mexico to submit a report concerning his usefulness and his services.)

A brief and succinct account of the events of the war with the Tepehuanes, government of Nueva Vizcaya, from November 15, 1616, to May 16, 1618.

It is now a year and a half since this war began, and it is perforce true that since it had such severe and deliberate beginnings it will not be easy to conclude. These Tepehuanes were induced to apostatize through instinct and the persuasion of the devil. They set up an idol; they were governed by wizards; and, in order better to establish their new project, although they are numerous and extend over many leagues of New Spain, they at once attempted, for greater security, to convoke all the other nations of that jurisdiction. They were so astute and clever in this movement that there scarcely remains in the entire government (which is almost 250 leagues long and nearly as wide) anyone who has not taken part in the uprising.

As soon as this occurred investigations were made of the situation, from which it appeared that for three or four years they had been formulating revolutionary plans, which afterwards they put into execution on November 15, 1616.²⁵ Their first scheme was to attack all the ports and towns of the government at the same time, and if God our Lord had not distracted them from this design by the prospect of stealing a quantity of clothing and merchandise which they came upon on the road to Topia, which served to give warning of the day set, there is no doubt but that the damage would have been irreparable. Indeed on various occasions and

camino de Topia, y fue parte para prevenir el día señalado, no ay duda sino que hubiera sido el daño irreparable, con todo eso, aunque en varios tiempos y días executaron muchas muertes, robos, y quemas de pueblos y por seis o siete meses se sustentaron en campaña acometiendo a todas partes, hasta que el Virrey de Nueva España pudo embiar socorro suficiente de algunos capitanes y soldados, que ayudaron a los de aca, y se ha militado contra ellos.

El Governador Don Gaspar de Albear luego que fue sabidor de tan gran movimiento sabiendo por informacion, que dello se hizo, que el principal intento de las Tepehuanes era destruyr la dicha villa de Guadiana cabeça de la Governacion, y para esto estaban unidos y concertados los Pueblos de Tepehuanes circumvezinos a la dicha villa; dio traça en como fuessen prevenidos, ganandoles el lance. Para lo qual disimulando la traça y con achaque de fortificar las casas Reales, hizo llamar a los Tepehuanes mas principales dellos, y antes que se declarassen, Lunes 21 de Noviembre 1616 considerando la gravedad del caso, llamo al factor Rafael de Gascue, el día antes nombrado por maestre de campo y lugarteniente de capitan General, para que como el mas experimentado con mucha maña prendiesse los Governadores, los Caciques, y principales de los Yndios lo qual hizo con mucha destreça y fueron 75, los mas belicosos, y todos confessaron ser verdad que el martes siguiente 22 de Noviembre avian de dar y asolar a Guadiana. La prission se acabo de hazer como a las seys de la tarde y los mas estaban en las casas Reales, unos en çepos, otros atados, y unos pocos en la carcel. Este día como a las nueve de la noche se toco un arma muy viva en Guadiana (Lugar de cien vezinos españoles) el alboroto fue terrible, por que entraron diziendo los que venian de fuera; entraban mas de dos mil Yndios de arco y flecha; Los pocos españoles que avia se previnieron y mataron casi todos los presos, que no quedaron vivos sino çinco o seys, que se ahorcaron otro día siguiente Martes a la hora que avian de executar su maldad: Murieron algunos como christianos confessando el rebellion general. Un Cacique llamado Don Marcos de los principales movedores del alçamiento de ninguna manera se quiso confesar y se arrojó el mismo de la horca. Pusieronse todos por los caminos y los demas Yndios se perdieron de animo y consejo y se huyeron todos a la Sierra. Con esto se remedio algo el peligro que amenaçaba a Guadiana y pudo el Governador salir a camppear, como lo hizo con el mayor numero de gente que pudo Juntar, aunque mal armados, Porque el ocio de la paz avia puesto en olvido las armas. Salio en 19 de Diciembre del dicho año dexando ahorcado antes una espia que se cogio en 27 de Noviembre el qual venia a reconocer la Villa y ver el estado que tenia para acometerla (otro día por la mañana 28) un esquadron de ochocientos Yndios a pie y catorce de a caballo, de que venia por capitan un Yndio llamado Pablo y se avian emboscado en el xaral, puesto oculto dos leguas de Guadiana con la muerte de su espia se deshizo su intento.

En 20 del dicho, antes de amanecer lleço el Governador a la estancia de la sauceda sin ser visto ni sentido de los Yndios enemigos, en la estancia que esta 9 leguas de Guadiana, estaba recogida mucha gente y fue acometida muchas vezes obstinadamente de los enemigos y a 21 creyendo no

days they committed many murders and robberies and burned villages; for six or seven months they kept the field, attacking in all directions, until finally the viceroy of New Spain ²⁶ was able to send sufficient assistance in the form of some captains and soldiers who aided those who were here. As a result the war has gone against them.

The governor, Don Gaspar de Albear,²⁷ as soon as he heard of so great a movement, learning by investigations which were made that the chief purpose of the Tepehuanes was to destroy the villa of Guadiana, capital of the jurisdiction, for which purpose the Tepehuane villages round about Guadiana were united and agreed, adopted a plan to forestall them, and thereby gained an advantage over them. In order to do this he concealed his design, and under pretext of fortifying the government buildings, had the principal Tepehuanes called together before they should declare the revolt. On Monday, November 21, 1616, in consideration of the seriousness of the situation, he called upon the factor, Rafael de Gascue, appointed on the preceding day *maestre de campo* and lieutenant-captain-general—he being the most experienced person available—to seize craftily the governors, caciques, and principal men of the Indians. This he did very cleverly, securing seventy-five of the most warlike ones, all of whom confessed that it was true that on the following Tuesday, November 22, they were to attack and destroy Guadiana. These Indians were apprehended at about six o'clock in the afternoon. Most of them were [placed] in the government buildings, some in stocks, others bound, while a few were [placed] in the jail.

About nine o'clock that evening a very loud alarm was sounded in Guadiana, a town of about one hundred Spanish settlers. The confusion was terrible, for those who came in from the outside said that more than 2000 Indians with bows and arrows were coming. The few Spaniards who were there took the forewarning and killed nearly all the prisoners, only five or six being left alive, and these were hanged the next day, Tuesday, at the hour appointed for their uprising. Some of them died as Christians, confessing the projected general uprising. One chief named Don Marcos, one of the principal leaders of the revolt, would by no means make a confession, and voluntarily sprang from the gallows. Their bodies were placed upon all the roads, and the remaining Indians lost courage and counsel, and fled to the mountains.

By this means the danger which threatened Guadiana was relieved somewhat, and the governor was enabled to take the field, which he did, with the largest number of men he could muster; these were poorly armed, because the idleness of peace had resulted in neglect of the weapons. He set out on December 19 of the same year, having first hung a spy who was caught on November 27, as he was coming to reconnoitre the villa and ascertain its condition in order that a troop of 800 Indians on foot and fourteen mounted, led by an Indian named Pablo, might attack it on the morning of the next day, the twenty-eighth. These Indians were in ambush at El Jaral, a secret rendezvous two leagues from Guadiana. However, upon the death of their spy they gave up the plan.

On the twentieth of the same month, before dawn, the governor reached the *estancia* of La Saucedá without being seen or his presence being

avia entrado en ella el Gobernador, venian a asolarla 800 Tepehuanes, viendolos asomar nuestra gente y creyendo que eran pocos salieron algunos dellos sin orden ni concierto, y los Yndios cautelosamente se fueron retirando a la sierra, adonde metieron a los españoles y tenian el grueso de su gente emboscada Peleose sin traça por lo dicho y los nuestros corrieron mucho riesgo, mataron un español llamado Herrera que se llevaron los Yndios sin poderlo remediar, y no se hecho menos hasta que faltó y fueron heridos otros siete u ocho españoles y los nuestros mataron 14 gandules sin muchos heridos, con que se desaparecieron por entonces los Tepehuanes.

Venian de todas partes malas nuevas de muertes, robos, e incendios, y en particular de Guanacebi el Real de minas mas importante deste Reyno de la Nueva Vizcaya que cae en el riñon de la Tepehuana, donde estaban los vezinos de aquel pueblo en grande riesgo, por la multitud de Yndios que con diabolicos asaltos les acometian muchas vezes pedia socorro con grande prissa, avisando que solos doce o trece dias se podian sustentar, por no tener vituallas, ni municiones de guerra. Entro el Gobernador en consejo con los Capitanes y soldados mas experimentados. Todos fueron de parecer embiasse socorro; mas que en ninguna manera convenia le llevasse el governador por el grande riesgo que corria su persona y gente Porque si le sucedia mal, como era evidencia por la poca gente que tenia, perdiendose el Gobernador Y soldados, se perderia el Reyno, mas considerando el Gobernador que si no yba el en persona, no hubiera quien llevara el Socorro, que era gran compasion que pereciessen 100 almas que estaban en Guanacebi en tan gran riesgo; resolviosse yr el proprio y dexaron de yr con el personas que hasta entonces avian tenido alguna opinion, dando muy leves disculpas para no yr de do se saco, que los que fueron fue por ver yr al Gobernador.

Salio de la Saucedá para yr a socorrer a san Juan del Rio, a las minas de Indehe, y a las de Guanacebi a 30 de Diziembre. Llego a san Juan a las nueve de la noche, el mismo dia, y dexo ocho soldados de guarnicion deste Pueblo salio a primero de Henero de 617 y llego a las minas de Indehe a 7 do recogio vituallas y ganados que llevar y las arinas que le truxo el Alcalde mayor de Santa Barbara con socorro de 100 Yndios Conchos.

Partio a 12 y llego a 15 a Guanacebi con el socorro de armas y municiones, rompiendo por medio de los enemigos, y hallo todo el pueblo recogido en la Yglessia y otras quatro casas del rededor y en el ultimo trance por que ya los enemigos avian quemado todo el lugar y los ingenios de sacar plata el sustento les avia ya faltado y comian los perros y gatos. Consololos el Gobernador a todos alabando su constancia y les dio 300 quintales de arina que les trahia, 600 Bacas Y 400 fanegas de maiz. Y dexandoles presidio de 25 soldados, polvora y municiones, partio la via de un pueblo llamado San Ygnacio, por otro nombre el çape cinco Leguas de Guanacebi, partido de los Religiosos de la compaña de Jesus, domingo 22 de Henero. Hallo quemada la Yglessia y casa, y desamparado todo el pueblo, y quatro Religiosos de la compaña flechados y muertos y con ellos otras cien personas. Dioselos entierro. De aqui tomo la buelta

known by the enemy. At this *estancia*, which is nine leagues from Guadiana, many people were gathered and these were many times attacked furiously by the enemy. On the twenty-first, 800 Tepehuanes, believing that the governor had not reached the *estancia*, came to pillage it. Our men on seeing them and thinking that they were few, went out to meet them without order or plan. The Indians for their part cautiously retired toward the mountains, where, having the bulk of their number in ambush, they attacked the Spaniards. As a result the fighting was without system and our men were subjected to considerable risk. A Spaniard named Herrera was killed; he was carried off by the Indians, there being no help for it, since he was not missed until some time after he was gone. Seven or eight other Spaniards were wounded. Our men killed fourteen of the vagabonds but did not wound many. With this, the Tepehuanes for the time being disappeared.

Bad news of murders, robberies, and incendiarisms came from all sides, especially from Guanacebi, the most important mining camp in the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, and situated in the centre of the Tepehuane country. There the citizens of that town were in great danger from the horde of Indians, who diabolically attacked them many times. These citizens asked for the most prompt assistance, announcing that they could hold out for only twelve or thirteen days, since they had no food or munitions of war. Whereupon the governor held a council of war with the captains and the most experienced soldiers, all of whom were of the opinion that help should be sent, but that under no circumstance should the governor take it to them on account of the risk he personally and his people would run; for, if he should have misfortune, as was likely on account of the few men which he had, and the governor and his soldiers should be lost, the kingdom itself would be lost. But the governor, realizing that if he did not go in person there would be no one to take the assistance, and that it was a great pity that one hundred persons in Guanacebi, in such great danger, should perish, resolved, quite properly, to go himself. And some persons, who until then had held an opposite opinion and who had given weak excuses for not going, no longer opposed accompanying him. It therefore turned out that those who went did so because they saw that the governor was going.

He set out from La Saucedá on December 30 to go to succor San Juan del Río, the mines of Indehe [Indé?], and those of Guanacebi. He arrived at San Juan at nine o'clock on the night of the same day. Leaving eight soldiers to garrison this town, he set out on January 1, 1617, and arrived at the mines of Indehe [Indé?] on January 7. There he collected victuals and cattle to take along, and flour which the *alcalde mayor* of Santa Bárbara, with the help of 100 Conchos Indians, brought to him.

He set out [from the mines of Indehe] on the twelfth and reached Guanacebi on the fifteenth with the arms and ammunition. Cutting his way through the midst of the enemy he found all of the people assembled in the church and in four adjacent houses in the last stage of resistance, for the enemy had already burned all the place and the equipment for taking out silver. Their provisions had failed, and they were eating the dogs and cats. The governor comforted them all, praising them for their

de Santa Catalina, de Santiago Papasquaro y otros Pueblos, donde hallo otros quatro Religiosos de la compaña muertos, un fraile de San Francisco y atras avian dexado otro de santo Domingo y Junto con ellos otros muchos cuerpos de difuntos que pasarian de 160, en estos caminos tubo varios encuentros con diferentes Yndios.

Junto a Santa Catalina en 12 de Hebrero le salieron a acometer al Governador y su gente gran suma de Tepehuanes. No se pudo saber al cierto que tantos serian, mas vinieron acometiendo, creyendo ser los nuestros los vezinos de Guanacebi, que despoblaban y yban huyendo. Luego salieron desta duda en ver el brio con que los nuestros acometieron, aunque pocos, que no eran mas de 30 soldados. Mataron 13 gandules y se cogio uno vino llamado Andres Lopez, el qual dixo donde estaba parte de la gente del enemigo retirada y hecha fuerte, que era un lugar llamado Tenerapa, Huyeron los Yndios por las Serranias muy proposito para estos Lances. Este dia camino y llego al Pueblo de Atotonilco, como a las nueve de la noche y llamo a consejo a los capitanes y les dixo como ya sabian por el dicho del Yndio Andres, como estaba el enemigo fortificado en Tenerapa, y que seria bien caminar aquella noche y darles albazo antes que tubiesen nueva de su venida. Todos dixeron que no era posible caminar aquella noche dies leguas que avia de alli a Tenerapa, y las sierras dificultosas de andar y que demas de aver peleado la gente aquel dia, avian caminado seis leguas y quando esto no fuera y estuvieran descansados no avia noche para caminar dies leguas para que eran por lo menos menester doce horas de tiempo. A estas dificultades añadieron otras muchas y no embargante todo esto se resolvió el Governador a que se caminasse luego tomando antes algun refresco y assi partio aquel dia caminando sobre seis leguas otras dies de prolixo y aspero camino no podian las cabalgaduras dar paso de media noche abaxo y los Yndios amigos yban floxos cansados y con poco haliento, a todos los animo el Governador hasta la mañana, mas de un hora salido el sol que se puso a vista de Tenerapa lugar fuerte por el sitio y dificultoso de caminar por el fueron sentidos de un Yndio, que toco arma y hubose de acometer y los nuestros lo hizieron con tan buen brio que españoles y Yndios amigos no parecia aver caminado media legua. Duro la batalla como una hora hasta que los enemigos huyeron; mataronse 60 Tepehuanes y fue la presa entre mugeres y muchachos de 220 personas que se truxeron en Collera en 4 de Março a Guadiana.

Quedo en este interim a cargo del Teniente de General Rafael de Gascue el gobierno de las cosas de guerra deste Reyno y la defensa de Guadiana, que la defendio muy bien; quatro o cinco dias salido el Governador della consideraron los Tepehuanes quedaba muy solo en el lugar, por aver salido de el, con casi toda la gente, hizieron una Junta de 200 Yndios dellos numero que les parecia sufficiente para ganar el pueblo y asolarlo y se venian con gran secreto a meter en un lugar llamado el Tunal una legua de esta villa. Tubo aviso dello el Teniente de General y no quiso aguardarlos en poblado, y embio en su busca al Capitan Gonçalo Martin de Soria con 15 compañeros con el orden que avia de guardar, caminaron media noche rodeando quatro leguas por cogerles las espaldas y al amanecer les acometieron con brio a 60 Yndios que venian delante

endurance, and gave them 300 quintals of flour which he had brought them, 600 cows, and 400 fanegas of corn. Leaving them a presidio with twenty-five soldiers, powder, and munitions, he set out on Sunday, January 22, for a town named San Ignacio, otherwise known as El Zape, five leagues from Guanacebi and in the district assigned to the religious of the Company of Jesus. He found the church and [parish] house burnt, the town deserted, four religious of the Company [of Jesus] shot with arrows and dead, and one hundred other persons with them, whom he buried. From here he returned by way of Santa Catalina, Santiago Papasquiaro, and other towns, where he found dead four other religious of the Company [of Jesus], one Franciscan friar, and another friar of the Dominican order whom he had left behind; in addition many other corpses numbering over 160 were found. On these roads he had frequent encounters with various Indians.

Near Santa Catalina on February 12 there came out to attack the governor and his men a great number of Tepehuanes. It was not possible to know for certain how many there were, but they advanced to attack, thinking that our men were the settlers of Guanacebi who were deserting the town and fleeing. They were quickly disillusioned when they saw the spirit with which our men—although few, there being not more than thirty soldiers—made the attack. Our men killed thirteen of the vagabonds and captured one alive named Andrés López, who told where part of the enemy forces were concealed in a stronghold, at a place named Tenerapa. The Indians fled through the hills, which gave admirable opportunity for flight.

This day the governor marched and reached the town of Atotonilco at about nine o'clock at night. Here he called a council of the captains and told them, as they already knew from the above-mentioned Indian, Andrés, that the enemy was fortified in Tenerapa, and that it would be well to march that night and surprise them at dawn before they should have news of his coming. All said that it was not possible that night to march the ten leagues from that point to Tenerapa, over mountains difficult to traverse, and that in addition to having fought the Indians that day they had marched six leagues, and that if this had not been the case and they had been rested, the night would not be long enough to march ten leagues, which would require at least twelve hours. To all these difficulties they added many others, but in spite of them all the governor decided to set out at once after some light refreshment. He therefore set forth the same day, going in addition to the six leagues another ten, over intricate, rough roads, on which the pack animals could make no headway after midnight, and the Indian allies moved slowly, being tired and having little spirit. But the governor encouraged them all until morning, when, about an hour after sunrise, they caught sight of Tenerapa, which is in a very strong natural location. The road to it being difficult, they were detected upon it by an Indian who sounded the alarm, so that it was necessary to make the attack at once. This our forces did with such spirit that it was as though the Spaniards and Indian allies alike had not travelled half a league. The battle lasted about an hour before the enemy

descubriendo y reconociendo. De los primeros pelotazos cayeron dos capitanejos, que los venian sargenteando, con que les dio tanto miedo que todos volvieron huyendo, perniquebrandose muchos que se despeñaron. Truxeron las manos derechas a Guadiana y fueron bien recibidas, por averse con esto librado del riesgo que la amenazaba.

A 4 de Março, como esta dicho, llego la presa a Guadiana y otro dia a 5 del dicho puso su Real como una legua distante en un parage que llaman de Pacheco. Sentencio la presa y repartiola. Aqui dio orden de lo que los otros capitanes avian de hazer en las demas partes de la governacion, donde se avian declarado los alçados. Ordeno al capitan Bartolome Xuarez, Capitan del presidio de San Hipolito, en los Xiximes, que saliesse a Campaña y tomasse la via de los Pueblos Tepehuanes que caen al poniente de Guadiana, salio luego en cumplimiento desta orden y tubo algunas buenas suertes contra los Tepehuanes, matando y prendiendo cantidad dellos, y dexando castigados algunos de los Pueblos de los xiximes por averse alçado y confederado con ellos.

Embio orden al capitan de Cinaloa Domingo Martinez de Urdaide, que dista de Guadiana 150 leguas, para que dexando puesto buen recaudo en aquellas Provincias saliesse a tomar el rostro a los Tepehuanes, cuya serrania se esta mirando con Cinaloa por la parte del Poniente, empeço a poner en efecto esta orden el dicho Capitan y fue tan conocida la turbacion de los Yndios de Cinaloa particularmente de los Pueblos vezinos a Tepehuanes, que hubo de tomar acuerdo en contrario y quedarse aguardar aquello que esta a su cargo. Todavia hizo Justicia el dicho Capitan de mas de 60 cabeças, y aunque muchos de aquellos Yndios se han declarado y acometido a nuestros pueblos, ha sido con poco daño, por hallarnos prevenidos.

En este tiempo avia saltado el fuego en algunos Pueblos del mar del Sur pertenecientes al gobierno de la audiencia de Guadalajara y tenido aviso y demanda de la dicha audiencia, en que se le pedia al Governador socorro, no se quiso fiar de otro que de si mismo, y assi aprestandose por Março de 617 para esta Jornada con razonable numero de soldados españoles y algunos Yndios amigos, partio a 22 del dicho mes, encaminose primeramente a Chiametla por quietar de camino aquella Provincia donde tambien se avian alçado muchos Pueblos fue menester poner mucha diligencia para buscarlos principalmente a los Yndios que llaman del Rincon de Zamora por ayudarles mucho la fragosidad de la tierra y ser necessario baxar casi a gatas parte del camino y parte descolgandose con sogas sin poder entrar bestias, ni aun hombres del todo armados: al fin aunque con trabajo grande recabo el Governador la pacificacion de aquellas gentes. Desde alli fue a los Pueblos de la Galicia y socorrio el presidio de Acaponeta que le avian quemado el lugar y ahuyento a los enemigos de modo que en virtud desta Jornada se asseguro aquella tierra y el effecto lo ha mostrado, pues despues aca no ha avido rumor de enemigos y la audiencia de Guadalajara hizo por ello muy grandes gracias al Governador y volvio de chiametla a Guadiana de ai a cinco meses largos. Tambien el factor Rafael de Gascue no se descuido en solicitar el socorro que se pedia al Virrey de la Nueva España, antes fue en persona a la ciudad de Mexico,

fled. Sixty Tepehuanes were killed, and the prisoners, including women and boys, numbered 220 persons. These were taken, chained together, to Guadiana on March 4.

Meanwhile, the affairs of war of the kingdom and the defense of Guadiana remained in charge of the lieutenant-general, Rafael de Gascue, who defended the place very well. Four or five days after the governor had left Guadiana the Tepehuanes considered that the lieutenant-general was practically alone in the place because the governor had gone away with almost all the men. They therefore convoked some 200 Indians, a number which they thought would be sufficient to take the place and destroy it. So they came with great secrecy to a place called El Tunal, about a league from this villa. The lieutenant-general heard of this and not wishing to await them in the settlement, sent in search of them Captain Gonzalo Martín de Soria with fifteen companions, with the orders which they were to follow. They marched half the night, going around four leagues in order to come upon them from behind, and at dawn attacked with spirit some sixty Indians who were going in advance, reconnoitring. At the first shots two of their captains who were leading them fell, which filled the others with so much fear that they turned about and fled, many of them breaking their legs as they fell down the rocks. Their right hands were brought to Guadiana, where the soldiers were very well received, since the victory had relieved the town from the danger which threatened it.

On March 4, as has been said, the prisoners arrived at Guadiana, and on the next day, the fifth, their camp was placed about a league distant at a place which they call Pacheco. The prisoners were sentenced and apportioned. Here orders were given concerning what the other captains had to do in the other parts of the government, where revolts had been declared. Captain Bartolomé Juárez, captain of the presidio of San Hipólito, among the Xiximes, was ordered to go on a campaign by way of the Tepehuane towns to the west of Guadiana. He set out at once in compliance with this order, and had some successful encounters with the Tepehuanes, killing and capturing a number of them, and punishing some of the towns of the Xiximes for having revolted and confederated themselves with the Tepehuanes.

An order was sent to Diego Martínez de Urdaide,²⁸ the captain of Sinaloa, 150 leagues from Guadiana, to leave a strong detachment in those provinces and go out to meet the Tepehuanes whose mountain range overlooks Sinaloa on the west. The said captain began to put this order into effect, but the disturbance of the Indians of Sinaloa was so evident, particularly among the towns neighboring upon the Tepehuanes, that he had to take contrary counsel and await developments in the territory which was under his charge. Still, this captain executed justice on more than sixty persons, and although many of those Indians have declared war and attacked our towns, the damage has been slight, because we were well forewarned.

During this time the fire of revolt had sprung up in some of the towns along the South Sea belonging to the government of the Audiencia of Guadalajara.²⁹ Being advised of this, and requested by the audiencia to

y trato que se conduxessen algunas compañías Porque la gente que luego embio el virrey desde Zacatecas y San Luis no era bastante ni con ellas se podia seguir todo lo que estaba alçado. Llego el sobredicho socorro, que fue de tres compañías pagadas por ocho meses, de que vino por cavo y comissario dellas el dicho fator Teniente de General en 22 de Setiembre a Guadiana, do ya el Governador le esperaba y le distribuyo a los tres capitanes y a los demas que avia por donde mas convino.

En esta saçon ya los enemigos, que hasta alli campeaban libremente se yban retirando y se vino a entender que estaban repartidas y avnados^m en seis congregaciones o Juntas distantes muchas leguas unas de otras de modo que venian a abraçar toda la governacion, mezclados los Tepehuanes con otras muchas naciones.

Al Capitan Bartolome Xuarez se le ordeno que tomasse a su cargo la conquista del Mesquital y Guaçamota y sus aliados, ha seis meses que trabaxa en ella y ha tenido tres o quatro guaçabaras con los Yndios naturales de alli, en que le fue bien matando algunos. y ahorco doçe dia de Nuestra Señora de diciembre de 1617. Aunque la ultima nueva que del se tubo fue pidiendo socorro por decir que cargaban muchos enemigos; con todo se sabe que el Cacique mas principal, que se dize el Nayarita Gentil trataba de amistad y que esto estaba En buen puento y que sera parte que sus vezinos se vengan a componer.

Los Capitanes Hontiveros, Castañeda, y Aguirre an seguido la derrota de Santa Barbara, assimismo con buen suceso, de muerte y prision de muchos, y reduccion de algunos Pueblos, que tenian pervertidos los Tepehuanes y al presente han entrado al Valle que llaman de San Pablo, donde se sabe que se an retirado muchos.

El Capitan Montañõ se ha encaminado la via de Guanaiebiⁿ acia la quebrada que llaman del Diablo y a Tecuchiapa, donde mucha parte de los principales culpados se han acogido; no dexara de hazer buena hazienda, porque en otras dos o tres ocasiones ha tenido buena fortuna con los enemigos.

El Capitan Mosquera ha tenido contra los Yndios que llaman Salineros y contra otras dos naciones Conchos Tobosos y Noñoques, ha hecho dos buenas presas en ellos, Justiciando algunos y reduciendo a otros.

El Governador assistio tres o quatro meses en la cabeçera de su gobierno que es Guadiana disponiendo las cosas de la guerra en la forma dicha y porque uno de los mas belicosos Capitanes de los Tepehuanes llamado Gogojito despues de haver hecho muchos asaltos y grandes estragos en los Ganados de la tierra, se avia puesto en cobro 40 leguas de Guadiana, y se tenia por cierto que desde alli yba muñendo nuevos tratos para revolver a su tiempo, dio traça que los Capitanes Soria y Tomas Garcia despues de algunas buenas suertes que avian tenido por aca, reconociessen los puertos, cumplieron con esta orden y llegados que fueron al parage, donde el dicho Gogojito y su gente se avian empeñolado, y haziendo su quenta despues de aver tanteado el negocio hallaron que seria necessaria mas fuerça para poder surtir algun efecto con aquella gente, que la que

^m This is obviously a miscopy for "armados".

ⁿ Evidently a miscopy for "Guanacebi".

furnish help, the governor declined to place confidence in anyone save himself; therefore, making preparations during March, 1617, for this journey with a fair number of Spanish soldiers and some Indian allies, he set out on the twenty-second of the same month. He first went to Chiametla⁸⁰ to pacify that province on the way, for in it there had also been many towns which had revolted. It was necessary to exercise great diligence in finding the Indians, particularly those of the place called El Rincón de Zamora, because the natives were favored greatly by the roughness of the land, it being necessary to go down almost on all fours over part of the road, in places even using ropes to let themselves down into places where the animals could not enter, nor even men completely armed. Finally, although with great labor, the governor accomplished the pacification of those people. From there he went to the towns of [Nueva] Galicia, and gave assistance to the presidio of Acaponeta, where the Indians had burned the village, and drove the enemy away. As a result of this journey, the peace of that land was assured, as has been demonstrated, for since that time there has been no rumor of enemies. The Audiencia of Guadalajara thanked the governor profusely for this, and he returned from Chiametla to Guadiana, whence he had gone some five months before. Neither did the factor, Rafael de Gascue, neglect to urge the aid which was asked for from the viceroy of New Spain; on the contrary he went in person to the city of Mexico and arranged to have some companies brought, for the men whom the viceroy finally sent from Zacatecas and San Luis were not sufficient for the pursuit of the entire forces of the insurgents. This assistance, consisting of three companies, paid for eight months, their leader and commissary being the factor and lieutenant of the general, on September 22 reached Guadiana, where the governor was already awaiting it. The governor distributed the three captains and the rest of the men where they would serve the best purpose.

At this time the enemy, who until now had been campaigning extensively, began to retire. It was learned that they had separated into six armed congregations or groups, many leagues distant each from the other, so that they had come to embrace the entire government, the Tepehuanes having mingled with many other nations.

Captain Bartolomé Juárez was ordered to take charge of the conquest of the Mesquital, the Guazamota, and their allies. He has been engaged in this task for six months, and has had three or four brushes with the natives of those parts in which he was successful, killing a few. On the day of Our Lady[']s Conception] in December, 1617,^{80a} he hanged twelve of them. Although the latest news of him was a plea for help, saying that the enemy was pressing him seriously, nevertheless it is known that the principal cacique, called the Nayarit Gentile, was treating for friendship which was by way of being achieved, and that he was a person with whom his neighbors would be likely to act in concert.

Captains Ontiveros, Castañeda, and Aguirre have worked toward Santa Bárbara, also with success, killing and imprisoning many, and reducing some towns which had been perverted by the Tepehuanes, who have now entered the valley called San Pablo, whither it is known that many of them have retired.

llevaban y assi solo pudieron matar quatro o cinco de los enemigos y aver a las manos un negrilla que se avia ydo a ellos. Con este dieron la buelta a Guadiana y el Governador se vio obligado a tomar esta Jornada por suya y saliendo a ella por principio de Febrero de este año de 618 dentro de 15 dias de su salida caminando ya en cercanias de aquel parage de noche y emboscandose de dia vino a caer el Tepehuan Gogojito en sus manos, y pago con la muerte tantos desafueros como avia hecho. Con el murieron algunos otros y dos primos suyos. Y el golpe de su gente que estaba empeñolada algo distante de alli, se pudo poner en fuga. Siguio el Governador el alcance y aunque fue sin effecto quanto a los Tepehuanes desta parcialidad; pero fue lo muy copioso y en caso de mucha consideracion, Porque movidos con la muerte de Gogojito Los Xiximes y Aca-gees y otros Pueblos de naciones diferentes, que caian en aquella comarca, se vinieron a rendir al Governador y assi: dexo asentados de paz a los xiximes alçados y a los otros pueblos que los favorecian, con lo qual ha recebido toda la governacion muy grande alegria y esperanza que lo demas se ha de facilitar en adelante. No llevo el Governador y su gente bastimento para mas de 25 dias, y aviendo tardado mas de 70 paso grande hambre y penuria el campo, que mas de 40 dias no se comio sino carne de caballos y de mulas. Baxo por las valles de Papasquiario, Guatimape, Terame, hechando quatro esquadras de gente por diferentes partes an corrido la tierra y hecho algunas presas de importancia en particular Junto a un puesto llamado Sombrerete, do se ahorcaron 6 Tepehuanes viejos. y otros de menos edad Se truxeron presos en el Valle de San Julian se mataron cinco Yndios de Coneto, que avian muerto dos negros Pastores poco avia Junto a San Juan del Rio.

De oy mas pretende el Governador presidiar la tierra y asegurar los caminos con escoltas, y que anden dos compañías para lo que fuere menester y con esto ahorrar de gasto a su Magestad y acomodar las cosas en forma conveniente.

Despues aca an venido de paz quatro o cinco Pueblos y un Yndio Llamado Rafael movido de la muerte de Gogojito y particularmente por aver visto el grande estrago que un animal del talle de Un tigre avia hecho de algunos meses aca en un pueblo vezino a Guadiana, pidiendo misericordia con un cristo en las manos fue bien recebido, y ha offrecido yr a traher de paz algunos otros de los alçados dexando en rehenes a su muger y hijos. Fue y truxo algunos Caciques de diferentes pueblos y offrecen asentarse de paz.

Este es el discurso que ha llevado La guerra y el estado que al presente tiene hasta 16 de Mayo de 1618.

Captain Montañó took the road toward Guanacebi, in the direction of the pass called El Diablo, and toward Tecuchiapa, in which place many of the principal offenders have taken refuge. He will not fail to do a good job, because he has on two or three other occasions had good fortune with the enemy.

Captain Mosquera has operated against the Indians called Salineros and two other nations, the Conchos Tobosos and the Noñoques. He has effected two important captures among them, executing justice upon some and reducing others.

The governor remained three or four months at the seat of his government, Guadiana, arranging the affairs of the war in the manner described. But inasmuch as one of the most warlike captains of the Tepehuanes, Gogojito³¹ by name, after committing many assaults and making great ravages on the herds of the country, had gone into hiding forty leagues from Guadiana, and inasmuch as it was considered certain that he was there conducting negotiations to return when he thought wise, the governor planned that Captains Soria and Tomás García, after some successful actions in which they had engaged near here, should reconnoitre the passes. They complied with the order, and when they reached the place where Gogojito and his people had ensconced themselves among the rocks, they judged, after having made a reconnaissance and compared notes, that it would be necessary to have a larger force than what they had before they could obtain any success against the Indians. They were, then, able to kill only four or five of the enemy and to catch a little negro who had gone with them. They therefore returned to Guadiana, whereupon the governor was forced to take this task upon himself.

Setting out upon this task early in February of this year, 1618, by marching at night after he had reached the vicinity of his destination and going into ambush during the daytime, he brought it about within fifteen days after his departure that the Tepehuan Gogojito fell into his hands, and atoned with his death for all the outrages which he had committed. With him died some others, among them two of his cousins. His people, who were fortified among the rocks at a little distance from there, were able to take refuge in flight. The governor pursued them, although without effect as far as this body of Tepehuanes was concerned. Yet his labor was very fruitful and of considerable importance, for, influenced by the death of Gogojito, the Xiximes, Acaxees, and other towns belonging to various nations living within that district, came to surrender to the governor. Thus he left the Xiximes who had revolted, at peace, as well as some other towns which had favored them. The entire government has been made very joyful by all this, and by the hope that the remaining situation will be easily adjusted in the future. The governor and his men carried provisions for only twenty-five days, hence, having been out more than seventy days, they suffered from great hunger and hardships, as they had nothing to eat for forty days besides horse and mule flesh. He came down by way of the valleys of Papasquiario, Guatimape, and Terame, dividing his troops into four parts, which have examined the country and made some captures of importance. In particular, near a place called Sombrerete, they hanged six old Tepehuanes; others of less age they took

Provision Real Y Conducta de capitan de Ynfanteria de La ciudad de Guadalaxara al Cappitan Geronimo Velasquez davilas.^o [1621.]

Don Felipe Por la gracia de Dios Rey de Castilla de Leon, etc. . . . Por quanto en el libro sexto De la rrecopilacion Titulo sexto ley primera Capitulo primero y diez En la segunda parte della tengo mandado que en todos los lugares que tubieren mas de cien vecinos se haga alarde dos beces en el año y en la dicha ley se da el horden forma y manera que en esto sea de guardar sobre la dicha rraçon, la qual vista por el dicho Don Pedro de Ojalora mi governador del mi nuevo Reyno de la Galicia y presidente de mi Real audienciã que en el rreside y atento a aber tenido algunas nuebas da aber alteraciones entre los yndios de la mi nueva Biscaya y que esta Ciudad de Guadalaxara este con la prebencion necesaria por el Cuydado que se puede tener de los yndios chichimecos que cerca della rresiden y para conservacion de la paz y que este la dicha Ciudad con prebencion assi para su guardia y custodia como para socorrer las partes que siendo necesario hubieren menester socorro Como cabeça del dicho mi nuevo Reyno De la galicia En conformidad de las dichas Leyes y que Conbendra hacer alarde y rreseña de la gente y armas que en la dicha ciudad hay Se acordo ser necesario nonbrar un cappitan debajo de cuya

^o A. G. I., 67-1-4. [*On the outer page is the following:*] Geronimo Velasquez davila, Cappitan de ynfanteria Española, Veszino de la ciudad de guadalaxara en la nueba españa. So. Juan Ruisz de Contreras.

Alonso Rer. Carbebal, Supplica A Vuestra magestad Le mande dar Una su Real cedula de Recomendacion, para que el Virrey, y demas ministros de Justicia, y de guerra, que oy son, y adelante fueren, le ocupen, en los Cargos, que merece, guardandole los honores, para lo qual ynterpone, servicios de diez y ocho años, de Cappitan de ynfanteria española, ayudante de Sargento mayor, Alcalde mayor, Corregidor, y actualmente Lo es Alcalde ordinario, y Cappitan, de la ciudad de Guadalaxara, etc.

prisoners. In the valley of San Julián they killed five Indians of Coneto who a short time previously had killed two negro shepherds near San Juan del Río.

From this time the governor expects to hold the territory by presidios and to protect the roads by escorts, two companies being kept in service for whatever may be necessary. By this means he will save expense to his Majesty and accommodate affairs in the most convenient manner.

Recently four or five towns have come asking peace. One Indian named Rafael, moved by the death of Gogojito, and especially by having seen the great damage done by an animal of the size of a tiger some months ago in a town near Guadiana, came pleading for mercy with a crucifix in his hands. He was well received, and offered to go and bring back in peace some of the insurgents, leaving as hostages his wife and sons. He went, and brought back some chiefs of various towns, who offer to settle down peacefully.

This is the course which the war had run, and the state in which it is at present, May 16, 1618.

Royal writ and commission to Captain Jerónimo Velásquez Dávila as captain of infantry of the city of Guadalajara. [1621.]*

Don Felipe,³² by the grace of God king of Castile and León, . . . Inasmuch as in the *Recopilacion*,³³ book 6, title 6, law 1, chapters 1 and 10, second part, I have ordered that in all the places having more than one hundred residents a muster shall be made twice a year, and in the said law is given the order, form, and manner that is to be observed in the said registration, this being borne in mind by the licentiate Don Pedro de Otalora,³⁴ my governor of my new kingdom of Galicia, and president of my audiencia which has its seat there, in view of having had news of disturbances among the Indians of my Nueva Vizcaya, and in order that this city of Guadalajara may have the necessary means for the precaution that may be taken against the Chichimecos Indians who live near there, and for the preservation of peace, and that the said city may be prepared not only for its own guard and care, but also to succor the places which in case of necessity have need of help from it as the capital of my said new kingdom of Galicia, in conformity with the said laws, and because it was desirable to have a muster and review of the people and arms in the said city, it was agreed that it was necessary to appoint a

* [On the outer page is the following:] Jerónimo Velásquez Dávila, captain of Spanish infantry and resident of the City of Guadalajara, in New Spain. Secretary (?) Juan Ruíz de Contreras.

Alonso Rer. (?) Carbebal begs your Majesty to order that he be given your royal decree of recommendation that the viceroy, and the other ministers of justice and war, who are now and in the future may be [in office], shall appoint him to the offices that he deserves, securing to him the honors, for which he presents the services of eighteen years, as captain of Spanish infantry, adjutant *sargento mayor*, *alcalde mayor*, *corregidor*, and the service that he is now giving as *alcalde ordinario* and captain of the city of Guadalajara.

bandera se alisten todos los Vecinos y moradores estantes y abitantes En la dicha ciudad de Guadalajara y para acudir a todo que conbenga a mi Real servicio y que esta sea persona pratica y de Ciencia y experiencia en las cosas de Guerra y por que en la de vos El Cappitan Geronimo Belasz de Abila mi alcalde hordinario de la dicha ciudad Concurren las partes y calidades que se rrequieren para el dicho efeto ya que abeis sido tal mi Cappitan Otra bez en la ocasion de el alçamiento de los yndios Tepehuares^p por el año passado de mill y seiscientos y diez y siete por nonbramiento que en vos hiço El doctor alonso peresz Merchan mi Presidente y Gobernador de el dicho ni nuevo Reyno de la Galicia En cuyo conformidad lo Usastis En la dicha Ciudad de Guadalajara y atendiendo asimismo lo que me abeis servido En diferentes ocasiones Como fue en el asalto de las fortalezas de el maluco Para cuya empresa Venistes de mis Reynos de Castilla con el maese de Campo Joan de esquibel y acabada esta ocasion donde Como dicho es os hallastes Con licencia que tubistes de mi gobernador don Pedro de Acuña y mi Real Audiencia que esta Y rreside en las dichas yslas philipinas bolbistes a mis Reynos de la nueva España Donde fuystes probeydo Por sargento de Una Conpañia que se arbolo para la habana y despues bolbistes a las dichas yslas filipinas Por sargento de el cappitan Don diego de miranda y llegado a la ciudad de manila serbistes en las ocasiones que se ofrecieron yendo de socorro segunda bez Por alferez de el capitan Alonso de Palma Almirante de la Armada y dicho socorro y tercera bez a las dichas yslas bolbistes de socorro con el gobernador don Juan de silba donde me serbistes en lo que os fue ordenado y benistes Por ayudante de sargento mayor de las navios que el dicho mi governador Don Joan de silba despacho para la dicha nueba españa El año de mill y seiscientos y once y fuystes probeydo Por me alcalde mayor de las minas del Macapil y Cappitan de ynfanteria En el presidio de acaponeta y asimismo fuystes probeydo Por mi alcalde mayor de la ciudad y probincia de Conpostela Donde estando me sirbiendo por horden y comision que para ello el dicho mi presidente y gobernador os embio fuistes a el socorro y abio de Una navio que benia de las dichas yslas filipinas El año pasado de mill y seiscientos y Veinte y lleo derrotada a el puerto de Tinto que es de donde Con vuestra ynteligencia Cuydado y solicitud salio y paso a el puerto de acapulco para donde venia dirigida y despues de esto Ultimamente por otra Comision que el dicho mi presidente y gobernador os dio Fuystes por mi Justicia mayor de las minas y Reales de hostotipaque llebandola asimesmo de Juez de rresidencia para tomarla a Don gregorio Belasz de mediano^q que acababa de ser mi alcalde mayor en aquellas minas de todo lo qual distes buena y loable quenta como es notorio y esperando que lo Continuareis y llebareis adelante el dicho mi presidente y Gobernador acordo que os debia de proveer a nombrar Como por la presente os probeo Elixo y nombro por tal capitan para el dicho efeto En la dicha ciudad de Guadalajara para que como tal Useis y exerçais El dicho oficio en todos los casos y cosas a el pertenecientes Arbolando Bandera y Haciendo tocar

^p Obviously a miscopy for "Tepehuanes".

^q This is probably a miscopy for "medrano".

captain under whose banner all the citizens, residents, settlers, and inhabitants in the said city of Guadalajara might enlist to take part in all that conduces to my royal service, and that he should be a practised person of knowledge and experience in military affairs.

And since, in your person, Captain Jerónimo Velásquez de Ávila,³⁵ my *alcalde ordinario* of the said city, are united the parts and qualifications that are required for the said purpose, you having already been my captain once before on the occasion of the uprising of the Tepehuanes Indians³⁶ in the previous year of 1617 through the appointment given you by Doctor Alonso Pérez Merchán,³⁷ my president and governor of the said new kingdom of Galicia, in accordance with which you practised it in the said city of Guadalajara, and, bearing in mind also how you have served me on different occasions, as for instance in the assault on the fortresses of El Maluco,³⁸ for which undertaking you came from my kingdoms of Castile with the *maese de campo*, Juan de Esquibél, and this having finished this work, in which, as has been said, you were engaged under license from my governor Don Pedro de Acuña³⁹ and my royal audiencia, which has its seat in the said Philippine Islands, you returned to my kingdoms of New Spain, where you were appointed sergeant of a company which was raised for Havana. Afterwards you returned to the said Philippine Islands as sergeant for Captain Don Diego de Miranda, and, having arrived at the city of Manila, you served on the occasions that came up, going on a relief expedition a second time as *alférez* for Captain Alonso de Palma, admiral of the fleet and of the said relief. And a third time you returned to the said islands on relief with Governor Don Juan de Silva,⁴⁰ where you served me in whatever you were ordered to do. You returned as adjutant *sargento mayor* of the ships which my said governor, Don Juan de Silva, despatched to the said New Spain in the year 1611; you were appointed by me *alcalde mayor* of the mines of Mazapil and captain of infantry at the presidio of Acaponeta;⁴¹ and you were also appointed by me *alcalde mayor* of the city and province of Compostela,⁴² where, while you were serving me by the order and commission which my said governor and president sent you for, you went to the aid and relief of a ship which was coming from the said Philippine Islands in the past year, 1620, and was driven into the port of Tinto, from where, through your knowledge, care, and solicitude, she came out and proceeded to the port of Acapulco, to which she was bound. After this, finally, by another commission which my said president and governor gave you, you went as my chief justice of the mines and camps of Hostotipaque, carrying also a commission as *juez de residencia* in order to conduct the residencia of Don Gregorio Velásquez de Medrano, who was just finishing his term as my *alcalde mayor* in those mines. In all of the above you gave good and praiseworthy account, as is well known. Hoping, therefore, that you will continue it in the future, my said president and governor resolved that measures ought to be taken to name you, as by these presents I do appoint, select, and name you, to the said captaincy, for the said purpose, in the said city of Guadalajara, so that, as such, you may use and exercise the said office in all the cases and affairs

caxa y Pifano y nombrando los oficiales que os pertenescan nombrar todo bien y Cumplidamente Sin que os falte cosa alguna que para lo poder exercer y usar os doy poder y facultad En forma qual de derecho se requiere y mando que todas las personas de la dicha ciudad de Guadalajara Vecinos y moradores estantes y abitantes en ella os ayan y tengan Por tal Capitan y acudan a Vuestros llamamientos hordenes listas y mandamientos y os guarden y hagan guardar todas las gracias Exenciones, Preeminencias y libertades que por la rrazon de el dicho officio os deben ser guardadas bien y cumplidamente fecho en la ciudad de Guadalajara a diesz y siete dias del mes de abril de mil y seiscientos y Veinte y Un años.
El Licenciado DON PEDRO DE OTALORA.

E yo FRANZISCO DE CERBANTES escribano de camara y gobernacion de la Real audiencia del nuevo Reyno de la Galicia Por el Rey nuestro Señor La fice escribir Por mandado de su presidente y gobernador Registrada El Bachiller FRANZISCO COSTILLA Y ESPINOSA chanciller.^r

Papeles del Almirante Matheo de Vesga. [Gobernador y capitan general de la provincia de Nueva Vizcaya. 14 de Diciembre de 1620 hasta 19 de Mayo de 1622.]*

En la Villa de Durango en Veintte y ocho dias del mes de Abril de mill y seyscientos Y Veyntte y dos años El Señor Almirantte mattheo de Besga Governador Y Cappitan General deste Reyno Y Provincias de la nueba Vizcaya Chiamettla Copala Y sinaloa Y sus Provincias Por su Magestad dixo que para que Conste a Su Magestad Y Señores Presidentte Y oydores deste Real Consejo de las Yndias el estado En que al presentte esta este Gobierno Y sus Provincias en lo tócantte a la quiettud y paz de los Yndios della mandava y mando que yo el presente Escrivano de testimonio en rrelacion de las Pases que ante ssu señoria an echo los naturales desta Govenacion Y Confirmaciones dellas para que visto por su magestad Y Señores de sus Reales Consejos provea y mande lo que mas convenga a Aser . . . Servicio Y asi lo Proveyo Y firmo mattheo de Vesga ante mi LUIS ARRIAS DE LA PUENTE escrivano de su magestad y Governacion.

En cumplimientto de lo qual Yo el dicho Luis Arias de la Puente escrivano de su magestad Y mayor de Governacion Justicia Y Guerra en este Reyno y Provincias de la nueba Vizcaya por el rrey nuestro Señor doi fe y Verdadero Testimonio a su magestad del Rey don Phelipe quartto nuestro Señor que Dios guarde muchos años Y a los Señores Presidenttes Y oidores de sus Reales Consejos de las Yndias Como El Señor Almirantte mattheo de Vesga Governador Y Capitan General deste Reyno y sus Provincias aviendo tomado Posseccion del dicho Gobierno y estando Governando ante su Señoria Y ante mi Como tal escrivano se an fecho las Pases Y Confirmaciones dellas en la manera siguiente.

^r F. R. B., Sevilla, Aug. 6, 1914.

^s A. G. I., 67-1-4.

pertaining to it, raising a banner, causing a drum and fife to be played, and naming the officials that it is your obligation to name, all full and complete, with nothing lacking to you. I give you power and authority, in required legal form, to do this, and I order that all persons in the said city of Guadalajara, citizens, residents, settlers, and inhabitants of it, shall have and hold you as such captain and shall answer to your calls, orders, musters, and commands, and shall secure to you and cause to be secured to you, all the grants, exemptions, preferences, and privileges that by reason of the said office ought to be fully and completely secured to you. Done at the city of Guadalajara, April 17, 1621.

The licenciado Don PEDRO DE OTALORA.

I, FRANCISCO DE CERVANTES, clerk of the chamber and government of the royal audiencia of the new kingdom of Galicia for our lord the king, caused this to be written, by order of its president and governor. Inspected by the bachelor FRANCISCO COSTILLA Y ESPINOSA, chancellor.

Papers of Admiral Mateo de Vesga, [governor and captain-general of the province of Nueva Vizcaya. December 14, 1620, to May 19, 1622.]

In the town of Durango, on the twenty-eighth day of the month of April, 1622, the señor admiral, Mateo de Vesga,⁴³ governor and captain-general of this kingdom and the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Chiametla, Copala,⁴⁴ and Sinaloa, and their provinces, declared, for his Majesty, that in order to make clear to his Majesty and to the president and *oidores* of the royal Council of the Indies the present state of this government and its provinces in the matter of the tranquillity and peace of its Indians, he ordered and commanded that I, the present clerk, should give a sworn statement concerning the peace pacts, and their confirmations, that were made before his lordship by the natives of this government, so that, when this is evident to his Majesty, and the members of his royal councils, he may provide and order whatever may be fitting [for the royal] service. Thus did Mateo de Vesga order; and he signed the order before me, LUIS ARIAS DE LA PUENTE, clerk of his Majesty and of government.

In fulfillment of this, I, the said Luis Arias de la Puente, clerk of his Majesty and chief clerk of government, justice, and war in this kingdom and [these] provinces of Nueva Vizcaya for our lord the king, make oath and give true testimony to his Majesty, King Don Felipe IV.,⁴⁵ our lord—whom may God preserve for many years—and to the señores presidents and *oidores* of his royal Council of the Indies, that after the señor admiral, Mateo de Vesga, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and of its provinces, had taken possession of the said governorship, and while he was governing, the said peace pacts and their confirmations were made before his lordship and before me as clerk, in the following manner:

It seems that in the town of Durango, on the fourteenth day of the month of December, 1620, an Indian appeared before the said governor

En la Villa de durango en Catorze dias del mes de diziembre de mill y seiscientos y Veinte años Parese que ante el dicho Señor Governador y Capitan General parecio un yndio que mediante Juan Rodrigues Espejo Ynterprete deste Juggedo en lengua mexicana Y Castellana e un yndio fabian natural del Pueblo de Santiago que save la lengua tepeguana Declararon llamose francisco onatte Capitan de los naturales del partido de San Pablo El qual Confirmo las pases que tenia asentadas Con otros Yndios sus Conpañeros y su señoria le Confirmo el tittulo que tenia de tal Capitan Y le rrescivio en pas los quales Promettieron de la guardar Y Cumplir segun La tienen asentada.

Y en la dicha Villa de durango en dies y nueve de diziembre del dicho año paresieron don Juan torillo Governador del pueblo del zapo Y don lorenzo Casique del Y don francisco Guanacivi fiscal Y don pedro Governador del Potrero y otros dies Yndios que con ellos Vinieron Y ante el dicho Señor Governador Y Cappitan General mediantte el dicho Juan rrodriguez espejo ynterprete Confirmaron las Pases que ttienen asentadas por si y sus Sugetos y del partido de Santiago Y santta Cattalina Y su señoria los recibio en ella como los demas de suso.

Y asimismo parece que en esta Villa en beinte y dos dias del mes de diziembre del dicho año ante el dicho Governador y Cappitan General por Juan Picagua yndio alcalde del Pueblo del Tunal ynterprete en lengua tepeguana y mexicana Y el dicho Juan Rodriguez Espejo don Alonso Casique de los Pueblos de las Millpillas Grandes y Francisco alcalde diego y simon Yndios de las dichas Millpillas Confirmando las pases que tenian asentadas y su señoria los rrescivio en ellas.

Y en la dicha Villa de durango en Veynte y nueve dias del dicho mes de disziembre del dicho año ante el dicho Señor Governador y Cappitan General mediante los dichos Juan Picagua y Juan rrodriguez espejo Ynterprettes don Juan yndio Casique del pueblo de ayupa Con seis Yndios sus sugettos asenttaron y confirmaron las pases que tenian asentadas Y el dicho Governador Y cappitan General les rrecivio en el despues de lo qual en la dicha Villa en el dicho dia Veinte y nueve de diziembre de mill y seiscientos Y Veinte años ante el dicho Señor Governador y Capitan General mediantte el dicho Juan rrodriguez espejo Yntterprete don miguel Casique del Pueblo de las lajas con otros quatro Yndios sus sugetos Confirmaron.

Y en este dicho dia el dicho Señor Governador y Capitan General mediantte el dicho Yntterprete recivio de pas a don Juan Panttoja Casique del Pueblo de Casaria Y sus Parcialidades Con dies yndios sus sugetos las quales Confirmaron las que tenian dadas Y las dieron de nuevo y asimismo parese que en esta dicha villa en dies y siete dias del mes de enero del año de mill y seiscientos Y Veinte y uno El dicho Señor Governador Y Capitan General mediantte francisco de los Reyes interprete rrecivio de pas a don francisco Casique del pueblo de cocorotame Con tres Yndios que dixeron no estar bautizados los quales Confirmaron las pases que tenian asentadas Y las dieron de nuevo.

Y estando las cosas en este estado Parese que en Veinte E nueve dias del dicho mes de Enero del dicho año el dicho Señor Governador Y Capi-

and captain-general. Juan Rodríguez Espejo, interpreter of this court in the Mexican and Castilian languages, and an Indian, named Fabián, native of the pueblo of Santiago, who knows the Tepeguane language, declared that he called himself Francisco Oñate, captain of the natives of the district of San Pablo. He confirmed the peace pacts which he, with the other Indians, his companions, had made. His lordship confirmed him in the title which he held as said captain and acknowledged his acceptance of the peace. They promised to keep and fulfill that to which they have assented.

In the said town of Durango, on the nineteenth of December, of the said year, appeared Don Juan Torillo, governor of the pueblo of El Zape; Don Lorenzo, its cacique; Don Francisco Guanacivi, fiscal; and Don Pedro, governor of El Potrero, and ten other Indians who came with them. Before the said señor governor and captain-general, through the said Juan Rodríguez Espejo, interpreter, they confirmed the peace pacts which they had made, both for themselves, and for their subjects of the district of Santiago and Santa Catalina. His lordship acknowledged their acceptance of the peace as well as the others above-mentioned.

It also appears that in this town, on the twenty-second day of the month of December, of the said year, before the said governor and captain-general, through Juan Picagua—Indian alcalde of the pueblo of El Tunal, and interpreter of the Tepeguane and Mexican languages—and the said Juan Rodríguez Espejo, Don Alonso, cacique of the pueblos of Las Millpillas Grandes, Francisco, alcalde, and Diego and Simón, Indians of the said Millpillas, confirmed the peace pacts which they had made. His lordship acknowledged their acceptance of them.

In the said town of Durango, on the twenty-ninth day of the said month of December of the said year, before the said señor governor and captain-general, through the said Juan Picagua and Juan Rodríguez Espejo, interpreters, Don Juan, Indian cacique of the pueblo of Ayupa, with six of his Indian subjects, affirmed and confirmed the peace pacts which they had made, and the said governor and captain-general acknowledged their acceptance of them. Afterwards, in the said town, on the said twenty-ninth day of December of the year 1620, before the said señor governor and captain-general, through the said Juan Rodríguez Espejo, interpreter, Don Miguel, cacique of the pueblo of Las Lajas, with four of his Indian subjects, confirmed [the peace pacts].

And on this said day, the said señor governor and captain-general, through the said interpreter, acknowledged the acceptance of the peace by Don Juan Pantoja, cacique of the pueblo of Casaria, and his allies, with ten of his Indian subjects. They confirmed the peace pacts which they had made and renewed them. It also appears that in this said town, on the seventeenth day of the month of January, of the year 1621, the said señor governor and captain-general, through Francisco de los Reyes, interpreter, acknowledged the acceptance of the peace by Don Francisco, cacique of the pueblo of Cocorotame, with three Indians who said they had not been baptized. They confirmed the peace pacts which they had made and renewed them.

tan General rrecivio Cartta que Parese averle Ynviado el Padre niculas de Aranda de la Compania de Jesus por la qual y por otras Ccierttas Ynformaciones que parese rrecivio el dicho Señor Governador y Capitan General de Padres de la Compania de Jesus Y de la orden de San Francisco Y de las Justicias de las minas de Yndio^t y Guanacivi Y Valle de San barttolome Provincia de Santta Barbora supo como los yndios tepeguanes del Valle de San Pablo Y San Ygnacio con algunos Yndios taraumares se avian alzado Y Revelado Y dado en algunas estancias de la dicha Provincia de Santa barbora Y muertto algunos españoles E yndios amigos echo rrobos E ynzendios en rraçon de lo qual y para rremedio dello Con mucha brevedad envio de socorro algunos Capitanes Y soldados españoles Y avistando el dicho alzamiento Y daño que los dichos Revelados aszian formo excerrcitto de capitanes y soldados españoles E Yndios amigos que havian de soldados Y Con el salio Personalmente desta dicha Villa en siguimiento de los dichos Revelados asta el valle de san Pablo donde asento el dicho su campo hallandole disiertto Sin jentte Y parte de la Yglesia del dicho Valle Y algunos Jacales quemados Y teniendo noticia que los dichos Yndios revelados se havian metido la tierra dentro en la de los Taraumares y luego otro dia de como llegue^u su sseñoria al dicho valle que fue en treyntta e uno de março despacho al capitan francisco montaña de la Cueva maese de campo Con algunos capitanes E parte del dicho su exercitto de los soldados Españoles y ducientos Yndios amigos en busca de los dichos rrevelados Con ynstrucion de lo que avian de asser y parese que en dies y ocho dias del mes de abril del dicho año el dicho maese de Campo bolvio Con los dichos sus Soldados e yndios amigos al dicho Valle de san Pablo trayendo consigo honze yndios de nacion taraumar Y entre ellos a don Juan Cocle que mediante don Juan de Olvios Principal de nacion Concha Ynterprette Jurado en lengua Castellana Concha y mexicana Y anbrosio Yndio Concho Ynterprette en lengua taraumar dixo ser Rey de toda la nacion taraumar en cantidad de quatro mil Yndios y rreconoselle por su rey y Señor los quales Y otros dos Casiques llamados Don Pablo y don Francisco Casiques de rrancherias e de los dichos Taraumares Parese que asentaron Pases Con el dicho maese de campo en la dicha entrada que Yzo en la tierra dellos Y la confirmaron y asentaron de nuevo ante el dicho señor governador y Capitan General prometiendole en ellas ayudar a los Españoles Contra los Yndios tepeguanes Revelados Y que guardaran Y se conserbaran en las dichas pases Que no las quebrantaran en manera alguna y su sseñoria los rrecivio en ella Y por Constar que los dichos Revelados estaban metidos mui la tierra adentro de los dichos taraumares Y mas adelante Y no poderse seguir rreforma los dichos Yndios amigos mandandoles Pagar el tiempo que avian servido y por evitar muchos gastos y que la tierra se aseguro Salio Con su exercito Y Campo de españoles y Con ellos Vino al Valle de San bartolome Provincia de Santa barbora donde repartido algunos Capitanes Y Soldados dandoles Ynstruccion donde avian de acudir Y orden de lo que avian de hazer y con el demas campo que quedo

^t This is evidently a miscopy for "Yndé".

^u Evidently a miscopy for "llegó".

While things were in this state, it appears that on the twenty-ninth day of the said month of January, of the said year, the said señor governor and captain-general received a letter which Father Nicolás de Aranda, of the Company of Jesus, seems to have sent to him. Through it, and through certain other information which it appears the said señor governor and captain-general received from padres of the Company of Jesus and of the Order of Saint Francis, and from the justices of the mines of Indé, Guanacebi, and Valle de San Bartolomé, in the province of Santa Bárbara, he learned that the Tepeguanes Indians of the valley of San Pablo y San Ygnacio, with some Taraumares Indians, had risen in rebellion, had fallen upon some farms of the said province of Santa Bárbara, had killed some Spaniards and friendly Indians, and had committed robbery and arson. In consequence of this and to remedy it as soon as possible he sent, as aid, some captains and Spanish soldiers. And noting the said uprising and the damage which the said Indians were doing, he formed an army of captains and Spanish soldiers and such friendly Indian soldiers as there were, and with it he went out in person from this town in pursuit of the said rebels as far as the valley of San Pablo, where he pitched camp, finding it deserted, without people, and part of the church of the said valley and some huts burned.

Hearing that the said rebellious Indians had gone inland to the country of the Taraumares, immediately, on the next day after his lordship arrived at the said valley, which was on the thirty-first of March, he despatched Captain Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, *maese de campo*, with some captains, and a part of the said army of Spanish soldiers, and two hundred friendly Indians in search of the said rebels, with instructions as to what they were to do.

It appears that on the eighteenth day of the month of April, of the said year, the said *maese de campo* returned with the said soldiers and friendly Indians to the said valley of San Pablo, bringing with him eleven Indians of the Taraumare nation, among them Don Juan Cocle, who, through Don Juan de Olvios, chief of the Concha nation and sworn interpreter in the Castilian, Concha, and Mexican languages, and Ambrosio, a Concho Indian and interpreter in the Taraumare language, declared that he was king of all the Taraumare nation, numbering 4000 Indians, and that it recognized him as its king and lord. These and two other caciques, named Don Pablo and Don Francisco, caciques of rancherias and of the said Taraumares, made peace pacts, it seems, with the said *maese de campo* on the said expedition that he made into their land. This they confirmed and renewed before the said señor governor and captain-general, promising at the time to aid the Spaniards against the Tepeguane rebels, and that they would keep and preserve the said peace pacts and not break them in any manner. And his lordship acknowledged their acceptance of the peace. As it was apparent that the said rebels were far within the country of the said Taraumares and even further, and that it was not possible to follow them, he discharged the said friendly Indians, ordering them to be paid for the time that they had served. In order to avoid great expense and because the country had been made safe, he set out with his army and camp of Spaniards and with them advanced to the

Vino Visitando su sseñoria los Pueblos y Rancherias de los yndios tepeguanes que estavan de pas en esta Gobernacion Y Con ellos Confirmo las pases que tenian asentadas Y a rrecivir de nuevo en ellas como consta de los asienttos que en rraçon dello se hizieron que son las siguientes.

Parese que en el pueblo del zape jurisdicion de las minas de Guanacevi en trese de mayo del dicho año de mill y seiscientos Y Veinte y uno el dicho Señor Governador y Cappitan General Visitto el dicho pueblo E yso Junttar a ttodos los Yndios E yndias del y con ellos confirmo las pases que tenian dadas y asiento de nuevo los quales Promettieron de las Guardar y cumplir y no las Quebrantaran en manera alguna despues de lo qual aviendo llegado El dicho Señor Governador Y Capitan general al pueblo de Sanctta Catalina en trese dias del dicho mes del dicho año Salieron a rrecivir al dicho Señor Governador don lucas Yndio principal Y Governador del dicho pueblo Con los yndios e yndias del los quales le llebaron a la Yglesia del y estando Junttos en ella confirmaron las pases que tenian asentadas Y de nuevo las asenttaban e promettieron de las guardar y cumplir.

Despues de lo qual Parese que en dies y siete dias del mes de mayo del dicho año llego el dicho Señor Governador Y capitan general al pueblo de Santiago Papasquiarron le ssalieron a rrecivir en buena horden Los Yndios e Yndias del Chicos y Grandes e los hizo Junttar en la Yglesia del dicho Pueblo donde confirmaron las pases que tenian asentadas y de nuevo las asentaron promettiendo de las guardar y Cumplir.

En el pueblo de Capinamaiz Juridicion del Valle de San Juan del rrio en beintte dias del dicho mes de mayo aviendo llegado su sseñoria del dicho Señor Governador Y Capitan General al dicho Pueblo hizo Junttar todos los Yndios e yndias del Y su Governador don baltazar Y don francisco su alcalde donde asimismo estaban Y se Juntaron Don Juan Governador del pueblo de las millpillas Y don tomas del Pueblo de la zauzeda Y miguel su alcalde Y baltasar Governador del pueblo de Canattan Con los Yndios de los dichos Pueblos Y estando todos los dichos Yndios Junttos Y congregados a la puertta de la Yglesia del dicho Pueblo de Capinamaiz asentaron de nuevo y confirmaron las pases que tenian dadas y Prometieron de las guardar y cumplir.

Despues de lo qual Parese que en esta Villa [de Durango] En Veintte y siete de mayo del dicho año ante el dicho señor Governador y Capitan General paresieron Cinco Yndios El uno llamado Jacobo de nacion tobosa Y el otro llamado Cristoval Yndio Principal de la dicha nacion hijo de don jusepe Governador Y Casique de la dicha nacion tobosa los quales mediante lengua de frai alonso de oliba de la horden de señor San francisco dixerón que ellos y los Yndios Nonoties Achaclame y Xipocale avian bajado de pas al pueblo de atotonilco a senttar las pases en nonbre de ttodos los demas y que avian de bajar a la siega del Valle de San bartolome y que avian Venido a dar quentta de lo susodicho al dicho Señor Governador y Capitan General Y Visto por su sseñoria los rrecivio de pas en nonbre de su magestad Y mando dar mandamientto de amparo para la justicia del dicho Valle les hiziezen buen tratamientto y pagasen lo que trabajasen.

valley of San Bartolomé, province of Santa Bárbara, where he divided off some of the captains and soldiers, giving them instructions as to where they were to go and orders as to what they were to do. With those that remained his lordship advanced to visit the pueblos and rancherias of the Tepeguanes Indians, who were at peace in this government, and to acknowledge anew their acceptance of the peace pacts. He confirmed with them the peace pacts which they had made. All of this appears from the memoranda that were set down in regard to it, which are as follows:

It appears that in the pueblo of El Zape, jurisdiction of the mines of Guanacebi, on the thirteenth of May, of the said year of 1621, the said señor governor and captain-general visited the said pueblo and caused all the Indians, men and women, to assemble and with them he confirmed the peace pacts which they had made and renewed them. They promised to keep and fulfill them and not break them in any manner. Afterwards, the said señor governor and captain-general having arrived at the pueblo of Santa Catalina, on the thirteenth day of the said month of the said year, Don Lucas, Indian chief and governor of the said pueblo, with the Indian men and women, came out to meet the said señor governor and took him to the village church. Being all assembled there, they confirmed the peace pacts which they had made, affirmed them anew, and promised to keep and fulfill them.

After this it appears that on the seventeenth day of May, of the said year, the said señor governor and captain-general arrived at the town of Santiago Papasquiaro. The Indian men and women, children and adults, went out in good order to receive him, and he caused them to assemble at the church of the said pueblo, where they confirmed the peace pacts which they had made and they affirmed them anew, promising to keep and fulfill them.

At the pueblo of Capinamaiz, jurisdiction of the valley of San Juan del Río, on the twentieth day of the said month of May, his lordship, the said governor and captain-general, having arrived at the said pueblo, caused to assemble all the Indian men and women in it and their governor, Don Baltasar, and Don Francisco, their alcalde. There, present also, and assembled, were Don Juan, governor of the pueblo of Las Milpillas; Don Tomás, of the town of La Saucedá, and Miguel, its alcalde; and Baltasar, governor of the pueblo of Canatán; together with the Indians of the said pueblos. All of the said Indians having assembled at the door of the church of the said pueblo of Capinamaiz, they renewed and confirmed the peace pacts which they had made, and promised to keep and fulfill them.

After this, it appears that in this town [of Durango] on the twenty-seventh of May of the said year, before the said señor governor and captain-general, there appeared five Indians, one named Jacobo, of the Toboso nation, and another called Cristóbal, Indian chief of the said nation, and son of Don Jusepe, governor and cacique of the said Toboso nation, who, through the language of Fray Alonso de Oliba, of the Order of Saint Francis, declared that they and the Nonoties, Achaclame, and Xipocale Indians had come down in friendship to the pueblo of Atonilco to arrange the peace pacts in the name of all the others; that they

Y parese que despues de lo susodicho en esta Villa [de Durango] en dies y seis dias del mes de henero de mill y seiscientos y Veintte y dos años ante el dicho Señor Governador y Cappitan General parecio Un yndio llamado don Juan negritto Casique y Governador de los tepeguanes que llaman los negrittos que estan rrancheados en los terminos de las minas de mapemi Y dixo que por si e los demas de sus parcialidades dava la pas Y obediencia a su magestad y a su sseñoria en su nonbre la qual dava por aver savido Con quantta Presteza y Puntualidad acudia a las sierras Y otras parttes a rremediar las rrevelliones Y delittos que los Yndios an echo asi por su persona Como con Capitanes que a ynviado Y Visto por su sseñoria los rrecivio en ella en nonbre de su magestad y promettio el dicho Yndio de la guardar y cumplir y no la quebrantar en manera alguna.

Despues de lo sussodicho parece que en esta villa [de Durango] en seis de março deste presente año ante el dicho Señor Governador y Capitan General Paresio Un Yndio llamado el xixicutta de la nacion Tepeguana Y mediante mattheo Canelas Ynterprete dixo ser Yndio belicoso Y uno de los Capitanes y Cavesa de los tepeguanes rrebelados Contra la Real Corona Y dixo que el Como tal Capitan y Cavesa dellos a quatro años questa rretirado En la zierra Y que no a osado bajarse de temor Por ser de las cavesas de los dichos Yndios asta que el señor Governador quando vino de la jornada que Yço contra los revelados Y asentto las pases con los tarausares Le ynvio a llamar de pas Y enviandole bandera Y Promesa de le perdonar con los que con el se bajasen Con lo qual se consolo mucho Porque arrenpentido de lo echo estaba aguardando Semejante ocasion y luego que rrecivio la dicha Vandera Con la dicha Promesa bajo de la zierra con quattro yndios Y Viene a presencia de su sseñoria de pas Y pidio Y ssuplico le rrecibiesse en ella en nombre de su magestad que promete de la Guardar e cumplir Y de baxar los demas yndios que estan rretirados de su parzialidad y estan debaxo de la obediencia de su magestad Como antes lo estaban Guardando las hordenes Y lo que su sseñoria les mandare Y Visto por su sseñoria los rrecivio de pas Y rremittio los delittos que avian echo.

Despues de lo qual parese que en esta villa [de Durango] en onze de abril del dicho año de mill y seiscientos y Veintte y dos años ante el dicho Señor Governador y cappitan General parecio Un yndio llamado Cocani Governador y casique del Pueblo de guaricame de los Yndios de la nacion Umes Y con el Vinieron Cantidad de Veintte yndios de la dicha nacion Y dixo Venir de su tierra solamente confirmar las pases que tiene dadas pidio en ellas fuese rrecivido Y su sseñoria le rrecivio al dicho Governador e yndios sus Sugettos en las dichas pases Y les confirmo en ellas.

En la dicha Villa de durango en Veintte y ocho de abril del dicho año ante el dicho Señor governador Y capitan General parecio otro yndio llamado Christoval hijo de don pedro Casique del Pueblo de San Francisco del Mesquittal Y alcalde del pueblo nuevo llamado San francisco de ocatan el qual truxo consigo ocho yndios sus sugetos el qual mediante Ynterprete dixo que ellos por averse Revelado en el alzamiento General pasado por miedo y temor no^v se les hiziese algun castigo asta aora no

^v Obviously a mistake for "que".

had to come to gather the crops in the valley of San Bartolomé; and that they had come to give account of the aforesaid to the said señor governor and captain-general. In view of this, his lordship, in the name of his Majesty, acknowledged their acceptance of the peace, and ordered that a writ of protection should be given to the court of justice of the said valley in order to insure them good treatment, and pay for their work.

And it appears that after the aforesaid, in this town [of Durango] on the sixteenth day of the month of January, 1622, before the said señor governor and captain-general, there appeared an Indian named Don Juan, *negrito* cacique, and governor of the Tepeguanes—they call *negritos* those who are settled in the vicinity of the mines of Mapimi—and he said that for himself, and the rest of his allies, he was making peace and submitting to his Majesty and to his lordship, in his name. He was doing this because he had learned with what swiftness and promptness he [the governor] hurried to the sierras and other places to suppress the rebellions and crimes which the Indians had committed against his own person, as well as against the captains whom he had sent. In view of this, his lordship, in the name of his Majesty, acknowledged their acceptance of the peace, and the said Indian promised to keep and fulfill it and not to break it in any manner.

After the aforesaid, it appears that in this town [of Durango] on the sixth of March, of the present year, before the said señor governor and captain-general, there appeared an Indian named El Xixicutta, of the Tepehuane nation. And through Mateo Canelas, interpreter, he said that he was a warlike Indian and one of the captains and chiefs of the Tepehuanes who was in rebellion against the royal crown. And he said that he, being captain and chief, had retired four years ago into the sierra, and that he had not dared, through fear, to come down—because he was one of the chiefs of the said Indians—until the señor governor, when he came on the expedition which he made against the rebels and made peace pacts with the Tarmaures, sent to summon him in friendship, sending him a banner and a promise to pardon him, and those who should come down with him. With this he was greatly consoled, for, repentant of what he had done, he was awaiting such an occasion, and as soon as he received the said banner with the said promise, he came down from the sierra with four Indians, and comes into the presence of his lordship in friendship. He begged and prayed, in the name of his Majesty, that his acceptance of the peace should be acknowledged. He promises to keep and fulfill it; [and says] that the other Indians who had separated from their band would come down; that they are under the obedience of his Majesty as they were formerly; and that they were obeying the orders and commands of his lordship and whatever he might order. In view of this his lordship acknowledged their acceptance of the peace and pardoned them of the crimes that they had committed.

After this, it appears that in this town [of Durango], on the eleventh of April, of the said year of 1622, before the said señor governor and captain-general, there appeared an Indian named Cocani, governor and cacique of the pueblo of Guaricame, of the Indians of the Umes nation. With him came as many as twenty Indians of the said nation. He said

se atrevido a bajar de la sierra Y confiados de su sseñoria que como tan christiano les a de faborecer y anparar Se an bajado y poblado el pueblo nuevo llamado san francisco de ocatan Con sesentta Yndios E yndias Chicos y Grandes y Vienen ante su sseñoria a dar la paz Y obediencia a su magestad a quien suplican los rreciva en ella perdonandoles el delitto y Culpa que an Cometido que el por si Y en nonbre de sus sugettos promete de la Guardar Cumplir y no la quebranttar en manera alguna Y su sseñoria de misericordia en nonbre de su magestad les perdonaba y rrecivia Y les yso saver que si la Guardaren los anparara y Defendera de sus enemigos Y si la quebrantaren los castigara a fuego y sangre los quales dixerón que elle guardaran cumplan como tienen dicho.

Despues de lo qual Parece que se le rremittio a el dicho Señor Governador y Capitan General unos autos originales que parecen averse echo Por el capitan francisco de Castro alcalde mayor de las minas de Guanaçevi Por los quales consta que en las dichas minas y otras de fuera del se avian ynformado de que don Pedro y don lorenzo Yndios casiques de los pueblos del zape Y potrero falttaban de aquella Jurisdiccion y se entendia se avian ydo a ver Con el Capitan Mattheo Canelas mestizo y Corrido bos de que los yndios de aquellas provincias andan en ttatoes^w Con animo de lebandarse Contra la real corona Y eleixir por su Rey y Cavesa al dicho mattheo Canelas Y que por su facilidad se puede creer qualquier cosa dellos para rremedio de lo qual Parece hiso junta de algunos Capitanes Y personas haspertas^x en semejantes Casos por dezir estar zerca de aquella jurisdiccion El yndio oñate rrevelado Y alzado muchos dias avia Con ttodos los Yndios de su parcialidad Y en la dicha Juntta parece decreto que en el dicho Real se boviesse con ttoda Prevencion y cuidado por la poca satisfacion que se tiene de los yndios Tepeguanes Y que se Yziesen las delijencias Pusibles para la llamar de paz al Yndio oñate y los de su parcialidad por convenir asi al servicio de dios nuestro señor y de su magestad y que se le diese en su nonbre la paz y parece que con dos yndios llamados Geronimo y bartolome del pueblo de san Simon les ynviaron al dicho oñate una bandera de tafetan encarnado en medio della una Ymajen de nuestra señora del rrosario a la zerrania que llaman del Carnu^y donde avia noticia estaba al qual dixesen que el dicho alcalde mayor le llamaba de paz Y que le dava seguro que si benia a su presencia le Perdonaria todos los delitos que avia cometido asta el dicho dia Y se Capitularia la paz como Conbeniese al servicio de dios nuestro señor y de su magestad y parece que en las dichas minas en Veintte y siete dias del dicho mes de abrill ante el dicho alcalde mayor pareziesron los dichos dos yndios con el dicho don francisco oñate con la dicha Vandera que le avian entregado Y con don pedro Casique del dicho Pueblo de san simon Y en las casas la morada del dicho alcalde mayor con el dicho don francisco oñate Y dos hijos que consigo traia Llamados el uno don Juseppe oñate Y el otro don Juan oñatte en presencia del padre frai miguel Gutierrez de la orden de san Augustin Cura y bicario del dicho rreal Y el Padre Juan de sanguesa

^w *Tatole* is a Mexican word for agreement or conspiracy.—C. W. H.

^x Obviously an old or corrupt form for "expertas".

^y Or "*Carme*".—F. R. B.

that he came from his country solely to confirm the peace pacts which he had made, and asked that his acceptance of them should be acknowledged. And his lordship acknowledged the acceptance by said governor and his Indian subjects of the said peace pacts and confirmed them in them.

In the said town of Durango, on the twenty-eighth of April of the said year, before the said governor and captain general, appeared another Indian named Cristóbal, son of Don Pedro, cacique of the pueblo of San Francisco del Mesquital, and alcalde of the new pueblo called San Francisco de Ocatán. He brought with him eight of his Indian subjects. Through an interpreter he said that they, having rebelled in the past general uprising, through fear that some punishment might be inflicted upon them, had not dared up to now to come down from the sierra, but, trusting that his lordship, as a Christian, would favor and protect them, they had come down and settled the new pueblo called San Francisco de Ocatán, with sixty Indians—children and adults—and now they come before his lordship to make peace with and give obedience to his Majesty, whom they begged to acknowledge their acceptance of the peace, and pardon them for the crime and fault that they had committed. And he [Cristóbal], for himself and in the name of his subjects, promised to keep and fulfill the peace and not break it in any manner. In pity, his lordship pardoned them, in the name of his Majesty, and received them, and gave them to understand that if they would keep it, he would protect and defend them against their enemies, but if they broke it he would punish them with fire and blood. They said they would keep and fulfill it, as they have said.

After this it appears that there were transmitted to the said señor governor and captain-general some original *autos*, which appear to have been made by Captain Francisco de Castro, *alcalde mayor* of the mines of Guanacebi, from which it is evident that at the said mines and others outside of it news had been had that Don Pedro and Don Lorenzo, caciques of the pueblos of El Zape and Potrero, had disappeared from that district, and it was understood that they had gone to meet Captain Mateo Canelas, half-breed, and there was a rumor that the Indians of those provinces were getting up a conspiracy with the object of rebelling against the royal crown and electing for their king and chief the said Mateo Canelas, and that, since they are easily influenced, anything may be believed of them. To remedy this a junta was called of some captains and persons experienced in such affairs. As it was said that the Indian Oñate, who had been in revolt for many days with all the Indians of his band, was near that district, in the said junta a decree was issued that every precaution should be taken in the said camp, because of the slight confidence that was felt among the Tepeguanes Indians, and that all possible efforts should be taken to induce the Indian Oñate and those of his band to make peace, as the service of our Lord God and his Majesty requires, and that peace should be offered him in his name.

It appears that they sent to the said Oñate, by two Indians named Jerónimo and Bartolomé, of the pueblo of San Simón, a banner of crimson taffeta silk, bearing in the centre a picture of Our Lady of the Rosary. [This was sent] to the mountain range called El Carnu, where notice was had that he was. They were to tell him that the said *alcalde mayor*

rector del pueblo del zape Y el padre martin larios de la Compania de Jesus Y el Capitan Gonzalo marttin diputtado Y otros capitanes El dicho don francisco Oñate Aviendo fecha rrelacion diziendo El estava apesado y arrapentido de los delittos Comettidos Contra la real Corona a quien rreconocia Por Su Rey Y Señor Viene a ofrecer Y dar por si E por los Yndios de su Parcialidad perdonandole los Yerrores Comettidos en la qual El dicho alcalde mayor le rrecivio perdonandole los delittos que avian Comettido Y con el asentaron zierttas condiciones que el dicho don francisco Oñate Consinttio Como ttodo ello Consta por los dichos auttos originales que estan en la causa que de oficio se sigue contra el dicho Mattheo Canelas y asimismo Parese que en Cinco dias del mes de noviembre del año passado de mill y seiscientos y veintte y uno El Señor Almirante mattheo de vesga Governador y capitan General deste Reyno por auttos pronuncio dixo que el dicho dia llego a esta villa Un yndio llamado don mattheo Y principal de nacion concha Con otros yndios con carttas del capitan Christobal Sanchez Tiniente de Justicia mayor y Capitan a Guerra de la dicha provincia Y de los Vezinos del Valle de San Bartolome de la dicha provincia Y con una ynformacion por do^a consto que avia ynviado la Justicia de la dicha provincia a don Alonso yndio Casique de la dicha Provincia de la dicha nacion Concha la tierra adentro a llamar Yndios Conchos para que fuesen a trabajar las labores y haziendas del dicho valle como lo acostumbran cada año y que aviendo entrado llamado y juntado algunos yndios Y quiriendo bolverse a el dicho Valle los que asi avia juntado se alzaron y revelaron flecharon E yrieron al dicho Don Alonso Casique y le yzieron dies eridas de manera que estuvo en rriesgo de perder la Vida y los dichos Vezinos del dicho valle se ofrecieron por sus carttas a entrar al Castigo de los delinquentes Personalmente sin sueldo de su magestad con que de la Real hazienda se les diese un barril de Polbora Y un cajon de erraje mular Y Caballar y se les pague el flette de una rrecua en que llevar bastimentos para los Yndios amigos que entraren al dicho Castigo o bajarlos Y senttarlos de paz Y visto por su sseñoria Considerando quanto Ynporta la brevedad de que se entre a la pricion Y Castigo de los delinquentes Y asenttarlos de paz porque si se dilatase estos se aunaran Y Juntaran Con otros Yndios asi de su nacion Como de otras Y Podria rresultar algun alzamiento que causase mui Gran daño a este Reyno Y mui grande Costa a la Real Hazienda Y su sseñoria enbiase a su Excelencia del Señor Virrey a dar quentta dello antes de poner en effeto en enviar orden para el dicho Castigo Y pacificacion Polbera Y lo demas que se pide en el Ynterin que se va a la ciudad de mexico Y Viene della por estar Ciento Y cinquenta leguas desta Villa con la dilacion Podra suseder el dicho alzamiento Y para que se escusase y ubiese el acierto que Conviene al servicio de dios nuestro señor y de su magestad bien y quietud de la dicha provincia dijo Convenia se Yziese Juntta en la qual fuese don Juan de Zerbanttes Casaos Caballero del orden de san francisco Y Contador mayor del tribunal de quantas de la ciudad de mexico Y Juez Vizittador desta Real Caxa Y el capitan Pedro de Carbajal tiniente de Governador en este reyno Y El

^a A contracted form of "donde".

was offering them friendship and gave him assurance that if he would come into his presence and submit to peace, as the service of our Lord God and his Majesty required, he would pardon him for all the crimes that he had committed up to the said day. It appears that at the said mines, on the twenty-seventh day of the said month of April, before the said *alcalde mayor*, the said two Indians appeared with the said Don Francisco Oñate, with the said banner that they had delivered to him. With Don Pedro, cacique of the said pueblo of San Simón, at Las Casas, the place of residence of the said *alcalde mayor*, the said two Indians appeared with the said Don Francisco Oñate and two of his sons that he brought with him, one named Jusepe Oñate and the other Don Juan Oñate. In the presence of the father, Fray Miguel Gutiérrez, of the Order of St. Augustine, curate and vicar of the said camp, and Father Juan de Sanguesa, rector of the pueblo of El Zape, and Father Martín Larios, of the Company of Jesus, and Captain Gonzalo Martín, deputy, and other captains, the said Don Francisco Oñate, having made a statement saying that he was troubled and repentant for his crimes committed against the royal crown, which he recognized as his king and lord, and that he comes to offer and make [peace] for himself and the Indians of his band if their errors should be pardoned, the said *alcalde mayor* acknowledged his acceptance of peace and pardoned the crimes that they had committed. In addition certain conditions were set down to which the said Don Francisco Oñate consented. All of this appears in the original *autos* of the case, which is being officially prosecuted against the said Mateo Canelas.

It also appears that on the fifth day of the month of November, of the past year of 1621, the señor admiral, Mateo de Vesga, governor and captain-general of this kingdom, in *autos* that he issued, declared that on the said day there arrived at this town an Indian named Don Mateo, chief of the Concha nation, with other Indians, bringing letters from Captain Cristóbal Sánchez, deputy chief justice and captain of war of the said province and of the residents of the valley of San Bartolomé of the said province, with a report from which it is evident that the justice of the said province had sent Don Alonso, Indian cacique of the said province of the said Concha nation, to the interior country to summon the Conchos Indians to come to work in the fields and farms of the said valley, as they were in the habit of doing every year, but that after he had entered and having called and assembled some Indians and wishing to return to the said valley, those whom he had thus assembled rose up and rebelled and shot arrows at the said Don Alonso, the cacique, and wounded him in ten places, so that he was in danger of losing his life.

The said residents of the said valley offered in their letters to go in person and punish the offenders without any pay from his Majesty, except that from the royal exchequer there should be given them a barrel of powder, a box of irons for shoeing mules and horses, and the expense of a pack-train to carry provisions for the friendly Indians who should go on the said punitive expedition to punish them or bring down the offenders and establish them in peace. In view of this, his lordship, considering how important it was to lose no time in the capture and punishment of

tesorero Juan de Ybarra Y el factor Y Beedor Raphael de Gascue Jueces oficiales de la dicha Real Caja para que como esperimenttados en semejantes Cosas de Guerra Cada uno diese su pareser de lo que mas Conviniese y parese que en seis dias del dicho mes de noviembre del dicho ano se juntaron los de suso declarados Con el Señor Governador y Capitan General en un aposento de las Casas Reales desta villa y aviendoles dado a entender cosa de suso rreferido y leydo el dicho autto de un aquerdo y conformidad dixerón que eran de parescer que su sseñoria del Señor Governador Cometa a Un Vezino de la dicha provincia Soldado Y de Ynepiriencia la dicha entrada en busca y castigo de los dichos Yndios delinquentes Castigue y asiente de pas los demas Yndios Pues los dichos Vezinos se ofrecen a entrar sin sueldo de su magestad y que su entrada fuese con brevedad antes que agan Junttas y alzamientos advirtiendó al Capitan que hiziere la dicha entrada no se aga daño a las mugeres e muchachos porque demas de que se ara Castigo de los delinquentes se siguieran dello muchos effetos del servicio de su magestad y que se le diese y sacase del Real almacen y se enbiase al tan capitan Un Barril de polbora para la dicha entrada Y que de los dichos seis mill pesos que estan sittuados Para gastos de pas y Guerra en cada un año en este Reyno se comprase un cajon de erraje Caballar y mular y se ynviase para la dicha entrada Y que se paguase El flette de una rrecua de treinta mulas por tiempo de dos meses o menos si menos tiempo durare la jornada para llevar los bastimentos y que el dicho flete se pagase de los seis mill pesos y esta ayuda de costa se las diese a las personas que entraren a la dicha jornada por quentta de su magestad.

Y parese que en ocho dias del dicho mes de noviembre se le entrego a el alferez diego de Villar Vezino desta villa Un barril de Polbora que con el barril peso Siete arrobas E trece libras Y un cajon con siete dozenas de erraje las tres Caballar de a beintte y quatro erraduras cada dozena Y las quatro asnales de a quarenta y ocho erraduras por dozena Y mill y ochocientos Clabos de errar y asimismo rrecivio la Comision e ynstrucion que en rraçon dello su sseñoria dio al Cappitan Christoval Sanchez tiniente de alcalde mayor de la dicha Provincia Para azer la dicha entrada Y todo se lo entregase ^a el dicho alferez diego de Villar Al dicho Capitan Christoval Sanchez de que Yzo rrecivo en forma y Consta por testimonio auttentico que en el valle de San Barttolome de la dicha Provincia en beynte y dos del dicho mes de noviembre Como el dicho Christoval Sanchez rrecivio del dicho diego de Villar el dicho barril de polbora Y el dicho cajon de errajes despues de lo qual Parese que usando de la dicha comision el dicho Christoval Sanchez Y aviendose publicado se alistaron Cantidad de Soldados españoles despues de lo qual parese que estando el dicho capitan Christoval Sanchez Con los dichos soldados bajo del pueblo de San Francisco en Veintte y cinco dias de diziembre del dicho año de mill y seiscientos Y Veintte y uno una legua el rrio abajo Yendo en prosecucion de la dicha entrada se le juntaron e ofrecieron de yr con el a ella y servir de soldados en la dicha entrada asta ochentta y cinco Yndios Casiques Governadores y Capitanes E yndios sus sugettos

^a Probably a miscopy for "entregose".

the delinquents and establish them in peace, for if it should be delayed they would join with other nations, not only of their own nation but also of others, and an uprising might result that would cause great damage to this kingdom and very great expense to the royal exchequer, and considering that [if] his lordship should send to give an account to his excellency, the señor viceroy, before putting in effect an order for the said punishment and pacification and the powder and the rest that is asked for, in the interval that it would take to go to the city of Mexico and return from it, as it is one hundred and fifty leagues from this town, with this delay the said uprising might occur, in order that this might be avoided and success made, as is necessary for the service of our Lord God, and of his Majesty, in securing the peace and quiet of the said province, he declared that it was necessary to call a junta, to be made up of Don Juan de Cervantes Casaos, knight of the Order of Saint Francis, chief accountant of the tribunal of accounts of the city of Mexico, and the judge inspector of this royal treasury, Captain Pedro de Carbajal, lieutenant governor in this kingdom, the treasurer, Juan de Ibarra, and the factor and *veedor*, Raphael de Gascue, officials of the said royal treasury, so that, as persons experienced in such matters of war, each one could give his opinion of what it would be best to do.

It appears that on the sixth day of the month of November, of the said year, the above mentioned met with the señor governor and captain-general in a room of the governmental buildings of this town. After they had learned of the matter above stated and had read the said *auto*, they unanimously declared that they were of the opinion that his lordship, the señor governor, should assign to a resident of this province, an experienced soldier, the said expedition that was to seek out and punish the said delinquent Indians, and punish and force the rest of the Indians to make peace. Since the said resident offered to go without any salary from his Majesty, his expedition should be made quickly, before they could get together and rebel, and the captain who should make the said expedition should be warned not to do any harm to the women and children. For, besides securing the punishment of the delinquents there would follow from it many good results for the service of his Majesty. [They were also of the opinion] that a barrel of powder should be taken from the royal storehouse and sent to the said captain for the said expedition; that from the 6000 pesos which are annually assigned to the peace and war budget in this kingdom, a box of irons for shoeing horses and mules should be bought and sent for the said expedition; that the expense should be paid for a pack-train of thirty mules for the period of two months, or less, if the expedition should last a shorter time, in order to carry the provisions; that the said expense should be paid from the said 6000 pesos; and that this assistance should be given to the persons who might enlist in the said expedition, for the account of his Majesty.

It appears that on the eighth day of the said month of November there was delivered to the *alférez*, Diego de Villar, resident of this town, a barrel of powder, which, with the barrel, weighed seven *arrobas* and three pounds, and a box with seven dozen irons—three dozen of them to be used for shoeing horses at the rate of twenty-four shoes for each

de nacion concha con los quales y dichos españoles parese averse echo la dicha entrada Contra los dichos revelados el dicho capitan Christoval Sanchez y con ellos parece tubo algunos rrincuentros prendio y Castigo algunos Culpados Y Yco pases con los demas yndios de las parzialidades de los dichos revelados.

Y en esta dicha Villa de Durango en dies y seis dias del mes de abril deste presentte año de mill y seiscientos y Veintte y dos El dicho capitan Christoval Sanchez Truxo a presencia de su sseñoria los auttos originales que en rraçon de la dicha entrada y castigo avia echo y entrego dies presas que dixo aver sacado de la dicha entrada las cinco yndias ya mugeres de mas de Veintte a treintte años las quatro Y una Yndezuela de seis años Y un Yndio Grande llamado sebastian Y tres yndezuelos de quatro a seis años que por ttodos son las dichas dies pias Las quales Vistos los auttos por el dicho Governador y Capitan General declaro por esclabas Y que de ellas sediese a su magestad lo que le pertenece de su rreal quintto entregandose a los oficiales Reales de su Real hazienda Y caja desta villa que señalo el dicho Yndio Gandul llamado Sebastian y un Yndezuelo de los pequeños Y mando que las ocho pias Restantes se Vendiesen en publica almoneda y se rrematasen en las personas que mas por ellas diese a luego pagar que los pesos de oro que montaren aplico la tercia parte dellos para los gastos de las honrras que en esta Villa se an de azer de su magestad que esta en el cielo y la otra tercia parte se le diese al dicho capitan Christoval sanchez para ayuda a la costa que a tenido en traer las dichas dies Pias que rreparttiese Entre si Y sus Conpañeros E yndios amigos que an venido a esta Villa Y la otra tercia parte Para los gastos de los estrados desta audiencia de Governacion Y costos desta Causa.

Y parese que en dies y siete dias del dicho mes de abrill en presencia del dicho Señor Governador Y Capitan General Se entregaron al Tesorero Juan de Ibarra Y facttor Y Veedor Raphael de Gascue Juezes oficiales desta real hazienda E caxa desta villa El dicho Yndios Gandul llamado sebastian que por su aspecto Parecio ser de dies y ocho años Y un Yndezuelo de edad de cinco a seis años que dixeron no ser christiano Y parece que las dichas ocho pias restantes Se Vendieron en presencia del Señor Governador y Capitan General en los dichos dies y siete dias del dicho mes de abrill a diferentes personas que montaron Trecientos Pesos de oro comun el precio en que se rremataron despues de lo qual en dies e nueve dias del mes de abrill del dicho año el dicho Señor Governador y Capitan General por autto que pronuncio y por causas que a ello le movieron que esplico en el dicho autto aplico los dichos trecientos pesos del Precio de las dichas ocho pias para los gastos de las dichas onrras de su magestad que esta en el cielo segun de que todo lo susodicho Y otras Cosas mas largamente Consta Y parese por los auttos originales que en rraçon de todo lo susodicho sea ^b fecho que en mi poder quedan a que me Refiero Y Por Mandado del dicho Señor Governador Y Capitan General di El Presentte que es ffecho en esta Villa de durango en diez y nueve del mes de mayo de mill y seiscientos y Veintte y dos años Siendo testigos

^b Obviously a miscopy for "se an".

dozen irons, and the other four dozen irons to be used to shoe other animals at the rate of forty-eight shoes for each dozen irons, and eight hundred nails for shoeing. At the same time he received the commission, and the instructions which, in view of it, his lordship gave to Captain Cristóbal Sánchez, deputy *alcalde mayor* of the said province, to make the said expedition. All of this the said *alférez* Diego de Villar delivered to the said captain Cristóbal Sánchez, for which he gave a receipt in the proper form.

It is evident from authentic testimony that in the valley of San Bartolomé, of the said province, on the twenty-second of the said month of November, the said Cristóbal Sánchez received from the said Diego de Villar the said barrel of powder and the said box of irons. After this, it appears that the said Cristóbal Sánchez, in the exercise of the said commission and after it had been proclaimed, enlisted a number of Spanish soldiers. Afterwards it appears that the said Captain Cristóbal Sánchez, with the said soldiers, on the twenty-fifth day of December, of the said year of 1621, went from the town of San Francisco, one league down the river, in prosecution of the said expedition. As many as eighty-five Indians, caciques, governors, captains, and their subjects of the Concha nation, joined him and offered to go with him on the expedition and to serve as soldiers. With them and the said Spaniards the said Captain Cristóbal Sánchez appears to have made the said expedition against the said rebels, with whom it appears that he had several encounters, took and punished some of the guilty ones, and made peace with the rest of the Indian allies of the said rebels.

In this said town of Durango, on the sixteenth day of the month of April, of this present year of 1622, the said Captain Cristóbal Sánchez brought into the presence of his lordship the original *autos* which he had made in connection with the said expedition and punishment, and he delivered ten prisoners that he said he had taken on the said expedition, five of them women already grown, four being from twenty to thirty years of age, and one little girl of six, a large Indian named Sebastián, and three little boys from four to six years old, making all together the said ten persons. These, after the *autos* had been examined by the said governor and captain-general, he declared to be slaves, and that from them he would set aside for his Majesty what belonged to him as his royal fifth, delivering it to the royal officials of the *real hacienda* and treasury of this town; he designated for this purpose the said Indian brave named Sebastián and one of the little boys. He ordered that the remaining eight should be sold at public auction to the persons that would pay the most for them at once, and that a third part of the gold that should be received for them should be applied to the expenses of the honors that would have to be given in this town [to the memory] of his Majesty who is in Heaven; another third should be given to the said Captain Cristóbal Sánchez to aid him in the expenses that he had in bringing the said ten persons, this to be divided between himself, his companions, and the friendly Indians who have come to this town; and the remaining third part to be applied to the expenses of this audiencia of government and the cost in this case.

el alferez diego de Villar Y Geronimo de bayamonte vezino y estantes en esta villa Va enmendado a su rreal/m/to/Vea.^o

Fecho y Sacado fue este tratado del testimonio original que en mi poder queda y en los auttos en el Conthenidos y Va cierto y Verdadero Y se corregio y Concerto en la Villa de durango en diez y nueve dias del mes de mayo de mill y seiscientos y Veinte y dos años siendo todo a lo Ver corregir Y Concertar los dichos alferez diego de Villar Y Geronimo de bayamonte Vezino y estante en esta Villa.^d [*Firmas.*]

Del legajo de papeles tocantes a asuntos de los Indios revelados en nueva Vizcaya. Governador Mateo de Vesga.^o [Mayo de 1624.]

En la villa de durango en cinco dias del mes de marzo de mill y seys-cientos y beynte y quatro años ante su sseñoria el señor almirante matheo de besga governador y capitan general parecio un yndio . . . que dijo llamarse don balthasar y ser casique y Governador de los yndios del pueblo de ticonazo de los yndios cristianos del y que al presente rreside en el cerro gordo con sus yndios Cristianos por horden mando de su señoria y assimismo Trujo Consigo otro yndio de nacion tepeguan que mediante el dicho ynterprete y del dicho don balthasar que abla la lengua tepeguana el qual mostro a su sseñoria un puñado de maíz y dijo que abia

^o Reference is to the emendations made in the original copy of the document.

^d F. R. B., Sevilla, Aug. 15, 1914.

^o A. G. I., 67-1-4.

It appears that on the seventeenth day of the said month of April, in the presence of the said señor governor and captain-general, there were delivered to the treasurer, Juan de Ibarra, and the factor and overseer, Raphael de Gascue, official judges of this *real hacienda* and treasury of this town, the said Indian buck called Sebastián, who seemed from his appearance to be eighteen years old, and a boy from five to six years old, who they said was not a Christian. It appears that the eight remaining slaves were sold in the presence of the señor governor and captain-general, on the said seventeenth day of the said month of April, to different persons, and that the price for which they were auctioned amounted to three hundred pesos in common gold.

Afterwards, on the nineteenth day of the month of April, of the said year, the said señor governor and captain-general, by an *auto* which he issued, and for reasons that moved him to do so, which he explained in the said *auto*, applied the said three hundred pesos—the price of the said eight slaves—to the expenses of the said honors to his Majesty “who is in Heaven. All of the aforesaid and other things are evident and appear more at length in the original *autos*, which, in connection with the above, have been made; these, to which I refer, remain in my possession. By order of the said governor and captain-general I issued the present writing, which is done in this town of Durango on the nineteenth day of the month of May, 1622, the witnesses being the *alférez*, Diego de Villar, and Jerónimo de Bayamonte, citizen and resident of this town. The document has the following emendations: “a su real/m/to/Vea.”

This copy was made and drawn from the original testimony which is in my possession and in the *autos* contained therein. It is true and accurate, and was corrected and verified in the town of Durango, on the nineteenth day of May, 1622, the said *alférez*, Diego de Villar, and Jerónimo de Bayamonte, citizen and resident of this town, being witnesses of the correction and verification. [*Signatures.*]

From the bundle of papers touching upon the affairs of the rebellious Indians of Nueva Vizcaya. Governor Mateo de Vesga. [May, 1624.]

In the town of Durango, on the fifth day of the month of March, 1624, before his lordship, the señor admiral, Mateo de Vesga, governor and captain-general, there appeared an Indian . . . who said that he was named Don Baltasar, and that he was the cacique and governor of the Christian Indians of the pueblo of Ticonazo, and that at present he resides in the Cerro Gordo with his Christian Indians by order and command of his lordship. He also brought with him another Indian of the Tepeguane nation, who, through the said interpreter and the said Don Baltasar, who speaks the Tepeguane language, showed his lordship a handful of maize, and said that there had come down in friendship as many unconverted Indians as there were grains of corn—men and women totalling eighty-five. He had settled them in the said Cerro Gordo; [they were]

bajado de paz tantos yndios Gentiles Como abia maises hombres y mugeres que abia ochenta y sinco Los quales tiene poblados en el dicho cerro gordo quietos y pacificos y con Mucho gusto y parte dellos bautizados y que el dicho don balthasar aviendo tenido noticia de un yndio llamado Juan de nacion tepeguan natural del pueblo del zape que andaba con otros quatro yndios alzado y salteando por los caminos y que asi apresso el y el dicho Don Agustin y sus pilguanes[†] a el dicho yndio Juan a el qual haorco en el parage que llaman del Canutillo Para exemplo de los demas yndios no se atrevisen a semejantes Cassos Con que la tierra e yndios poblados estan soçegados y Contentos de todo Lo qual viene a dar quenta a su sseñoria Como La da a quien piden y suplican anparo en el dicho pueblo donde biben llamado sancta maria del serro gordo biban y residan y asimismo se les de alguna Ropa para su bestir pues son buenos Yndios y fieles Y acudiran como Acuden a el servicio de su magestad y a prender Los salteadores que obiere y bisto por su sseñoria Les dio Lizencia para que estubiesen y residiesen en el dicho pueblo y mando asistan en el Resciviendo como recivio de paz a el dicho don agustin y sus sugetos y Les mando La conserben que su sseñoria Les amparara y defendera de sus enemigos y avioselo dado a entender por el dicho ynterpete dijeron que ellos mantendran la dicha paz y estaran sugetos a la paz y obediencia de su magestad Y Cumpliran lo que su sseñoria les manda atento a lo qual y que los dichos don Baltasar y don Agustin traen consigo otros quatro yndios pirguanes[‡] mandava Y mando que domingo de herniva mercader y bezino desta villa persona En quien estan rematados Los precios de la ropa que su sseñoria Manda dar a semejantes yndios que a los precios que se le remato de al dicho don Baltasar cacique y governador siete a baras de paño comun un sombrero entre fino un guipil caretero Unas naguas enteras una frezadilla conga y a el dicho don agustin otras siete baras de paño un sombrero entrefino un guipil Caretero Unas naguas enteras una frezadilla a don lucas uno de los dichos quatro yndios sinco baras y media de paño comun un sombrero Entrefino siete baras de sayal una frezadilla y a sebastian otro de los dichos yndios tres baras y media de paño Comun siete baras de sayal Un sombrero Entrefino unas naguas enteras a diego otro yndio de los sussodichos tres baras y media de paño Comun un sombrero Entrefino siete baras de sayal Un guipil caretero para su muger Y una frezadilla a Juan yndio de los que bajaron de paz sinco baras de paño comun siete de sayal una frezadilla un sombrero Entrefino y asimismo dara A todos quatro achas de cortar madera y quatro machetes y dos nobillos para que lleven a el dicho su pueblo y Repartan Entre los yndios del para que coman y mas se haga pago de siete pesos Y quatro Tomines que les dio por mandado de su señoria Con que an comido y ban comiendo los dichos Yndios que dandoselos con un treslado autorizado deste asiento y rescivo del dicho Juan Rodriguez espejo ynterprete susso-dicho atento no traen persona que por ellos pueda recibir la dicha ropa de como Recivieron los dichos yndios La dicha ropa que los pessos de oro que montare su señoria se les mandara pagar de los seis mill pesos que

[†] Probably a misspelling for "pilguanejo", a word used in Mexico for "servant".

[‡] *Id.*

quiet and peaceful and very content and part of them were baptized. The said Don Baltasar having had information that an Indian named Juan of the Tepeguane nation, native of the pueblo of El Zape, was wandering about with four other Indians in revolt and committing robberies on the roads, he and the said Don Agustín and his servants took the said Indian Juan prisoner and hanged him at the place called El Canutillo, as an example to the other Indians not to venture to do such things. As a result the country and Indians settled there have become quiet and contented. Of all this he comes to give, as he does give, account to his lordship from whom they ask for and crave asylum in the said pueblo where they live, called Santa María del Cerro Gordo, in order that they may live and reside [there], and also to ask that some clothing be given to them with which to dress themselves, for they are good and faithful Indians, and will assist, as they are now assisting, in the service of his Majesty and in arresting any highwaymen that there may be. In view of this his lordship gave them license to remain and live in the said pueblo and ordered that they should assist therein, acknowledging, as he did acknowledge, the acceptance by the said Don Agustín and his subjects of the peace. He ordered them to keep it and [stated] that his lordship would protect and defend them from their enemies. Having been made to understand this through the said interpreter, they declared that they would maintain the said peace, and that they would submit to the peace and to the obedience of his Majesty and that they would fulfill whatever his lordship ordered them. In view of this, and because the said Don Baltasar and Don Agustín were bringing with them four other Indian servants, he ordered that Domingo de Herniva—merchant and resident of this town and the person who bought at auction the right to fix the price on clothing which his lordship ordered should be given to Indians in such cases—should, at the prices that were fixed for him by his contract, give to the said Don Baltasar, cacique and governor, seven *varas* of common cloth, one middling fine hat, one carter's *huipil*,⁴⁸ some long petticoats, and a *conga* blanket; to the said Don Agustín, another seven *varas* of cloth, one middling fine hat, one carter's *huipil*, some long petticoats, and one blanket; to Don Lucas, one of the said four Indians, five and one half *varas* of common cloth, one middling fine hat, seven *varas* of serge, and one blanket; to Sebastián, another of the said Indians, three and one half *varas* of common cloth, seven *varas* of serge, one middling fine hat, and some long petticoats; to Diego, another of the aforesaid Indians, three and one-half *varas* of common cloth, one middling fine hat, seven *varas* of serge, one carter's *huipil* for his wife, and one blanket; to Juan, one of the Indians that came down to make peace, five *varas* of common cloth, seven of serge, one blanket, and one middling fine hat.

Likewise he will give to all four axes for cutting wood, and four machetes, and two young bulls to be taken to their said pueblo and divided among the Indians there for them to eat; furthermore that they should be paid seven pesos and four *tomines*.⁴⁹ These he gave to them by order of his lordship, and as a result the said Indians have eaten and are eating. These things were given to them together with a certified copy of this agreement and a receipt from the said Juan Rodríguez Espejo, the inter-

están situados este presente año para gastos de paz Y guerra desta gober-
nacion y así Lo proveyo y firmo con el dicho Ynterpete MATHEO DE
BESGA. . . .

En la villa de durango de la nueva bizcaya en siete dias del mes de mayo de mill y seiscientos y Veinte y quatro años Ante el Señor Almirante matheo de besga Governador y Cappitan general del Reyno y provincias De la nueva bizcaya Por su Magestad Parescio el Padre ffray Lazaro despinosa guardian del convento de San buena bentura de la horden de san francisco del pueblo de atotonilco Jurisdiscion de la Provincia de Santa barbola el qual trujo Consigo a don Jusepe yndio Governador Casique del dicho pueblo de atotonilco y Con el dicho padre e yndio binieron tres yndios que mediante alonso benitez ynterpete deste juzgado en lengua mejicana y el dicho yndio don jusepe ynterprete nombrado por su señoria en lengua concha y thobosa y mejicana Dijeron llamarse el Uno Diego y ser hijo de Un yndio llamado don agustin Capitan Y governador de la nacion tobosa y el otro dixo llamarse alonso de nacion thobossa y ser Cappitan de una rrancheria de yndios de la dicha nacion y el otro Ultimo de los tres dijo Llamarse Jacobo de nacion thobossa que los dichos diego y alonso yndios principales mediante los dichos ynterpretes en las dichas lenguas Dijeron que ellos y sus sujetos y las naciones nonojos o cochames chicos y algunos thepeguanes y salineros a mas de beynte años que andan de guerra contra Los españoles sin tener ni abedado obediencia a Su Magestad Retirados en los campos y sin dotrina y que ellos comfiessan Los daños que an echo en los ganados y estancias de la dicha probincia de Santa barbola y asimismo estando su sseñoria con su campo en ella Los ynbio a llamar de Paz con el dicho yndio Jacobo Con bandera de paz y salbo conducto no quisieron bajar sino antes respondieron que ffueran los españoles a buscarlos a sus sierras que ellos se deffenderian y Bisto por su sseñoria La dicha Respuesta despues enspo^h acomodado su sseñoria ymbio al cappitan Christobal sanchez con compañía de soldados españoles e yndios amigos conchos contra ellos Con los quales tubieron Guacabasa¹ y en ella murio Un español Y se trujeron en la dicha Jornada algunos yndios presos y otros quedaron eridos y conociendo ellos Lo mal que an echo y que Merecen gran castigo bienen por si y en nombre de sus sujetos que están juntos y congregados quince leguas del pueblo de atotomilco a pedir como piden con el dicho Padre ffray lazaro de espinossa que su señoria Como tan benigno Los resciba en nombre de su magestad de paz pues bienen Con solo aberles ymbiado el dicho Padre Una capilla de su abito Con la qual están esperando en el dicho paraje La horden que su sseñoria Les señalare donde acudiran a La doctrina Christiana y prometen rescibiendolos de paz de la guardar y Cumplir y Guardar Lo que Su Sseñoria Los hordenare y Bisto por su Sseñoria dijo que en nombre de su magestad rescibia y rescibio de paz a Thodos los dichos Yndios La qual guardandola y Cumpliendola su sseñoria les

^h Evidently a miscopied abbreviation for "un tiempo".

¹ From the context it would appear that this is an Indian word which means "encounter", or fight.

preter above mentioned, inasmuch as they do not bring any one who is able to receive the clothing, [that is, give a receipt] that the said Indians received the said clothing. The sum of money which this will amount to, his lordship will order to be paid from the 6000 pesos that have been assigned this present year for the expenses of peace and war in this jurisdiction. It was so ordered and signed with the said interpreter. MATEO DE VESGA. . . .

In the town of Durango, Nueva Vizcaya, on the seventh day of the month of May, 1624, before the señor admiral Mateo de Vesga, governor and captain-general for his Majesty of the kingdom and province of Nueva Vizcaya, appeared Father Fray Lázaro de Espinosa, guardian of the monastery of San Buenaventura, of the Order of Saint Francis, of the pueblo of Atotonilco, jurisdiction of the province of Santa Bárbara. He brought with him Don Jusepe, Indian governor and cacique of the said pueblo of Atotonilco. With the said father and Indian came three Indians, who, through Alonso Benítez, interpreter of this court in the Mexican language, and the said Indian, Don Jusepe, appointed interpreter by his lordship in the Concha, Toboso, and Mexican languages, said that their names were as follows: one, Diego, son of an Indian called Don Agustín, captain and governor of the Tobosa nation; another named Alonso, of the Tobosa nation and captain of a rancheria of Indians of the said nation; and the last one of the three said that his name was Jacobo, of the Tobosa nation.

The said Diego and Alonso, Indian chiefs, through the said interpreters in the said languages, said that they and their subjects and the Nonojes, or Cochames Chicos, and some of the Tepeguanes and Salineros, had been at war with the Spaniards for more than twenty years, without ever having given obedience to his Majesty and had withdrawn to the country without Christian instruction. They confessed to the damage they had done to the cattle and farms of the said province of Santa Bárbara, and that when his lordship was encamped there and sent the said Indian Jacobo, with a banner of peace and safe conduct, to summon them to make peace they did not wish to come down, but instead replied that the Spaniards might go and seek them in their sierras and that they would defend themselves. His lordship, having heard the said reply, afterwards sent, at a suitable time, Captain Cristóbal Sánchez with a company of Spanish soldiers and friendly Conchos Indians against them, and with them they had a fight in which one Spaniard was killed. On the said expedition some Indians were taken prisoners and others were wounded. Acknowledging the evil that they had done and the fact that they merited severe punishment, they come, for themselves, and in the name of their subjects who are assembled and congregated fifteen leagues from the pueblo of Atotonilco, to plead, as they do plead, with the said Father Fray Lázaro de Espinosa, that his lordship, being so benignant, should receive them in peace, in the name of his Majesty. For they come only because the said Father had sent them a hood from his habit, and with it they are awaiting at the said place the order in which his lordship will indicate to them the place to which they will repair for Christian in-

amparara y deffendera de sus enemigos que si la quebrantaren Les castigara a ffuego y sangre sin aber misericordia dellos y que declaren que Cantidad de yndios e yndias chicos y grandes habiendoselo dado a entender por los dichos ynterpretes dijera que como dicho tienen guardaran la dicha paz en que son rescebidos y no la quebrantarán en manera alguna Por ningun casso que cumpliendo Con lo que su sseñoria Les manda declaran ser muchos asi honbres como mugeres y niños y que señalandoles puerto donde biban y residan se contaran ymbiaran La Lista y minuta a su sseñoria y bisto por su Señoria mediante Los dichos ynterpetes Les mando poblasen seys leguas del dicho pueblo de atotomilco en Un parage que llaman de San ffelipe orillas de un rrio Llamado fflorido donde agan su yglesia y bivienda y sus millpas que su sseñoria Les ayudara Para lo azer Los quales dijeron mediante los dichos ynterpretes que cumplan Lo que se les manda y estan enagradecimiento a la merced de su sseñoria Les aze y mando que Domingo de herniva mercader en esta Villa Persona en quien estan rematados Los precios de las cossas que se dan a los yndios desta governacion Como en quien yzo mas baja de al dicho dio yndio siete baras de sayal Un sombrero entrefino una ffracadilla ¹ conga dos cajas de cuchillos carneros y un guipilcumise y un par de zapatos baquita y un toston de agujas e ylo y al dicho alonso otro tanto y al dicho yndio jacob Principal otro tanto y mas unas nugas medias para su muger y al dicho don Jusepe se le de por ser ladino y aber ayudado y serbido a su magestad en todas las guerras tres baras y media de paño comun Un sombrero entreffino Unos berceguies ^k de badana unos çapatos de baqueta y medias nugas comunes y un guipilcuimite y asimismo se de a el dicho padre fray Lacaro de espinossa Por el mucho trabajo y diligencia que a echo en lo susodicho y parte que a thenido en Darles de comer y bestias en que an benido setenta y Cinco pesos en plata que dandoselo thodo Lo sussodicho a el dicho padre y dichos yndios su sseñoria Le mandara pagar con sus rescibos y Cartas de pago del dicho padre e yndios de los seys mill pesos que estan situados para gastos de paz y guerra de esta governacion deste presente año y assi Lo probeyo e ffirmo con el dicho padre e ynterpete MATHEO DE VESGA ffray LAZARO DE ESPINOSA ALONSSO BENITEZ ante mí LUIS ARIAS DE LA PUENTE escrivano de su magestad y governacion.¹ [*Firmas.*]

^j "Frazadilla" or "frezadilla".

^k Obviously a miscopy for "borceguies".

¹ F. R. B., Sevilla, Aug. 20, 1914.

struction. They promise, if they are admitted to peace, to keep and fulfill it and to do whatever his lordship may order them to do.

In view of this, his lordship said that in the name of his Majesty he acknowledged, as he did, the acceptance of the peace by all of the said Indians, and that, if they kept and fulfilled it, his lordship would protect and defend them from their enemies, but if they should break it he would punish them with fire and blood, without having any pity upon them. He also asked that they state how many Indians there were, young and old, and that after this had been explained to them by the said interpreters, they should say, as they have said, that they will keep the said peace in which they are received and that they will not break it in any manner for any cause whatever. In answer to what his lordship orders they declare that the number of Indians, men as well as women and children, is large, and that if he would appoint a place where they may live and reside they would be counted and they would send the list and memorandum to his lordship.

This having been heard by his lordship through the said interpreters, he ordered that they should settle six leagues from the said pueblo of Atotonilco, in a place called San Felipe, on the banks of a river named Florido, where they should build their church and dwellings and plant their cornfields, in which his lordship would assist them. They said, through the said interpreters, that they would do what they were ordered to do and that they are grateful for the kindness that his lordship shows them. He ordered that Domingo de Herniva, merchant of this town and the person who bought at auction the right to fix the prices on the things that are given to the Indians of this jurisdiction, as the one who made the lowest bid on them, should give to the said Indian seven *varas* of serge, one middling fine hat, one *conga* blanket, two boxes of butcher knives, one carter's *huipilcumise*,⁵⁰ a pair of cowhide shoes and a half dollar's worth of needles and thread; to the said Alonso a like list of things; to the said Indian chief, a like list, and, in addition, some half-length petticoats for his wife; and to the said Jusepe, because of his being educated and having aided and served his Majesty in all the wars, three and one half *varas* of common cloth, one middling fine hat, some half-boots of tanned sheepskin, some cowhide shoes, common middle-length petticoats, and one carter's *huipilcuimite*.⁵¹ He also ordered that the said Father Fray Lázaro de Espinosa should be given, in return for the great labor and efforts that he had expended in the foregoing and the part that he had had in providing food for them and the animals on which they came, seventy-five pesos in silver.

When all the aforesaid have been given to the said father and the said Indians, and upon obtaining from the said father and the said Indians their receipts and certificates of payment, his lordship will order that the above payments be made from the 6000 pesos that have been assigned for the expenses of peace and war of this jurisdiction for this present year. He thus ordered and signed it with the said father and interpreter. MATEO DE VESGA. FRAY LÁZARO DE ESPINOSA. ALONSO BENÍTEZ. Before me, LUIS ARIAS DE LA PUENTE, clerk of his Majesty and government. [Signatures.]

Estado en que estaba Durango y la tierra, los edificios que an hecho yglesias y monasterios el gran crezimyento que tuvo la provyncia y gobierno^m [de Nueva Vizcaya. 1624.]

AUTTO.

En la Villa de durango dela nueba Vizcaya en diez y siete dias del mes de Junio de mill y seiscientos y veynte y quatro años El señor almirante Mateo de besga Governador y Capitan General deste Reyno de la nueba Vizcaya por Su magestad dijo que por quanto al tiempo y quando su señoria Bino a Governar este Reyno y entro en esta dicha villa caverzera del Para tomar como Thomo Posesion del dicho Gobierno allo y estava esta Villa Muy aruynada asi de gente y Vecinos como de casas de bivienda y por el buen horden que a tenido su Señoria en el dicho su gobierno agasaxe^a que a hecho a los Vecinos del y pasaxeros que an benido a esta villa se a aumentado en comercio de gente y trato de mercançias y otras cosas En que sean engrandecido aciendo casas de Vivienda en esta dicha villa estancias en su Jurisdicion haziendas de minas en los Reales que ay en esta Governacion Como son el conbento de señor San nicolas de la horden de señor San agustin que se a fundado en esta villa el ffactor Raphael de gascue Una cassa muy sunttuossa y grande y de mucho valor y Graviel Ruiz Vezino desta Villa otra cassa el capitan Juan de Aguiluz Una cassa antonio sanchez de salinana otra Casa en que bive El capitan Alonso de quesada otra cassa Andres de Villa otra casa francisco de medrano otra casa El presente secretario dos aposentos el Canonigo Porras tres o quatro aposentos desta cassa de Su bivienda Antonio morcillo dos tiendas Baltasar falcon chirionero dos cassas miguel de Varrassa chirionero otra cassa Y dos tiendas francisco de mena dos tiendas Antonio de molina otra cassa Juana bautista otra cassa domingo gonzales arcabuzero Una cassa Vartolome sanchez cobos Una cassa ernando Reynado chirinero otra cassa El bachiller Juan de Vega Vezino y Rexidor desta Villa Una tienda Gaspar denaba mercader una cassa y en una cera della tres tiendas El Alferez Real pidio de casa bona Una tienda Juan de Cadiz dos cassas el dicho Graviel Ruiz Una calera Junto a esta billa miguel Rodriguez Una cassa ana de ypolito una cassa Juana Rodriguez una cassa melchora de los Reyes otra cassa media Legua desta Villa Su señoria fundo Un pueblo llamado San Antonio de Cantidad de yndios que Vajaron de la sierra y manuel Rodriguez de messa a poblado Una estancia de Labor Una legua desta Villa el dicho Vachiller Juan de Vega a poblado Una Legua desta billa otra estancia de Labor el capitan Martin de Ybarra A Poblado quatro leguas desta villa otra estancia de labor y de ganado mayor diego de guzman herrera a poblado otra estancia de labor y ganado mayor tres leguas desta villa el dicho Juan de ocadiz otra estancia de lavor tres leguas della Las quales dichas estancias al tiempo que bino su señoria a el dicho su gobierno estavan destruydas y Las Yglesias y Viviendas de los padres de La compania de Jesus que administravan Los yndios quemadas Y destruydas y Las aziendas De sacar plata de Los

^m A. G. I., 67-1-4.

^a Obviously "agasajo".

The condition of Durango and of the country, the buildings, churches, and monasteries that were constructed, and the great development of the province and government [of Nueva Vizcaya. 1624].

AUTO.

In the town of Durango, Nueva Vizcaya, on the seventeenth day of the month of June, 1624, the señor admiral Mateo de Vesga, governor and captain-general of this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, for his Majesty, said that whereas at the time that his lordship came to govern this kingdom and entered this said town, its capital, in order to take, as he did take, possession of the said government, he found this town in a wretched state with respect to people and citizens as well as dwelling-houses, through the good order which his lordship has maintained in his said government, and the kindness that he has shown to the residents and travellers that have come to this town, there has been an increase in commerce, population, trade, and other things for which they may be extolled—building of dwelling-houses in the said town, [developing] farms in its district, [constructing] reduction works in the mining camps of this jurisdiction as, for instance: the monastery of San Nicolás, of the Order of Saint Augustine, which has been founded in this town; the factor, Rafael Gascue, a very sumptuous and large house of great value; Gabriel Ruíz, citizen of this town, another house; Captain Juan de Aguiluz, a house; Antonio Sánchez de Salinaria, another house in which he is living; Captain Alonso de Quesada, another house; Andrés de Villa, another house; Francisco de Medrano, another house; the present secretary, two rooms; the canon Porras, three or four rooms [added] to his dwelling; Antonio Morcillo, two stores; Baltasar Falcón Chirionero, two houses; Miguel de Barrasa Chirionero, another house and two stores; Francisco de Mena, two stores; Antonio de Molina, another house; Juan Bautista, another house; Domingo González, harquebus-maker, a house; Bartolomé Sánchez Cobos, a house; Hernando Reynado Chirirero, another house; the *bachiller*, Juan de Vega, citizen and *regidor* of this town, a store; Gaspar Denaba, merchant, a house, and in one *cera* of it three stores. The royal *alférez* asked for a store of Casabona; Juan de Cádiz, two houses; the said Gabriel Ruíz, a lime-kiln near his town; Miguel Rodríguez, a house; Ana de Hipólito, a house; Juana Rodríguez, a house; Melchora de los Reyes, another house. A half a league from this town his lordship founded a pueblo called San Antonio, with a number of Indians who came down from the sierra. Manuel Rodríguez de Mesa has settled a farm one league from this town. The said *bachiller* Juan de Vega has settled another farm one league from this town. Captain Martín de Ibarra has settled another farm for planting and cattle raising four leagues from this town. Diego de Guzmán Herrera has settled another farm for planting and cattle raising three leagues from this town, and the said Juan de Cádiz, another farm three leagues from it. At the time that his lordship came to take possession of the said government the said farms were destroyed; the churches and dwellings of the fathers of the Company of Jesus, who were governing the Indians, were burned and destroyed, and the reduction works for taking out silver at the mining

Reales de minas y aciendas de labores de sus contornos quemadas thodo lo qual se a buelto a Reedificar y se a edificado en grande aumento desta Villa y Reyno y de los Reales quintos de su magestad desde que su señoria empezo a Governar Con sus buenas trazas abelidad y buen Gobierno que a tenido en el tiempo que a governado este Reyno y para que conste a su magestad y su real consejo de las yndias Lo susodicho conviene se aga Ynformacion de todo ello con Las personas de mas calidad y onradas desta villa y que se den mandamientos Para que los alcaldes mayores de los Reales de minas Cada Uno en su jurisdiscion agan ymformacion De las aziendas de minas y labores que se an Reedificado y Poblado durante el dicho Gobierno de su señoria y ffechas Las ymbien a este tribunal para que Juntas Con la que en esta villa se yciere se saque un traslado de todo ello y autorizado en publica fforma se ymbie a su magestad E dicho se Real Consejo y asi lo proveyo e ffirmo MATHEO DE VESGA ante mi LUIS ARIAS DE LA PUENTE etc.

Ynformacion . . . Capitan don DIEGO CERON CARBAXAL testigo:

. . . que esta villa y reyno estava muy aruynada asi de gente como de casas y algunos yngenios de Reales de minas Casas de Viviendas de Las estancias de labor Por las grandes guerras que a abido del alçamiento General que en este Reyno Ubo . . . y este testigo andubo Personalmente Con el señor don Gaspar de alvear caballero de la horden de Santiago Governador que fue deste Reyno antecessor de su señoria como cappitan De Una compania de Soldados españoles que tubo a su cargo en el alçamiento General que Refferido tiene y Vio que los yndios destruyeron y quemaron La azienda de labor y Ganado mayor de pero mato que esta tres lenguas de yndee. . . .

GERONIMO TREBINO alguacil mayor . . . testigo:

. . . Y se an hecho y reedificado Las dichas estancias de Labor y Ganado mayor y este testigo a ydo personalmente con el señor Governador a las Visitas que a echo en este reyno como tal alguacil mayor y a bisto que se an reedificado en las minas de Goanacebi Sancta barbola yndee y Guanabal aciendas de minas y Labor en todo lo qual y en aberse baxado y Poblado de yndios dos pueblos el uno en el valle del serro Gordo de yndios Varbaros y otro en la provincia de sancta barbola en la cienega que llaman de san Pablo con mucha cantidad de yndios.^o

Relacion que se le vino [Pedro Coronado] azer al gobernador del estado de unas provyncias y de las battallas que tubo con ellos y rendimiento y ordenes que se dieron.^p [Durango, provincia de Nueva Vizcaya, 30 de Abril de 1625.]

En La Villa de durango En treinta dias del mes de abril de mill y Seiscientos y Beynte y cinco años El Señor almirante Mattheo de Vesga Gov-

^o F. R. B., Sevilla, Aug. 27, 1914.

^p A. G. I., Sevilla, 67-1-4.

camps, and the adjacent farms were burned. All of these have been rebuilt, or built, to the great benefit of this town and kingdom and the royal fifths ⁵² of his Majesty, since his lordship began to govern with the good management, ability, and good administration that he has exercised in the time during which he has governed this kingdom.

In order that the aforesaid may be evident to his Majesty and his royal Council of the Indies, it is necessary that a statement of the whole matter be made by the persons of the highest rank and reputation in this town, and that orders be given that the *alcaldes mayores* of the mining camps, each one in his own jurisdiction, shall make a report concerning the reduction works and farms that have been rebuilt and settled during the administration of his lordship. When they are made they shall send them to this tribunal, so that, together with the report which will be made in this city, a copy may be made of the whole, and, after it is attested in legal manner, sent to his Majesty and his royal Council. Thus he ordered and signed it, MATEO DE VESGA. Before me, LUIS ARIAS DE LA PUENTE, etc.

Statement. . . . Captain Don DIEGO CERON CARBAJAL, witness:

. . . that this town and kingdom were in a ruinous state with respect to people, as well as houses and some works at the mining camps and dwelling-houses on the farms, because of the great wars resulting from the general uprising that took place in this kingdom . . . and this witness went in person with Señor Don Gaspar de Alvear, knight of the Order of Santiago, former governor of this kingdom and predecessor of his lordship, as captain of a company of Spanish soldiers that he had in his charge in the general uprising referred to, and he saw that the Indians had destroyed and burned the farm buildings and cattle of Pero Mato, which is three leagues from Indé. . . .

GERÓNIMO TREVIÑO, *Alguacil Mayor* . . . witness:

. . . and the said farms and cattle-ranches have been re-established, and this witness, in his capacity as *alguacil mayor*, has gone in person with the said governor on the visits which he has made in this kingdom, and he has seen at the mines of Guanacebi, Santa Bárbara, Indé, and Guanabal that the mines and farms of all those places have been re-established, and that the Indians have come down and settled two pueblos, one in the valley of Cerro Gordo with barbarous Indians, and the other, with a large number of Indians, in the province of Santa Bárbara, at the marsh called San Pablo.

Report which [Pedro Coronado] came to make to the governor concerning the state of some of the provinces, and the battles that took place with [the Indians], their submission, and the orders that were given. [Durango, province of Nueva Vizcaya, April 30, 1625.]

In the town of Durango, on the thirtieth day of April, 1625, the señor admiral Mateo de Vesga,⁵³ governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Copala, Chiametla, and Sinaloa,⁵⁴ for his Majesty, declared that on yesterday, which was the twenty-ninth day

ernador y Capitan General deste rreino y provincias de la nueva Vizcaya Copala chiametla y Cinaloa por su magestad dixo que por quanto ayer que se contaron veinte y nueve dias deste presente mes y año llevo a esta villa Pedro Coronado alguacil mayor de la villa de San Phelipe y Santiago de la provincia de Cinaloa y Soldado de los que sirven a su magestad en ella el qual bino por Caudillo de quatro soldados que truszo a su cargo Y assimismo Una Carta de letra y firma del Padre Luis de Bonifaz de La Compania de Jessus Rector y Visitador de la dicha provincia. La dicha carta escrivio el dicho Padre Luis de Bonifaz a pedimiento del cappitan Diego Martinez de Urdayde que Lo es de la dicha provincia Y Theniente de Governador y Cappitan General della que el dicho capitan Diego martinez No la pudo escrivir Por Tener el brazo quebrado y estar enfermo en cama Y la dicha carta dize en ella a su sseñoria que el dicho Pedro Coronado Viene a esta dicha villa Como persona platica y de toda satisfazion a dar quenta a su señoria de la guerra que a tenido el dicho Capitan diego Martinez de Urdayde Con las naciones Soes apachales Calimones y otras circunvecinas y cerco del Peñol que llaman De Varravas Yia^q que su señoria Se enttere de todo y de quanto a el Excelentissimo Virey de la nueva espanya Mando al dicho Pedro Coronado clara y adviertamente Haga rrelacion de todo el susesso Muertes de amigos y enemigos Pressa que se haya Hecho Cada cossa con distincion y Verdad que en todo tiempo paresca avella^r dicho y estando pressente el dicho Pedro Coronado dixo que en conformidad de la horden que el dicho su capitan Diego Martinez de Urdayde dio de que Viniesse a esta dicha villa a dar a su señoria la dicha quenta La da en esta forma.

El movimiento de la dicha Guerra contra la nacion soes que su distrito es quatro Leguas del fuerte de montesclaros mision de los padres de la Compania de Jessus fue el principal movimiento y Un Yndio Velicosso Gran Capitan de la dicha nacion llamado jocopillo fue el que empeso a lebantar Gente y pagar los naturales a Ussanssa dellos y conbocar a las Naciones Calimones que estavan cinco Leguas poco mas de la nacion soes y assi mismo La Nacion apachale Cuyo capitan hera otro Yndio Velicosso Llamado Huechuri Y aviendose convocado y Juntado a Su Ussanssa Para Cuando La Luna estuviesse en el tiempo que entre ellos señalavan matar a los rreligiossos que Los administravan que Heran el Padre Castin y Jullio Pazcual su compañero Y assimismo matar Los yndios christianos que estavan debaxo del amparo de la Real Corona Y no mataron Los dichos padres por aver passado a otras Vissitas y enpesando Los dichos yndios La Guerra mataron en el pueblo de Vaca ocho yndios principales christianos Por no querer alssarse Con ellos y a este tiempo se alssó y rrebelo el pueblo de Calimoones que colindava con el dicho pueblo de Vaca quemando Todo el dicho pueblo y siguiendo Y avnandosse Con Los demas yndios alssados no quissieron admitir Los dichos rrequirimientos antes mataron Los dichos menssaxeros e Hizieron dellos Varbacoas y Se los comieron y enviaron al dicho capitan Menssejero Con muchas amenazas y desverguenzas que en Campaña Le esperavan

^q Probably a corrupted abbreviation for "y para".

^r A corrupted abbreviation for "haverla".

of this present month and year, Pedro Coronado, *alguacil mayor* of the town of San Felipe and Santiago, of the province of Sinaloa, and one of the soldiers who are serving his Majesty there, arrived in this town. He came as leader of four soldiers who were in his charge, and brought, at the same time, a letter in the handwriting and with the signature of Father Luis de Bonifaz, of the Company of Jesus, rector and visitor of the said province. The said Father Luis de Bonifaz wrote the said letter at the request of Diego Martínez de Urdaide,⁵⁵ who is captain of the said province and lieutenant governor and captain-general of it, for the said Captain Diego Martínez could not write, because of having his arm broken, and because of being ill in bed. In the said letter to his lordship he says that the said Pedro Coronado comes to this said town as a well-informed person and perfectly qualified to give information to his lordship of the war which the said Captain Diego Martínez de Urdaide has waged with the Soes, Apachales, Calimones, and other nations surrounding and near the large rock called Varravas. And in order that his lordship might inform himself of everything that he might give a complete account to the most excellent viceroy of New Spain,⁵⁶ he ordered the said Pedro Coronado to make a clear and intelligible report of the entire event, the deaths of friends and enemies, prisoners that may have been taken—everything distinctly and accurately—so that for all time it might appear that he told it. The said Pedro Coronado, being present, declared that in accordance with the order which his said captain, Diego Martínez de Urdaide, had given him to come to this town and give to his lordship the said account, he gives it in the following manner:

The movement against the Soes nation, whose district is four leagues from the fort of Montesclaros, mission of the fathers of the Company of Jesus, was the chief movement of the said war. A belligerent Indian named Jocopillo, chief captain of the said nation, was the one who began to raise people and pay the natives according to their custom, and to convoke the Calimones nations, who are about five leagues, or a little more, from the Soes nation, and also the Apachale nation, whose captain was another bellicose Indian named Huechuri. They congregated and assembled according to their custom, when the moon was at the time that had been agreed upon among them, to kill the religious who were governing them—Father Castín⁵⁷ and his companion, Julio Pascual—and likewise to kill the Christian Indians who were under the protection of the royal crown. But they did not kill the said fathers because they had gone to other missions.

Beginning the war, the said Indians killed at the pueblo of Vaca eight Christian Indian chiefs, because they did not wish to rebel with them. At the same time the pueblo of Calimones, which was contiguous to the said pueblo of Vaca, rose up and revolted, completely burning the said pueblo and advancing with the rest of the rebellious Indians. They did not wish to receive the said demands, but on the contrary killed the said messengers and roasted them and ate them. And they sent to the said captain a messenger with many threats and insults, saying that they were in the field awaiting him with their arms. When he saw the damage they

Con sus armas y Visto por el capitan el daño que avian hecho Y que de salirse Con ellos Podria rresultar el tomar avilantes Las demas naciones como Lo hizieran Por ser en tan Grande Numero La Gente que ay en la dicha Provincia Y assi el dicho Capitan Diego Martinez de Urdayde Salio a campaña con quarenta y ocho españoles Vien armados Y quinientos amigos que servian de soldados y fue en busca del enemigo a donde Se avian rrettirado a las sierras mas altas que avia en aquella provincia Y aviendo caminado el dicho capitan con su campo Por sus Jornadas doze dias Lllego a bista de un peñol alto al pie de el enpessaron a pelear Los amigos con Los enemigos sin que el capitan y soldados empessassen la pelea y los enemigos aquella Noche Se rretiraron y suvieron al Peñol Por ser aspero y ffuerte que Por serlo tanto fue necessario al dicho capitan ponerle cerco Con su canpo Y los Tuvo cercados treinta dias y en todos ellos peleando de Una parte y otra Hasta que el dicho capitan les Gasto el agua y espera Socorro de Diez soldados mas y dos mill yndios amigos Y al cavo de los dichos treinta dias el dicho capitan aviendo abierto algun camino a manos Con todos Los españoles e yndios amigos Repartio por esquadros Gano el dicho Peñol y dio la batalla a los enemigos en la qual murieron mas de Ciento y cinquenta de los enemigos Peleando Valerosamente Con las armas en las manos y assimismo ovo muchos heridos de los dichos enemigos Uyendose rretiraron Las sierras arriba y abaxo Y murieron treinta Yndios amigos y assimismo salieron quatro españoles Heridos y Coxieron Prissioneros Hombres y muxeres chicos y grandes Cerca de quarenta personas Con lo qual el dicho Capitan bolvio marchando con su campo hasta llegar al fuerte de montesclaros dexando assentado de pas todos Los pueblos de los amigos con que con el castigo que Hizo con Lo referido Y ahorcando Veinte y Un Yndios y entre ellos a Uno Velicosso llamado tacanuri esta la dicha provincia en toda paz y con los prissioneros En conformidad de Las Hordenes e Ynstruciones que El dicho capitan tiene Hizo deposito y Beinte y seis personas dellos fueron delinquentes y matadores a los quales sentencio el dicho capitan a destierro de la dicho provyncia y a servicio Personal Por tiempo Limitado Y que los aplico Por Tercias partes caons^a de su magestad Gastos de Justicia y Gastos de la Jornada que Hizo Y esto es al pie de lo que passo y Berdad Y que su Señoria mande Parescer ante si a tres soldados de los que trae consigo y estan en esta villa llamados Andres diaz Mateo rrios y balthasar de sepulbeda Los quales Se hallaron en la dicha Guerra y Jornada y se les lea todo Lo referido Para que Su Señoria Conste ser todo Verdad Hasta que el dicho capitan envie rrazon de todo a su señoria.

Y Bista la dicha relacion por su Señoria mando que delante de los dichos tres soldados presente estaban se les lea de *Vervo ad Verbum* la dicha declaracion y declaren si passo assi segun y como en ella se refiere. Y aviendosseles leido a la lettra La dicha rrelacion dixerón que todos tres Con el dicho Capitan diego Martinez de Urdayde Soldados y demas campo que en la dicha Jornada Y Guerra se Hallaron Y estubieron pressentes y se Hallaron en ella y paso Segun y de la manera que el dicho Pedro Coronado Lo tiene declarado y el dicho Balthassar de Sepulbeda

^a For "cajones".

had done, and that if they had their own way it would result in making the other nations more audacious, as they would be, because of the great number of them in the province, the said Captain Diego Martínez de Urdaide took the field with forty-eight Spaniards, well armed, and five hundred friendly Indians who were serving as soldiers, and went in search of the enemy to where they had retreated, in the highest sierras in that province.

The said captain, having travelled with his army for twelve days' journey, arrived in sight of a large high rock, at the foot of which the friendly Indians began to fight with the hostiles without waiting for the captain and soldiers to begin the fight. That night the enemy retired and climbed the rock, and because it was so rough and strong it became necessary for the said captain to surround it with his force. He kept them surrounded for thirty days, in all that time fighting in one place or another, until the said captain used up all the water they had and awaited a reinforcement of ten more soldiers and 2000 friendly Indians. At the end of the said thirty days the said captain, having opened some sort of a road by hand, with all the Spaniards and friendly Indians divided into squadrons, gained the said rock and gave battle to the enemy in which more than one hundred and fifty of the enemy died fighting valorously with their arms in their hands. Likewise many of the said hostiles were wounded while they took flight and retired to the sierras above and below. Thirty friendly Indians were killed and four Spaniards were wounded. Nearly forty persons, men and women, small and large, were taken prisoner. The said captain then returned, marching with his army until he reached the fort of Montesclaros, leaving all the pueblos of the friendly Indians at peace with the punishment administered as above stated, and hanging twenty Indians, among them one troublesome man named Tacanuri.

This said province is entirely at peace, and in conformity with the orders and instructions that he had, the said captain placed the prisoners in safe keeping. Twenty-six among them were criminals and murderers, and the said captain sentenced them to banishment from the said province and to personal service for a limited time, and applied the proceeds in three parts: to the treasury of his Majesty, the costs of justice, and the expenses of the expedition that he made. This is literally what happened and is true. His lordship ordered that there should appear before him three of the soldiers of those whom he brought with him and who were in this town, named Andrés Díaz, Mateo Ríos, and Baltasar de Sepúlveda, who were in the said war and expedition, and that all the aforesaid should be read to them, so that his lordship might learn whether it was all true, until such time as the said captain should send a report of all to his lordship.

After the said statement had been examined by his lordship, he ordered that it should be read word for word in the presence of the said three soldiers, and that they should state whether all had occurred as was stated in it, and after they had read the said statement in detail they declared that they all three went with the said Captain Diego Martínez de Urdaide and the rest of the soldiers and army on the said expedition and war,

Salio Herido de la dicha batalla y Vio Los Heridos que en la dicha rrelacion se contiene y pressas muertes y heridos Segun y Como en la dicha rrelacion Se rrefiere y todo Lo en ella contenido Es berdad Como parescera por Las ynformaciones y auctos que el dicho capitan tiene fechos en rracon dellos. Y lo firmo el dicho Pedro Coronado y Mathias rodriguez Soldados y los demas no lo firmaron por que dixeron no saver y bisto Por su Señoria La dicha rrelacion mando que saque en traslado copias y authorissados en publica forma su señoria Lo envie a el Excelentissimo Señor Marques de Zerralbo Virrey de la nueba españa Y assi lo proveyo Y firmo Matheo de Vesga Pedro Coronado Mathias rodriguez ante mi LUIS ARIAS DE LA PUENTE secretario de Su Magestad Y governacion . . . en la Villa de durango en treinta dias del mes de abrill de mill y seiscientos y veinte y cinco años.^t [*Firmas.*]

Razon Y minuta de los yndios que se administran en las provincias de la nueba Vizcaia Por los Vicarios Veneficiados y rrelixiosos de San Francisco y compañía de Jesus que hoy estan bautizados.^u [1625.]

PROVINCIA DE SINALOA.

| | |
|--|-------|
| El padre leandro patiño de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision mill y quatrocientas personas. | 1400 |
| El padre Alverto Llarin de la compañía de Jesus Administra en su mision tres mill personas. | 3000 |
| El padre martin de aspilueta de la compañía de Jesus Administra en su mision dos mill y quinientas y sesenta y siete personas. | 2567 |
| El padre Juan calbo de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision nobecientas y Veinte y dos personas. | 922 |
| El padre Pedro Juan castin de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision seys mill y quinientas y setenta personas. | 6570 |
| El padre Francisco olibano de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision nuebe mill y setecientas y cinquenta y nueve personas | 9759 |
| El padre diego bandersipe de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision diez mill personas. | 10000 |
| El padre Pedro mendez de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision siete mill y ducientas y cinquenta personas. | 7250 |
| El padre Juan de Cardenas de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision quatro mill personas. | 4000 |
| El padre thomas Basilio de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision cinco mill y quatrocientas personas. | 5400 |

^t F. R. B., Sevilla, Aug. 29, 1914.

^u A. G. I., 67-1-4.

and were present and took part in it, and that everything had happened as the said Pedro Coronado had declared. The said Baltasar de Sepúlveda was wounded in the said battle, and he saw the wounded mentioned in the said report, and the prisoners, deaths, and wounds, as stated in the said report, and he declared that everything contained in it was true, as would appear by the reports and *autos* that the said captain had made in regard to them. The said soldiers Pedro Coronado and Mathias Rodríguez signed it; the others did not sign it because they said they did not know how [to write]. The said statement having been examined by his lordship, he ordered that certified copies in legal form be made of it and sent to the most excellent señor, Marquis de Cerralvo,⁵⁹ viceroy of New Spain. It was thus done and signed by Mateo de Vesga, Pedro Coronado, and Mathias Rodríguez before me, LUIS ARIAS DE LA PUENTE, secretary of his Majesty's government . . . in the town of Durango, on the thirtieth day of the month of April, 1625. [*Signatures.*]

Account and memorandum of the baptized Indians governed in the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya by the vicars, beneficiaries, and religious of the Order of Saint Francis and of the Company of Jesus. [1625.]

PROVINCE OF SINALOA.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Father Leandro Patiño of the Company of Jesus administers to one thousand and four hundred persons at his mission. | 1400 |
| Father Alberto Llarin of the Company of Jesus administers to three thousand persons at his mission. | 3000 |
| Father Martín de Aspilueta of the Company of Jesus administers to two thousand five hundred and sixty-seven persons at his mission | 2567 |
| Father Juan Calvo of the Company of Jesus administers to nine hundred and twenty-two persons at his mission. | 922 |
| Father Pedro Castín ⁵⁹ of the Company of Jesus administers to six thousand five hundred and seventy persons at his mission. . . | 6570 |
| Father Francisco Olivano of the Company of Jesus administers to nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine persons at his mission | 9759 |
| Father Diego Bandersipe of the Company of Jesus administers to ten thousand persons at his mission. | 10000 |
| Father Pedro Méndez of the Company of Jesus administers to seven thousand two hundred and fifty persons at his mission. . . | 7250 |
| Father Juan de Cardenas of the Company of Jesus administers to four thousand persons at his mission. | 4000 |
| Father Thomas Basilio of the Company of Jesus administers to five thousand and four hundred persons at his mission. | 5400 |
| Father Guillermo Oten of the Company of Jesus administers to three thousand and eight hundred persons at his mission. . . . | 3800 |

| | |
|---|-------|
| El padre Guillermo oten de la compañía de Jesus Administra en su mision tres mill y ochocientas personas..... | 3800 |
| El padre miguel gomez de la compañía de Jesus Administra en su mision cinco mill y quinientas personas..... | 5500 |
| El padre Juan barela de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision diez mill Y quaticientas personas..... | 10400 |
| El padre diego de la cruz de la compañía de Jesus administra en su mision cinco mill y quinientas personas..... | 5500 |
| El padre diego de Guzman de la compañía de Jesus nobecientas personas | 900 |
| El padre blas de paredes de la compañía de Jesus mill y trescientas y ochenta | 1380 |
| El padre ygnacio de zavalá de la compañía de Jesus mill y quinientas | 1500 |
| El padre bicente de la aguila de la compañía de Jesus cinco mill quinientas y ochenta | 5580 |

REAL DE TOPIA Y SU JURIDICION.

| | |
|--|-----|
| En el Real de Topia y su balle administran los padres fray cosme martinez y fray Juan de medina de la horden de San francisco trescientas y ochenta y quatro personas..... | 384 |
| En la quebrada administra el padre Guillermo de san clemente de la compañía de Jesus trescientas personas..... | 300 |
| En el paraxe de la estancia administra el padre bartolome toledano de La compañía de Jesus trescientas y ochenta y una personas | 381 |

VALLE DE SAN BARTOLOME Y PROVINCIA DE SANCTA BARBARA.

| | |
|--|------|
| En el valle de san Bartolome y provincia de sancta barbara y sus rancherias administran Los padres fray Juan de thorres olguin y fray felipe de sosa de la horden de san francisco mill y tres personas..... | 1003 |
|--|------|

JURIDISCION DE YNDEE.

| | |
|---|-----|
| En la jurisdiscion de yndee administran Los padres nicolas de estrada y Guillermo de solier de la compañía de Jesus quinientas y quatorze personas..... | 514 |
|---|-----|

DISTRITO Y COMARCA DEL PRESIDIO DE SANCTA CATALINA.

| | |
|--|-----|
| En el Presidio y distrito de sancta catalina administra el padre andres Lopez y el padre burgos de la compañía de Jesus seyscientas y treynta Y quatro personas..... | 634 |
|--|-----|

VALLE DE LA SAUZEDA Y CANATAN Y SU JURIDISCION.

| | |
|---|-----|
| El padre fray francisco guerta de la horden del señor san francisco administra trescientas y diez y siete personas..... | 317 |
|---|-----|

| | |
|---|-------|
| Father Miguel Gómez of the Company of Jesus administers to five thousand and five hundred persons at his mission..... | 5500 |
| Father Juan Barela of the Company of Jesus administers to ten thousand and four hundred persons at his mission..... | 10400 |
| Father Diego de la Cruz of the Company of Jesus administers to five thousand and five hundred persons at his mission..... | 5500 |
| Father Diego de Guzmán of the Company of Jesus [administers to] nine hundred persons..... | 900 |
| Father Blas de Paredes of the Company of Jesus [administers to] one thousand three hundred and eighty [persons]..... | 1380 |
| Father Ignacio de Zavala of the Company of Jesus [administers to] one thousand and five hundred [persons]..... | 1500 |
| Father Vicente de la Aguila of the Company of Jesus [administers to] five thousand five hundred and eighty [persons]..... | 5580 |

REAL DE TOPIA AND ITS JURISDICTION.

| | |
|---|-----|
| In the <i>real</i> and valley of Topia Fathers Fray Cosme Martínez and Fray Juan de Medina of the Order of Saint Francis administer to three hundred and eighty four persons..... | 384 |
| At La Quebrada Father Guillermo de San Clemente of the Company of Jesus administers to three hundred persons..... | 300 |
| At La Estancia Father Bartolomé Toledano of the Company of Jesus administers to three hundred and eighty-one persons.. | 381 |

VALLEY OF SAN BARTOLOMÉ AND THE PROVINCE OF SANTA BÁRBARA.

| | |
|--|------|
| In the valley of San Bartolomé and the province of Santa Bárbara and their rancherías Fathers Fray Juan de Torres Olguín and Fray Felipe de Sosa of the Order of Saint Francis administer to one thousand and three persons..... | 1003 |
|--|------|

JURISDICTION OF INDÉ.

| | |
|---|-----|
| In the jurisdiction of Indé Fathers Nicolás de Estrada and Guillermo de Solier of the Company of Jesus administer to five hundred and fourteen persons..... | 514 |
|---|-----|

DISTRICT AND NEIGHBORING TERRITORY OF THE PRESIDIO OF SANTA CATALINA.

| | |
|---|-----|
| In the presidio and district of Santa Catalina Father Andrés López and Father Burgos of the Company of Jesus administer to six hundred and thirty-four persons..... | 634 |
|---|-----|

VALLEY OF LA SAUCEDA AND CANATÁN AND ITS JURISDICTION.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Father Fray Francisco Guerta of the Order of Saint Francis administers to three hundred and seventeen persons..... | 317 |
|--|-----|

VALLE DE SAN JUAN DEL RRIO Y SU JURIDISCION.

- El padre fray pedro de aguilar y el padre fray Rodrigo de ovantes de la horden de señor san francisco administran ducientas y sesenta y nueve personas..... 269

REAL DE QUENCAME Y SU JURIDISCION.

- El padre fray alonso de ciguenza de la horden de san francisco administra trecientas y quarenta y nueve personas..... 349

JURIDISCION DE SAN FRANCISCO DEL MEZQUITAL.

- El Padre fray graviel serrano y el padre fray Agustin de avrego de la horden de san francisco administran seyscientas y nueve personas 609

GUAZAMOTA Y SU JURISDICCION.

- El padre fray francisco capillas de la horden de san francisco administra seiscientas y ochenta y dos personas..... 682

DISTRITO DE LA GUARDIANIA DE LA VILLA DE DURANGO.

- El padre fray Alonso de Vaeza de la horden de san francisco Vicario de los pueblos que administra el y el dicho conbento son mill y setenta y una personas..... 1071

REAL DE GUANAZABI Y SU JURISDICCION.

- El padre martin Larios y el padre Joseffe de Lomas de la compañía de Jesus administran Ducientas y sesenta y quatro personas 264

REAL DE MAPEMI Y SU JURISDICCION.

- El Licenciado francisco silgado administra ciento y veinte y nueve yndios 129

JURIDISCION DE PARRAS Y LAGUNA.

- El Padre Alonso gomez de zervantes el padre mateo de castro berde el padre martin de egurrola el padre diego de quellar el padre miguel bernon el padre martin de brizuela de la compañía de jesus administran mill y quinientas y sesenta y nueve personas 1569

PROBINCIA DE CHIAMETLA.

- En la probincia de chiametla y su Jurisdicion administran el Licenciado bartholome mexia de prado y el bachiller antonio Ruvio felix dos mill y ducientas y ochenta personas..... 2280

VALLEY OF SAN JUAN DEL RÍO AND ITS JURISDICTION.

Father Fray Pedro de Aguilar and Father Fray Rodrigo de Ovan-
tes of the Order of Saint Francis administer to two hundred
and sixty-nine persons..... 269

REAL DE CUENCAME AND ITS JURISDICTION.

Father Fray Alonso de Ciguenza of the Order of Saint Francis ad-
ministers to three hundred and forty-nine persons..... 349

JURISDICTION OF SAN FRANCISCO DEL MEZQUITAL.

Father Fray Gabriel Serrano and Father Fray Agustín de Abrego
of the Order of Saint Francis administer to six hundred and
nine persons 609

GUAZAMOTA AND ITS JURISDICTION.

Father Fray Francisco Capillas of the Order of Saint Francis ad-
ministers to six hundred and eighty-two persons..... 682

DISTRICT OF THE GUARDIANSHIP OF THE TOWN OF
DURANGO.

Father Fray Alonso de Baeza of the Order of Saint Francis, vicar
of the pueblos which he administers to, he and the said con-
vent [administer to] one thousand and seventy-one persons.. 1071

REAL DE GUANAZABI AND ITS JURISDICTION.

Father Martín Larios and Father Josef de Lomas of the Company
of Jesus administer to two hundred and sixty-four persons.. 264

REAL DE MAPIMI AND ITS JURISDICTION.

The *licenciado* Francisco Silgado administers to one hundred and
twenty-nine Indians 129

JURISDICTION OF PARRAS AND LAGUNA.

Father Alonso Gómez de Cervantes, Father Mateo de Castro
Verde, Father Martín de Egurrola, Father Diego de Quellar,
Father Miguel Vernon, Father Martín de Brizuela, of the
Company of Jesus, administer to one thousand five hundred
and sixty-nine persons..... 1569

PROVINCE OF CHIAMETLA.

In the province of Chiametla and its jurisdiction, the *licenciado*
Bartolomé Mexía de Prado and the *bachiller* Antonio Rubio
Felix administer to two thousand two hundred and eighty
persons 2280

SIERRA DE SAN ANDRES Y SAN POLITO Y SU JURISDISCION.

El padre diego de queto de la compañía de Jesus y el padre Juan de mallen y el padre pedro Gravina y el padre Juan del castillo administran cinco mill y trescientas y ochenta Personas. . . . 5380

PROVINCIA DE TARAUMARES Y SU JURISDISCION.

Los naturales desta no se save La cantidad que son Porque asta hoy no an tenido Dótrina esta es la provincia adelante de la de sancta barbola son yndios que bienen a trabaxar a el valle de san bartolome de continuo.

SALINEROS.

Esta nacion esta unida con otras tres que son tobosos coclames, nonoxes que todas quatro de hordinario andan Juntas y congregadas asisten y avitan a treynta Leguas de La provincia de sancta Varbola Jamas an admitiado Dotrina ay Gran suma de ellos.

PROVINCIA DEL NAGARITA.

Esta Provincia Empieza desde el distrito de La de Guazamota y a ella an llegado algunos españoles y no an Rescivido dano y Tanvien son yndios domesticos y de las rancherias mas cercanas a la provincia de Guazamota Salen algunos yndios a trabajar Con los españoles de la villa del nombre de dios Valle de suchil Y Lapoana Es Grande esta provincia no se sabe la cantidad que tiene.

Todo lo qual Es nueba Vizcaya Y de todos Los christianos que Van en esta Region quedan en poder del governador y Capitan General Matheo de Vesga Los originales ffirmados de las Justicias donde las ay y Religiosos de todas las hordenes y Venefficiados.^v

Al presidente de Guadalaxara sobre el modo de escribir cartas a Su Magestad.^w [Febrero 12 de 1642.]

Licenciado Don Pedro Fernandez de Vaesa alcalde de mi cassa y Corte, Juez de mis obras y Vosques Reales a quien he proveido Por presidente de mi Audiencia Real de la ciudad de Guadalaxara de la Provincia de la Nueva Galicia—Porque de no venir las cartas que me escriven de essas provincias y los Recados que los acompañan con la claridad y distincion que conviene suele causar y causa mucha Confusion al tiempo de verse,

^v F. R. B., Sevilla, Aug. 22, 1914.

^w A. G. I., 103-3-1.

SIERRA OF SAN ANDRÉS AND SAN POLITO AND ITS
JURISDICTION.

Father Diego de Queto of the Company of Jesus, Father Juan de Mallen, Father Pedro Gravina, and Father Juan del Castillo administer to five thousand three hundred and eighty persons. 5380

PROVINCE OF TARAUMARES AND ITS JURISDICTION.

The number of the natives of this province is not known, for up to the present time they have not had religious instruction. It is the province beyond that of Santa Bárbara. These Indians come regularly to work in the valley of San Bartolomé.

SALINEROS.

This nation is combined with three others—the Tobosos, the Coclames, and the Nonoxes—and all four usually travel together and live in a body thirty leagues from the province of Santa Bárbara. They have never accepted religious instruction. There is a great number of them.

PROVINCE OF NAGARITA.

This province begins from the district of Guazamota. Some Spaniards have gone there and have received no injury. Also the Indians are domesticated, and from the rancherías nearest the province of Guazamota some of them go out to work for the Spaniards of the town of Nombre de Dios, Valle de Suchil, and Lapoana. This is a large province, but the number of people it contains is not known.

Such is Nueva Vizcaya, and the total of all the Christians who are in this region. The original [records], signed by the justices, where there are any, by the religious of the orders, and by the beneficiaries, are under the authority of the governor and captain-general, Mateo de Vesga.

To the president of Guadalajara, concerning the form [to be observed] in writing letters to his Majesty. [February 12, 1642.]

Licenciado Don Pedro Fernández de Baesa,⁶⁰ alcalde of my house and court, justice of royal construction and forests, whom I have named as president of my royal audiencia, of the city of Guadalajara, in the province of Nueva Galicia: For the reason that the letters which you write me from those provinces, and the records which accompany them, do not have the clarity and distinctness desired, and habitually cause great confusion when the time comes to consider them and answer them, it is essential that in future you should use a more suitable style in drawing them up. [Therefore,] I have decided to order and command you, as I do, that

y Responder ha ellas y es necessario de aqui adelante aya formas estilo mas conveniente para su expedicion He resuelto ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) que quando me escrivieredes en cosas de Justicia, y otras qualesquiera que se ofrescan lo hagays con mucha distincion separando las materias. Con carta particular de Cada Una a media marjen; y que en la otra media Venga sacada Relacion sumaria de Lo que contiene La carta o Capítulos que tubiere Lo mas sustancial que sea posible y en manera que se pueda determinar por ella lo que Conbenga numerando los Capítulos, y intitulado Los Recados que con ellas binieren de forma que llame lo uno a lo otro, y para que observen y guarden precisamente el estilo los Governadores y Alcaldes mayores del distrito de essa haudienssia dareis las ordenes que fueren necesarias porque la diversidad grande que ordinariamente ocurre a mi consejo Real de las Yndias de negocios Cartas y Papeles que bienen de essas partes, sin el estilo que piden las materias obliga a toda esta prevencion y las cartas que me escrivieredes que an de ser solamente Las precisas, inescusables, se an de dirijir al dicho mi consejo en manos de mi ssecretario de el y no por otra via con las quales hareis que se remita Un indice que por mayor declare sus materias, y para que en Sus breves datos se sepa lo que son; y espero de Vuestras obligaciones que pondreis en la ejecucion de lo referido el cuidado que convenga . . . Febrero 12 de 1642. YO EL REY.*

Al Governador de la Nueva Vizcaya guarde las cédulas que estan dadas, para que no se hagan esclavos a los Yndios Y los conserven en paz quietud Y Justicia.^v [Madrid, 30 de Noviembre de 1647.]

El Rey. Mi Governador y Capitan General de la Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya—en mi conssejo Real de las Indias se ha entendido que essa provincia confina con las naciones barvaras que caen a la Vanda de Sinaloa, Tepeguanes Salineros y otros que son de guerra aunque ordinariamente Viven de paz Y que estando en ella fueron a tratar con ellos los Alcaldes maiores y doctrineros bendiendo y llevando los hijos a que sirviessen en las minas y en otras partes dandolos por esclavos o ofreciendolos como de pressente que es lo mismo y resulto de esto el començarsse a inquietar y castigallos el Governador don Luis de Valdes con destemplança y contra la fee publica que pues haviendo los llamado a la doctrina prendio y arcabuceo a algunos con que se alçaron tomaron las armas y flechas y hicieron algunas correrias se abrieron mis mis cajas y me a costado mas de cinquenta mill pesos el quietarlos y no lo estan del todo y que es muy conveniente a mi servicio Y a su quietud el mandar apretadamente No se hagan esclavos a los Yndios Barbaros ni los embien por Via de pressente a nadie ni a servir a parte alguna contra su Voluntad quando estan en paz Y no se prenden en buena guerra; Y haviendose Visto por los del dicho

* F. R. B., Sevilla.

^v A. G. I., 103-3-1. The original, or a copy of the original, of this document is in A. G. I., 144-1-15.

when you write to me concerning matters of justice, or anything else that may present itself, you do so with great distinctness, keeping the various topics separate. Write your letter for each topic on half the page, and on the other half let there appear a brief abstract of the contents of the letter, or of the chapters, made as concise as possible, and in such a manner that from the abstract one may decide what needs to be done. Number the chapters, and give titles to the records which accompany your letters in such a way as to show how they correspond. And in order that the governors and *alcaldes mayores* of the district of that audiencia may observe and follow the same form precisely, you will give the necessary orders. For the great diversity [in form] which frequently is observed by my royal Council of the Indies in the records, letters, and papers, which come from those parts without the form demanded by the subject-matter, makes this warning necessary. The letters which you may write to me, which should be only those which are absolutely necessary, are to be directed to my said Council in care of my secretary of the same, and not to any other address. With them send an index of their contents which in general may show the subject-matter, so that one may know from the brief data given what these contents are. I hope that you will, according to your obligation, exercise proper care in complying with the above. February 12, 1642.

I THE KING.

To the governor of Nueva Vizcaya; ordering him to observe the cédulas which have been issued in order that the Indians may not be enslaved, that they may be kept peaceful and quiet, and that they may be accorded justice. [Madrid, November 30, 1647.]

The King. To my governor and captain-general of the province of Nueva Vizcaya: It has been learned in my royal Council of the Indies that that province adjoins the barbarous nations which live along the boundary of Sinaloa—the Tepeguanes, Salineros, and others—who are now at war,⁶¹ though they are usually at peace; that while they were so at peace, there went among them to trade certain *alcaldes mayores* and religious instructors who carried off and sold their children to serve in the mines and elsewhere, disposing of them as slaves or giving them as presents, which amounts to the same thing. As a result they became disquieted, and the governor, Don Luis de Valdés,⁶² began to punish them immoderately and without regard for the public faith, for, after calling them to attend religious instruction, he seized and shot some of them. Thereupon they revolted, took up their arms and arrows, and made some raids; they broke into my treasury, and it has cost me over 50,000 pesos to pacify them, although they are not entirely quieted yet. It is very fitting to my service and to their peace to command strictly that the barbarous Indians shall not be made slaves nor sent as presents to anyone, nor made to serve anywhere against their will when they are at peace and are not taken in open war.

mi consejo atendiendo a lo referido y a lo mucho que desseo la conservacion paz Y quietud de los Yndios y que en ninguna manera Sean Vejados molestados ni dados por esclavos con ningun pretexto pues si se berificasse ser cierta esta relacion Sin duda se me abria deservido mucho en ello y deseando poner el Remedio conveniente e tenido por bien de dar la presente por la qual os mando atendais mucho a guardar precissa y puntualmente lo dispuesto en las cedula que estan dadas para que no se hagan esclavos a los Yndios ni los ocasionen ninguna turbacion en essa provincia por los Alcaldes mayores doctrineros ni otra perssona alguna antes los acaricien y traten con toda blandura y benignidad y conserven en paz quietud Y Justicia porque de lo contrario me dare por deservido y tomare de Una vez la resolucion que mas combenga contra los transgressores de las dichas mis cedula y en Reciviendo esta me ynformareis del estado en que se hallan estas turbaciones y Vos de Vuestra parte haveis de procurar con los medios de suabidad que pudieredes tener essos naturales sosegados y quietos procurandoles alijerar las cargas Y excusarles las molestias tratando solo de su conservacion y de inclinarlos a toda buena conformidad para que reciben mejor la doctrina y enseñaça de nuestra Santa fee chatolica y si en esto os adelantaredes a Vuestros antecessores me tendre por servido de ello y hare merced:—fecha en Madrid a 30 de Noviembre de 1647—Yo EL REY.^a etc.

Al Virrey de la Nueva España que ymforme sobre el Presidio, que havisa combiene formar de nuevo el Governador de la Nueva Vizcaya.^a
[Madrid, 18 de Enero de 1648.]

El Rey. Mi Virrey . . . Don Luis de Valdez mi Governador, y Capitan General de la Nueva Vizcaya, en carta que me escrivis en 26 de febrero de 646 años, dize, entre otras cosas, la guerra que le han hecho los Yndios alçados, de aquella provincia, y los robos y muertes que an causado y grandes gastos que se han hecho y que ha reducido a la paz mas de dos mil, muerto y aorcado ciento y cinquenta, lo qual a obrado con la asistencia del dinero y gente, que le embiastes, y con lo mucho que el a gastado y suplido y para establecer en aquella Provincia, La paz de los Yndios es muy conveniente que se forme un Presidio, nuevo, en el Paraje del Cerro Gordo que es el Camino Real que ay desde el Parral a esa Ziudad, sobre lo cual os havia escripto, y ha guardava vuestra Resolucion, para disponerlo sin costa de mi Real hazienda, relaxando algunas plazas de otros Presidios de aquel Reyno, y anidiendolas en este, por ser tan necesario por freno de los Yndios, y que cesen Las guerras Ziviles, Y Haviendose Visto por los de mi Consejo Real de las Yndias con lo que sobre ello pidio mi fiscal en el, porque para tomar resolucion en este punto conviene a mi servicio saver con toda distincion y claridad, si es justo y

^a F. R. B., Sevilla.

^a A. G. I., 103-3-1.

The matter having been considered by the members of my Council, in the light of the foregoing and of my great desire for the peace and quietude of the Indians, and that they should be in no way vexed, molested, or given as slaves under any pretext soever—for if this account be true I have without doubt been very badly served—I, desiring to bring about a suitable reform, have thought well to issue the present order, whereby I command you to observe precisely and faithfully the provisions of the *cedulas* which have been issued commanding that the Indians shall not be enslaved nor given any cause for disturbance in that province by the *alcaldes mayores*, religious instructors, or any other person, but that they shall rather be petted, treated with all kindness and benignity, kept in peace and quiet, and accorded just treatment. For if this is not done I shall consider myself ill served, and shall at once take proper steps against the violators of my *cedulas*. Upon your receipt of this you will report to me the state of these disturbances, and on your own part, you will endeavor by all the mild measures of which you can avail yourself to keep those natives peaceful and quiet; endeavor to lighten their burdens and relieve them of troubles, looking solely to preserving them and inclining them to the proper submission so that they may more readily receive the doctrine and instruction in our holy Catholic faith. If you excel your predecessors in this work I shall consider myself well served thereby, and I will reward you. Dated at Madrid, November 30, 1647. I THE KING.

To the viceroy of New Spain, ordering him to report concerning the presidio which the governor of Nueva Vizcaya recommends to be established anew. [Madrid, January 18, 1648.]

The King. My viceroy:⁶³ . . . A letter which you wrote to me on February 26, 1646, recounts, among other things, the war which the revolted Indians of Nueva Vizcaya have waged against Don Luis Valdés,⁶⁴ my governor and captain-general of that province, the robberies and murders which they have committed, and the enormous expense which they have caused, and states that he has reduced to peace over 2000 of them, and has killed and hanged 150 of them. This he has effected by the aid of men and money which you have sent him. And [he says that] in view of the great amount which he has spent and in order to establish peace among the Indians of that province, it is very desirable to establish a new presidio at the place called Cerro Gordo on the royal highway which leads from Parral to that city. He had written to you concerning the project, and has awaited your decision for carrying it out, without cost to my *real hacienda*, by releasing some men from the other presidios of that kingdom and congregating them in a new one, a measure highly necessary to check the Indians and put an end to civil wars. The matter having been considered by the members of my royal Council of the Indies together with the recommendation of the fiscal concerning it [it was decided that], in order for them to pass upon the matter, it is conducive to my service for them to know definitely and clearly whether

combeniente, a el y a la quietud y conservacion de aquella Provincia, paz y sosiego de los Yndios della, que se forme de nuebo el Presidio que propone el dicho Governador de que numero de gente de Ynfanteria o Cavalleria a de ser, lo que ymportara cada año, su gasto y de que Presidio se podra sacar, sin que haga falta, y en que parte, y Lugar, sera mejor ponerlo, y si habra algunos efectos que no se han de mi hazienda que aplicar a esto, o si seria superfluo, y sin necessidad, este Presidio, que se propone, pues parece que en tantos años, se a podido govarnar aquella Provincia y Casso que todavia Combenga, expresareis con mucha claridad, las raçones y fundamentos que hubiere para formalle, y de donde y con que hazienda se podra hazer sin gasto de la mia por el aprieto pressente de las Cossas, y las combeniencias, e ynconvenientes, que de Uno, U otro pueden resultar a quien y por que Causa, y Raçon os mando, que en la primera ocasion que se os ofresca, me informeis, sobre todo muy individual Y distintamente, con Vuestro parecer para que Visto por los del dicho mi consejo se provea lo mas conveniente y necessario fecha en Madrid a 18 de henero de 1648—YO EL REY.^b

Respuesta al Presidente de Guadalaxara ssobre Un papel que remitio, que le dio un Religioso de San francisco ssobre materias de Religion Conversiones y Contribuciones que los Yndios hacen al barbaro Maiarita.^o [Madrid, 30 de Noviembre de 1649.]

El Rey. Licenciado Pedro perez de baeza Pressidente de mi audiencia Real de la ciudad de Guadalaxara provincia de la nueva Galicia la carta que me escribistes en 13 de abril de este año y el papel que os dio un Religioso orden de San francisco ssobre materias de Religion conversiones y contribuciones que los yndios hacen al barbaro maiarita y decis enviareis un Oidor para que visite aquel distrito y otras cosas que en ella referis cerca de esto se a recibido y visto en mi conssejo Real de las yndias y a parecido ordenaros y mandaros como lo hago que al dicho provincial le agradecais el celo y atencion con que en esto ha obrado y le encargueis lo continue y por lo que os toca a Vos y esa mi audiencia cuidareis mucho de acudir a conseguir el bien universal de los yndios con la atencion y buen modo que para estos pareciere mas conveniente y me yreis dando quenta de lo que fuereis obrando en estas materias de madrid a 30 de noviembre de 1649 YO EL REY por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor JUAN BAPTISTA SAENZ NAVARRETE y señalada de los del Conssejo.

^b F. R. B., Sevilla.

^c A. G. I., 144-1-15.

it is proper and advantageous for my service, and likewise for the quiet and preservation of that province and the peace and tranquillity of the Indians, to establish anew the presidio which the governor proposes; of what number of infantry or cavalry it will cost each year; from what presidio the garrison may be drawn without causing a deficiency; in what region and place it would be best to locate it; whether there are any sums not pertaining to my treasury which can be applied to this purpose; and whether this proposed presidio is superfluous and unnecessary. For it appears that it has been possible to govern that province for many years without it. But in case you think that it is, nevertheless, desirable, you will indicate clearly the reasons and needs which may exist for its foundation, and from what funds it may be built without drawing from mine—because of the existing stringency of affairs.⁶⁶ You will also point out the advantages or disadvantages which may result from either decision, and to whom and why such results may ensue. I therefore command you to report to me at your first opportunity concerning the entire matter minutely and clearly, submitting your own opinion, in order that, the matter being considered by the members of my said Council, that which is necessary and convenient may be ordered. Dated at Madrid, January 18, 1648. I THE KING.

Reply to the president of Guadalajara concerning a document that he sent, which was given to him by a religious of the Order of Saint Francis, relative to affairs of religion, conversions, and the contributions which the Indians pay to the barbarian Maiarita. [Madrid, November 30, 1649.]

The King. *Licenciado* Pedro Pérez de Baeza,⁶⁶ president of my royal Audiencia of the city of Guadalajara in the province of Nueva Galicia: The letter which you wrote to me on April 13 of this year, and the paper which a religious of the Order of Saint Francis gave to you concerning matters of religion, conversions, and the contributions which the Indians pay to the barbarian Maiarita, and in which you say that you will send an *oidor* to visit that district, and refer to other related matters, has been received and considered by my royal Council of the Indies. It has seemed well to order and command you, as I do, to thank the provincial for the zeal and application with which he has labored in this matter, and to charge him to continue. As for your duty and that of my audiencia, you will endeavor to secure the entire welfare of the Indians with all the attention and wise means deemed most fitting, and you will continue to report to me what you are doing in these matters. Dated at Madrid, November 30, 1649. I THE KING. By command of the king, our lord. JUAN BAUTISTA SÁENZ NAVARRETE. Signed by the members of the Council.

Ynforme que hace El Padre C.^a fray lorenço Canto^e Religioso de la Seráfica Orden de nuestro Padre San francisco A el Señor Don Diego Guajardo fajardo Governador y capitan general de el Reyno de la Vizcaya, y sus probincias, y a los religiosos Prelados y Superiores de la dicha Orden.¹ [Santiago de Babonoyaba, 21 de Mayo de 1650.]

Señor: Lunes que se contaron nueve de este mes de mayo, sali de este convento y Pueblo de santiago babonoyaba, en compañía de el padre Guardian fray Hernando de Orbaneja y de don joan de la cruz Governador general de todas las naciones de naturales, conchos y tarahumares para la entrada que se me ordenó y mando assi por Vuestra Señoría Como por mi prelado Provincial El Reverendo Padre fray christobal Palomino.

Este dia llegamos a el pueblo y Doctrina de Sancta Ysabel de nuestra administracion, que ay de un pueblo a otro, ocho buenas leguas.

Martes diez de el dicho mes de mayo nos detubimos en este paraje porque nos amenaçaba mal tiempo.

Miercoles once le hiço bueno, y salimos de Santa isabel a el pueblo y Doctrina de San andres que ay cinco leguas desde Santa Ysabel a esta.

Juebes salimos de San Andres (a doze) Para el pueblo y Doctrina de San bernave: que ay por el camino que fuimos de este San Andres a este, seis leguas grandes: En este pueblo de San bernave estuvimos un dia, por registrar y mirar bien los puestos que los tiene muy buenos.

Sabado salimos de san bernabe, y fuimos a san gregorio yaguna, que ay desde aquel pueblo a este nueve leguas, y no son cortas. En este pueblo y Doctrina de San Gregorio yaguna estuvimos el dia que llegamos, y todo el domingo siguiente. Y aqui se juntaron lo mas de la gente del pueblo de san Diego, con su casique llamado don lorenço que ay de uno al otro pueblo seis leguas, segun el buen informe que me hiço el padre fray Hernando como quien tan trabajado y tan tocado lo tiene en tiempo de tantos años.

En el pueblo de san bernabe hice nonbre de Dios baptizando diez y siete criaturas y belé a la muger del hijo de el casique de dicho pueblo llamado Don bernabe; y por aver sido aqui el principio de la administracion de dichos dos santos Sacramentos le puse Por nonbre a dicho Pueblo san bernabe del nonbre de Dios.

En el pueblo de san gregorio baptice treinta y siete criaturas que actualmente avia juntas asi de este pueblo como de el de san Diego con que son en número los baptizados cinquenta y quatro.

Para Volvernoss salimos de ayaguna lunes diez y seis de dicho mes de mayo; y aviendonos llovido mucho continuadamente en siete leguas de camino, llegamos a san bernabe a buena ora.

Y martes en este pueblo en compañía de el Padre Guardian referido, y de don joan Governador general, y pasamos de la otra vanda de el rio, a donde encima de una ladera que se señorea todo aquel hermoso vallecillo,

^a It is not clear for what this abbreviation stands; it might stand for "Catholico", or for "Christiano".

^e Elsewhere in this document this name appears as "Cantu".

¹ A. G. I., 66-6-18.

Report which Father Fray Lorenzo Cantu, a religious of the Seraphic Order of our Father Saint Francis, makes to Señor Don Diego Guajardo Fajardo, governor and captain-general of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces, and to the religious, prelates, and superiors of the said order. [Santiago de Babonoyaba, May 21, 1650.]

Sir: On Monday, the ninth of this month of May, I set out from this convent and town of Santiago Babonoyaba, in company with the father guardian, Fray Hernando de Orbaneja, and Don Juan de la Cruz, governor-general of all the Conchos and Tarahumares nations, upon the expedition which I was ordered and commanded to make by your lordship and by my provincial prelate, Reverend Father Fray Cristóbal Palomino.

The same day we arrived at the town and *doctrina* of Santa Ysabel, which lies within our jurisdiction. The distance from one town to the other is eight good leagues.

Tuesday, the tenth of the said month of May, we remained in this place because bad weather was threatening us.

Wednesday, the eleventh, the weather was good, and we set out from Santa Ysabel for the town and *doctrina* of San Andrés. It is five leagues from Santa Ysabel to San Andrés.

Thursday we set out from San Andrés at twelve o'clock, for the town and *doctrina* of San Bernabé. By the road which we went, the distance from San Andrés to this town is six long leagues. We stayed in this town of San Bernabé one day in order to examine and observe closely the locations [for a mission]. It has very good ones.

Saturday we set out from San Bernabé and went to San Gregorio Yaguna; the distance from that town to this is nine leagues, and they are not short. In this town and *doctrina* of San Gregorio Yaguna we remained all of the day upon which we arrived, and all of the following Sunday. Here gathered the greater part of the people of San Diego, with their chief named Don Lorenzo. The pueblos are six leagues distant from each other, according to the credible report given to me by Father Fray Hernando, who is well informed by reason of his labor and his experience of so many years.

In the town of San Bernabé I began my labors by baptizing seventeen infants, and I pronounced the nuptial benediction for the wife of the son of the chief of this town, named Don Bernabé. Because this place was the scene of the beginning of the administration of these two holy sacraments, I gave to the said town the name of San Bernabé del Nombre de Dios.

In the town of San Gregorio I baptized thirty-seven infants who were there gathered from this town, as well as from San Diego. Counting these, the number of those baptized is now fifty-four.

In order to return we set out from Ayaguna on Monday the sixteenth of the said month of May. After it had rained on us continuously for seven leagues, we reached San Bernabé at a seasonable time.

Tuesday, in this town, in company with the Father Guardian and Don Juan, the governor-general, we crossed to the other side of the river to a

señale personalmente sitio. Para iglesia y convento y por no aver de presente otro ministro de justicia que en nombre de su magestad me diesse la posesion rogue a dicho governador don joan de la cruz me la diera como me la dio Estando presente el casique y Governador de dicho pueblo, Don bernabe, y don pedro casique y Governador de el pueblo de san Andres, y don francisco asimesmo casique de el pueblo de san Andres los quales tres casiques con otro llamado don Diego fueron acompañandonos a la ida y a la buelta con mucho gusto y se mostraron muy leales basallos de su magestad Y por los grandes regosijos y festejos que a nuestro recibimiento hicieron los naturales de los pueblos de san Andres san bernabe, y san gregorio yaguna, y los que se juntaron en este de el pueblo de san diego jugamos estar en buena disposicion sus animos para recibir nuestra santa fé catholica; y las demostraciones que todos estos barbaros de esto dieron y lo que pidieron a los interpretes que nos diessen a entender; fue que todos estos regocijos que hacian y el gusto que mostraban era por averles ya cumplido sus grandes deseos que tenian de verse administrados y que asistiessen en sus pueblos y tierras los Padres y Religiosos de nuestro Padre San francisco que entre ellos comunmente nos llaman los Padres blancos y del avito blanco. Y notesse que a todos los bailes y a nuestro recibimiento casi ninguno de estos pueblos indio ninguno trujo arca ni flechas ni otra ninguna de sus armas esecion que noto mucho el padre Guardian fray Hernando de Orbaneja como tan experimentado, y el Governador don joan con sus soldados conchos que le acompañaban Señal cierta de que estan quietos y pacificos en sus pueblos. Dios Nuestro Señor les conserbe en ella para honrra y gloria suia y ensalçamiento de su sancta fe cathólica y extencion de los reynos y monarquia de nuestro Rey y Señor phelipe quarto que Dios guarde muchos años.

En este puesto y Pueblo Señor Governador y dueño mio pienso asistir y continuar, la posesion que se a dado edificando templo Para Dios y casa y convento en que poder vivir asi yo el tiempo que mi Religion y la santa Obediencia me lo permitiere como los demas religiosos mis hermanos que me sucedieren. El intento que me movio a tener la asistencia en este pueblo y puesto de san bernabe nombre de Dios fue en aver hallado y visto en el muy buenas comodidades de materiales asi de maderas como de piedra y otros para poder edificar y para poder acudir a la administracion de los Santos Sacramentos a los pobres naturales de las poblaciones y rancherias de san gregorio yaguna San Diego San Antonio San Mathias y Santo Thomas y Santa cruz que vendran a estar en contorno de dicho convento veinte o veinte y quatro leguas poco mas o menos que tendré a mi cargo y cuidado interin que los prelados enviaren mas ministros y obreros porque Realmente señor que la mies es mucha y si su magestad Dios le guarde no nos socorre con sus ayudas de costas se pasara muy mal, o no se podra vivir Porque la gente es pobrisima y la tierra nueva y hasta aora no se sabe con certidambre si Dios tiene criados en ella algunos tesoros y minerales.

Y porque estos * de proximo para ir a el Parral a besar su mano a Vuestra Señoria y vocalmente hacer la relacion de todo, y debajo de todo

* Obviously a miscopy for "estoy".

place where I personally indicated a building site for a church and monastery on the top of a slope which dominates all the beautiful little valley. As there was present no other person possessing the powers of magistracy to give me the site in the name of his Majesty, I asked the governor, Don Juan de la Cruz, to do so. This he did, in the presence of the governor of the said town, Don Bernabé, Don Pedro, chief and governor of the town of San Andrés, and Don Francisco, also a cacique of the town of San Andrés. These three chiefs, with another called Don Diego, had gladly accompanied us on our journey, both going and coming, and showed themselves very loyal vassals of his Majesty. Judging from the great rejoicing and the entertainments given for our reception by the natives of the towns of San Andrés, San Bernabé, and San Gregorio Yaguna, and from the number of them who gathered in this town of San Diego, we considered that their spirits were kindly disposed toward the reception of our holy Catholic faith. The demonstrations which all these barbarians gave of this, and the requests which they made through the interpreters, gave us to understand that all their entertainments and all the pleasure which they manifested were because they had achieved their great desire to be ministered unto by and to have resident in their towns and lands the fathers and religious of our holy Father Saint Francis, whom they commonly call among themselves the white fathers, or the fathers of the white habit. It was noticeable that at all their dances and at our reception there was hardly an Indian present in any of these towns with bow and arrows or any other weapon—a fact which was noted in particular by Father Guardian Fray Hernando de Orbaneja, a man of considerable experience, and by Don Juan, the governor, with his Conchos soldiers who accompanied him. This was a sure sign that they were at peace and quiet in their towns; may God preserve them in it for his honor and glory and the exaltation of his holy Catholic faith and the extension of the kingdoms and monarchy of our king and lord, Philip IV.,⁶⁷ whom may God guard many years.

In this post and town, my lord, governor, and master, I intend to reside and maintain the possession which has been conceded, by erecting a temple to God and a house and monastery in which I may be able to live for the time which my religion and holy obedience shall permit, as well as my other brother religious who shall succeed me. The motive which led me to take up my abode in this town and post of San Bernabé Nombre de Dios was that I had found and seen in it good supplies of materials both of wood and stone and other things for building, and facilities for administering the holy sacraments to the poor natives of the towns and villages of San Gregorio Yaguna, San Diego, San Antonio, San Matías, Santo Tomás, and Santa Cruz, which lie about this monastery within a radius of twenty or twenty-four leagues more or less, and which I shall have in my charge and care until the prelates send more ministers and laborers. For truly, my lord, the harvest is abundant, and if his Majesty, whom God protect, does not aid us with funds to meet expenses we shall suffer greatly and may not even be able to live, since the people are very poor, the land new, and it is not known yet of a certainty whether God has created any treasure or precious metals in it.

secreto natural pedirle el remedio de algunas cosas que necesitan de el y mucho, no soy mas largo guarde nuestro Señor a Vuestra Señoria y dexe ver con mucho gusto y salud que le deseo ffecha en este pueblo de santiago babonoyaba mayo veinte y uno de mill y seiscientos y cinquenta años Capellan perpetuo de Vuestra Señoria que su mano beso Fray LORENCO CANTU.

Respuesta al Governador de la Nueva vizcaia sobre la reducion de los Yndios de Sonora.^a [Madrid, 27 de Marzo de 1651.]

El Rey. Don Diego Guaxardo faxardo mi governador y cappitan general de las provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya en cartas que me escribisteis en diez y nueve de Henero de seiscientos y cinquenta decis que estando en la pacificacion de la provincia de taraumares deespachasteis por justicia mayor y cappitan de guerra de la Sonora a simon lasso de la vega con orden de que por aquella parte hiciesse frontera al enemigo por ella reconociesse toda la tierra que pudiesse y la fuesse reduciendo a mi servicio en que a puesto la diligencia con veinte y que a no tener los ynpedimientos y contradicion que hace el cappitan del presidio de cinaloa que haviendo sido su fundacion sujeta a este gobierno Mis Virreyes de la Nueva España an advogado en si el proveerle con tacita permission de Vuestros Antecessores y no teniendo mas jurisdiccion que la de el presidio procuran Ampliarla y entroducirse con potestad en la provincia de Sonora originando algunas competencias que malogravan la ocasion y para que cesse este ynconveniente me suplicais fuesse servido de declarar a quien pertenece el gobierno de aquellas provincias para que cada uno se contengan en los limites que le tocan pues redujisteis a paz y a mi obediencia la de taraumares, es tan dilatada y tantos sus naturales que se havian suscitado algunas centellas de passion en los malcontentos y an procurado ynquietarla de nuevo y a no haverles dejado el freno de la Villa de aguilar os huvieran dado cuidado y aviais aplicado el posible para sosegarlos y teneis pressos a los que movian la inquietud y aveis despachado personas que estan entendiendo en el Remedio y esperais ponerle de suerte que no passe adelante el daño. Y Haviendose visto por los de mi conssejo Real de las yndias a parecido deciros que se cree que en esto aveis cuidado de lo que os toca y assi lo prosiguireis en lo de adelante que en ello me sirvireis de Madrid a 27 de março de 1651 años Yo EL REY Por mandado del Rey nuestro señor JUAN BAUTISTA SAENZ NAVARRETE. Y señalada de los del conssejo.

^a A. G. I., 144-1-15.

Inasmuch as I am about ready to go to Parral to kiss your lordship's hand and make a verbal report concerning everything and ask you in all secrecy to remedy certain things which greatly need rectifying, I shall not write more. May our Lord guard your lordship and permit me to see you in pleasure and good health as I desire. Done in this town of Santiago Babonoyaba, May 21, 1650. Your lordship's permanent chaplain, who kisses your hand, Fray LORENZO CANTU.

Reply to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya concerning the reduction of the Indians of Sonora. [Madrid, March 27, 1651.]

The King. Don Diego Guajardo Fajardo,⁶⁸ my governor and captain-general of the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya: In letters which you wrote to me on January 19, 1650, you say that while engaged in the pacification of the province of Tarahumara⁶⁹ you sent as *justicia mayor* and captain of war of Sonora, Simón Laso de la Vega,

Duplicated, April, 1651

with orders to confront the enemy in that province, to reconnoitre all the land that he could, and reduce it to my service, which undertaking he began on the twentieth, and [you ask] that he be spared the obstructions and opposition which the captain of the presidio of Sinaloa offers. [You say] that this presidio [since] its foundation has been subject to this government [Nueva Vizcaya], but that my viceroys of New Spain have arrogated to themselves the garrisoning of it, with the tacit permission of your predecessors, and they, having no wider jurisdiction than the presidio, are endeavoring to extend their jurisdiction and to establish their authority in the province of Sonora, thereby giving rise to some conflicts which complicated the situation. In order that the irregularity shall cease, you beg me to be pleased to declare to whom belongs the government of those provinces, in order that each one may restrain himself within the limits which belong to him. For [you say that] you who reduced the province of the Tarahumares to peace and obedience to me, a province so wide and with so many natives who have been incited by flashes of passion among some malcontents, who have again attempted to disturb it, that if they had not been stopped by the check upon them presented by the town of Aguilar, they would have caused you considerable trouble, that you have exerted yourself as much as possible to quiet them, that you hold prisoners those who caused the disturbances, that you have sent persons who are engaged in improving the situation, and that you hope to effect reforms whereby the damage may be prevented in future. The matter having been considered by the members of my royal Council of the Indies, it has seemed well to say to you that it is believed that in this matter you have had a care for that which is in your charge, wherefore you will so continue to do in future, for in so doing you serve me. Madrid, March 27, 1651. I THE KING. By command of the king, our lord. JUAN BAUTISTA SÁENZ NAVARRETE. Signed by the members of the Council.

*Al Virrey de la Nueva España ynforme ssobre lo que propone el governador de la Nueva Vizcaya cerca de la provission de las plaças de los presidios de su distrito.*⁴ [Buen Retiro, 23 de Mayo de 1652.]

El Rey. Conde de alva de aliste primo gentil hombre de mi camara mi Virrey governador y capitan general de las provincias de la Nueva España y presidente de mi audiencia de ella o la perssona o perssonas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno en carta que me escribio Don Diego Guaxardo mi governador y capitan general de la Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya en veinte y seis de febrero de seiscientos y cinquenta y uno dice que el año de seiscientos y treinta y seis hiço asiento el capitan don Pedro de perea con el Marques de Cadereita mi Virrey de essas provincias de Poblar la de Sonora con ciertas condiciones siendo una dellas el que hubiesse de ocurrir al governador de la Nueva Vizcaya a que le despachase titulo de justicia mayor y capitan a guerra de la dicha provincia de sonora por ser el distrito de aquel govierno y que en esta Conformidad hubiesse de estar sujeto a las ordenes que se le diessen de la Nueva bizcaya y que habiendo muerto el capitan Don pedro perea continuaron los gobernadores della la provission de aquel oficio y que los capitanes de los pressidios de sinaloa sin mas fundamento que yntroducir en la de sonora Juridicion moviendo algunas competencias pues siendo despachados aquellos pressidios con patentes de mis virreyes de esa Nueva España no solo pretenden los de sinaloa ebadirse de la subordinacion que tienen a aquel gobierno pero aun la proibission de Justicia de aquella provincia que siempre se a despachado por el almirante Don Pedro porter casanate que a la saçon era capitan de aquel pressidio a enbaraçar la posesion a las personas que a despachado a ello el dicho Mi governador y continuando en estender la Jurisdicion que no le toca y mover algunas conpetencias al capitan simon lasso de la vega a quien havia puesto por Justicia Mayor y capitan a guerra de la dicha provincia de sonora el governador de Nueva Vizcaya y que sirviendome como buen soldado hiço algunas entradas y pacificaciones a su costa ya haviendo sucedido el lebantamiento de la Nacion Taraumara le despacho orden para que juntando los mas españoles e yndios amigos que pudiesse entrarse por aquella parte a socorrer al dicho governador haciendo guerra a los yndios rebeldes y estando en la conpañia esperando este socorro que ubiera sido de mucha ynportancia y habiendo tenido abisso suyo de que estava para salir con el a pocos dias Recebio una carta la qual me a remetido en que el dicho Don Pedro porter cassanete le abisaba como habian muerto alebosamente de un arcabuçasso al dicho capitan simon lasso, successo no sin algunas sospechas y que con estas nuevas avia despachado luego al general Juan B de Morales perssona de toda satisfacion y que habia sido el primero que habia entrado al reparo de la ynvasion de los tharaumares y tenia pedidos socoros al dicho almirante a que administrasse Justicia en dicha provincia de sonora y bolviesse a juntar la Jente que tenia conducida su antecessor que con su muerte se avia esparcido y entrasse a socorrerle con ella y que averiguasse la muerte Referida y castigasse los agresores y por que con el levantamiento de los

⁴ A. G. I., 144-1-15.

To the viceroy of New Spain, asking him to report on the proposal of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya with reference to the enlistment of soldiers in the presidios of his district. [Buen Retiro, May 23, 1652.]

The King. Count of Alvaldeliste,⁷⁰ cousin, lord of my bedchamber, my viceroy, and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain, and president of my audiencia of that viceroyalty, or to the person, or persons, in whose charge its government may be: In a letter written to me by Don Diego Guajardo,⁷¹ my governor and captain-general of the province of Nueva Vizcaya, on February 26, 1651, he says that in the year 1636 Captain Don Pedro de Perea⁷² made a contract with the Marquis of Cadereyta,⁷³ my viceroy of those provinces, for the settlement of Sonora under certain conditions, one of which was that he was to apply to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to issue to him title as *justicia mayor* and captain of war of the said province of Sonora, since it was a district of that government; in conformity with this arrangement he was to be subject to orders issued to him from Nueva Vizcaya. Captain Don Pedro de Perea having died, the governors of Nueva Vizcaya continued making appointments to that office. But the captains of the presidios of Sinaloa, with no other purpose than that of intervening in the jurisdiction of Sonora—thereby giving origin to some contentions since those presidios were organized under patents from my viceroys of New Spain—attempt to free themselves not only from the subordination which they have to that government, but even from the administration of justice of that province, which has always been despatched by Admiral Don Pedro Porter Casanate,⁷⁴ who was at the time captain of that presidio; they have moreover endeavored to prevent possession of the office by persons appointed to it by my said governor, persisting in extending their jurisdiction over matters which do not pertain to them, and exciting rivalry with Captain Simón Laso de la Vega, whom the governor of Nueva Vizcaya appointed *justicia mayor* and captain of war of the said province of Sonora. Laso de la Vega, serving me as a good soldier, made some expeditions and subjugations at his own expense and, the uprising of the Tarahumara nation⁷⁵ having occurred, he was ordered to assemble all the Spaniards and friendly Indians he could and go into that region to help the said governor by making war upon the rebel Indians. The governor, being on his campaign awaiting this assistance, which would have been of great value, after hearing from Laso that he was about to set out with it in a few days, received a letter which he has sent to me, in which the said Don Pedro Porter Casanate notified him that Captain Simón Laso had been treacherously killed by a shot from a harquebus. This event was not entirely free from suspicion, and the governor, upon receipt of the news of it, at once dispatched General Juan B. de Morales—a thoroughly reliable person, he having been the first one to go in to check the invasion of the Tarahumares and had already asked for reinforcements from the admiral—to administer justice in the province of Sonora and reunite the men whom his predecessor led but who had become scattered upon the death of the latter. With these men Morales was to come to the governor's assistance, investigate the death of Laso, and punish the perpetrators

taraumares estava inpedido al passo ordinario para aquella Provincia le hordenen fuessen por la de sinaloa aunque es rodeo de mas de ducientas leguas para que comunicasse algunas cosas de mi servicio y habiendo llegado a ella el dicho almirante Don Pedro porter cassanate capitán del presidio de aquella provincia para que no pasasse a la de sonora puso los ynpedimentos que constaran por el testimonio que remitia de que resulto no aver conseguido el socorro que estava dispuesto ni podido averiguar ni castigar el delito de la muerte de dicho simon lasso baliendosse el dicho cappitan de sinaloa de la ocasion de estar levantados los Yndios taraumares que ocupan el passo para semejantes resoluciones queriendo subscitar competencias o introducirlas entre aquel y ese gobierno de Nueva España y que este y otros ynconvenientes se siguen de que mis Virreyes de ella provean algunos presidios del gobierno de Nueva Vizcaya pues pretenden los capitanes dellos evadirse por esta Raçon de la obediencia que deben al capitan general de aquel rreyno con que en la ocasion de estas guerras que le pusieron en contingencia de perdersse no se pudo conseguir socorro alguno del pressidio de sinaloa ni del de san sebastian a que se sigue faltar en tierras de tan continuas guerras con que premiar los soldados que alli me sirven que no los desalienta poco en las ocasiones que se ofrecen: y me a suplicado mande reconocer su ynportancia y que se ponga el remedio que conbiene ordenando que todos los presidios de aquel reyno que son vien pocos y de corto numero de plaças que se provean mi virrey de essa Nueva España o separandolos de una vez por el excusar competencias y en otra carta de siete de octubre del año passado de seis-cientos y cinquenta y uno representa el dicho mi governador que son tan continuos los daños que en aquellas provincias se padecen con ynvasiones de los yndios dellas que no ay ora de seguridad y que a todas es preciso estar dando distintos socorros de armas municiones y Jente a diferentes partes que las piden y que aunque a muchos meses que por diferentes despachos testimonios y cartas os hace ynstancia para que los socorrais y proveais de remedio en los muchos daños que padecen no ha tenido respuesta de las que os a escrito estando para salir de aquel Real una cuadrilla de carros que llebaba mas de veinte mill marcos de plata con que an sido aquel año mas de ochenta mill los que han salido conduciendo conque de temor de aquellos Barbaros se ba despoblando aquel Reyno y suplicandome mande poner el remedio que pareciere mas combeniente.

Y Haviendose visto en mi conssejo Real de las yndias con los testimonios que sobre esto me remitió dicho Don Diego guajardo y lo que dixo mi fiscal de el como quiera que por carta de este día aviso a mi governador de la Nueva Vizcaya que en quanto al alcançamiento de los yndios taraumares y pretenciones que se an hecho para conservar la Villa de aguilar y castigar los delinquentes en la muerte del padre cornelio godinez missionero de la compañía de Jesus la continúe asta que se consiga segura pacificacion y os de aviso de lo que obrare y de lo que se le ofreciere para que se ordene lo necessario a las assistencias que hubiere menester de las partes que tocan a su gobierno y que procure que la pacificacion y reducion se aga con las menos muertes de Yndios que se pudiere ussando primero de los medios suaves de amistad y buen tratamiento con ellos me

of the deed. But, because the ordinary route through that province was closed by reason of the uprising of the Tarahumares, the governor ordered Morales to go through the province of Sinaloa, although this necessitated a detour of more than two hundred leagues, for the purpose of communicating certain affairs pertaining to my service. When Morales arrived at Sinaloa, the admiral Don Pedro Porter Casanate, captain of the presidio of that province, tried to prevent this advance into Sonora by offering obstructions which will appear in the transcript which the governor sent [to the king]. As a result the assistance ordered was not received nor was it possible to investigate or punish the crime of the death of Simón Laso, because the captain of Sinaloa availed himself of the occasion of the uprising of the Tarahumares, who occupy the pass, to take such action, desiring to foment rivalries or originate them between the governments of New Spain and Nueva Vizcaya. This and other difficulties arise from the fact that my viceroys of New Spain appoint the officers of certain presidios in the government of Nueva Vizcaya, for the captains of these presidios attempt on account of this to evade obedience to the captain-general of that kingdom. As a result, during these wars which place the province in danger of ruin, it was impossible to obtain any assistance from the presidio of Sinaloa nor from that of San Sebastián. It follows, therefore, in lands where wars are so continuous, that means are lacking with which to reward the soldiers who serve me there, a condition which discourages them not a little when these situations arise.

The governor has therefore besought me to order that this serious situation should be recognized and the proper remedy applied, and by ordering that all the presidios of that kingdom, which are indeed few and scantily garrisoned, are to be under control of my viceroy of New Spain or else be all at once taken from his jurisdiction, for the purpose of preventing rivalries.

In another letter of October 7 of last year, 1651, the said governor reported that the injury from Indian invasions was so continual in those provinces that there was not an hour of security; that it was necessary to be always sending assistance in the form of arms, munitions, and men to the various places which asked for them. And, although he asked you months ago, in numerous despatches, transcripts, and letters, to assist him by providing some remedy for the many ills from which they suffer, he has as yet received no reply to what he has written you. [He says, moreover,] that he was about to take out of that camp a train of wagons carrying more than 20,000 marks in silver, making over 80,000 marks which he had taken out during the year; but on account of fear of the barbarians the kingdom was becoming depopulated. He, therefore, suppliated me to provide whatever remedy seemed fit.

Wherefore, the matter having been reviewed in my royal Council of the Indies, with the transcripts sent me by Don Diego Guajardo and the opinion of my fiscal of the Council, it was decided to advise my governor of Nueva Vizcaya, by letter of this date, to continue in his efforts to punish the uprising of the Tarahumares, and the persons guilty of the death of Father Cornelio Godínez, missionary of the Company of Jesus,

a parecido avisaros dello para que lo tengais entendido y que siendo cierto lo que representa el dicho governador de la Nueva Vizcaya le deis las asistencias necesarias como mas convenga para conseguir el fin que se pretende y por que no se a allado el assiento que se hico por Don Pedro perea con el Virrey Marques de cadereita ssobre la poblacion de la provincia de sonora en que el governador de la Nueva Vizcaya refiere que le toca a el la proibission del oficio de governador y cappitan a guerra de ella os mando que en la primera ocassion que se ofresca me ynformeis, en raçon de lo que zerca desto dice el dicho el governador de la Nueva Vizcaya con Vuestro parecer y las conveniencias o inconvenientes que puede tener el ejecutarse lo que propone a quien y por que causa para que visto por los del dicho mi conssejo de las yndias se provea lo que mas conbenga. Fecha en Buen retiro a veinte y tres de mayo de mil y sseiscientos y cinquenta y dos años. YO EL REY. Por mandado del rrey nuestro señor. GREGORIO DE LEGUIA. Y señalada de los del conssejo.

*Respuesta al Governador de la Nueva Vizcaya ssobre despoblar la provincia de Sonora.*¹ [Buen Retiro, 23 de Mayo de 1652.]

El Rey. Don Diego Guajardo fajardo mi governador y Capitan general de la Ciudad de Durango de la provincia de la nueva Vizcaia en carta que me escribisteis en 26 de febrero del año pasado de 651: me dais quenta de lo que a pasado cerca de despoblar la Provincia de Sonora ssobre avia poblacion havia hecho asiento el capitan don Pedro de Perea el año de 636 con mi Virey Marques de Cadereita y referis por menor las inquietudes de los Yndios y falta de obediencia que os tienen los capitanes de los Presidios que nombra mi Virrey de la Nueva España en Vuestro distrito y ssobre esto remitis ciertos testimonios de autos y en otra carta de 7 de octubre del mesmo año de 651 representais que son tan continuos los daños que en esas provincias se padecen con invasiones de los Yndios de ellas que no ay ora de seguridad que a todas es preciso estar dando distintos socorros de armas municiones y jente a diferentes partes que los piden y que aunque a muchos meses que por diferentes despachos testimonios y cartas haceis instancia con mi Virey de la Nueva España para que os socorro y provea de remedio en los muchos daños que padeceis no haveis tenido respuesta de las que le haveis escrito estando para salir de ese Real una cuadrilla de carros que llevaba mas de veinte mil marcos de

¹A. G. I., 144-1-15. [The copy of the title says: duplicose en 18 de Julio de 652.—C. W. H.]

and his plans for the conservation of the town of Aguilar, until he secured complete pacification. He was to keep you advised of what he was doing and of whatever happened, so that you might order whatever reinforcements should be needed in the parts under your jurisdiction; he was also to see that the pacification and reduction should proceed with as little loss of life to the Indians as possible, trying first the gentle methods of friendship and good treatment toward them. It has therefore seemed wise to me to advise you of the situation in order that you may understand it. If what the governor of Nueva Vizcaya says is true, you will give him all the help he needs to accomplish the desired end. And, as the contract made by Don Pedro de Perea with the viceroy, Marquis of Cadereita, concerning the settlement of the province of Sonora has not been found, in which contract the governor of Nueva Vizcaya states how the provision relating to the office of governor and captain of war of the province affects him, I command you to report to me as soon as possible what the said governor of Nueva Vizcaya says concerning this, and submit your opinion as to what advantage or disadvantage may ensue, and to whom and why, from doing as he proposes. You will do this in order that the matter may be considered by my Council of the Indies, and whatever is fitting may be ordered. Dated at Buen Retiro, May 23, 1652. I THE KING. By command of the king, our lord, GREGORIO DE LEGUIA. Signed by the members of the Council.

Reply to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, concerning the depopulation of the province of Sonora. [Buen Retiro, May 23, 1652.]

The King. Don Diego Guajardo Fajardo,⁷⁶ my governor and captain-general of the city of Durango, in the province of Nueva Vizcaya: In a letter which you wrote to me on February 26 of last year, 1651, you gave me an account of what has taken place with respect to the depopulation of the province of Sonora. You said that there was a settlement under a contract which Captain Don Pedro de Perea⁷⁷ had made in the year 1636 with my viceroy, the Marquis of Cadereita;⁷⁸ and you report in detail the disturbances among the Indians, and the lack of obedience toward you shown by the captains of the presidios whom my viceroy of New Spain appoints in your district. With reference to this you remit certain transcripts of *autos*, and in another letter of October 7, of the same year, 1651, you represent that the dangers are so continuous in that province from the invasions of the Indians that there is not an hour of security, for it is necessary at all times to be giving aid in arms, munitions, and men to different places which demand them. You also state that, months ago, by various despatches, transcripts, and letters, you have petitioned my viceroy of New Spain to aid you and provide a remedy for the many injuries from which you suffer, but that you have received no reply to the letters you have written. There is, you say, a train of wagons about to leave that camp, carrying more than 20,000 marks of silver, so that the total amount sent out for that year amounts to more than 80,000

plata con que han sido aquel año mas de ochenta mil los que han salido; concluyendo con que de temor de aquellos barbaros se ba despoblando esse Reino y me suplicais mande poner el Remedio que pareciese mas conveniente.

Y haviendose visto en mi conssejo Real de las yndias con lo que ssobre ella dijo mi fiscal de el como quiera que por punta de la fecha de esta envio a mandar a mi Virey de la nueva España me informe ssobre todo lo referido me a parecido ordenaros y mandaros como lo hago remitais al dicho mi conssejo en la primera ocasion que se ofresca a manos de el mi infrascripto secretario la capitulacion que decisi hiço Don Pedro de Perea el año de 636 con mi Virey marques de Cadereita ssobre la dicha Poblacion de la Provincia de Sonora respecto de no haverla enviado con los autos que remitisteis con la dicha carta ni allarse en las que me escribio el dicho Marques de Cadereita y acerca de lo que contienen los autos que remitis en raçon del abramiento^k de los yndios taramaues y de las prevenciones que se an hecho para conservar la villa de Aguilar y castigar los delinquentes en la muerte del Padre Cornelio godines misionero de la Compañia de Jesus mando continueis las diligencias que referis haceis hasta que se consiga segura pacificacion y que procureis que esta pacificacion y rreduccion se haga con las menos muertes de Yndios que se puidere ussando primero de los medios suaves de amistad y buen tratamiento con ellos que assi conviene al servicio de Dios y mio y al otro mi Virrey con quien os abeis de corresponder en esto escrivo para que ordene lo necessario en las asistencias que ubieres de menester de las partes que tocan a su gobierno disponiendolas como mas conbengan para conseguir el fin que se pretende y de lo que fueredes obrando me dareis cuenta para que Visto por los del dicho mi conssejo se provea lo que mas convenga. De Buen Retiro a veinte y tres de Mayo de mil y sseiscientos y cinquenta y dos años. YO EL REY. Por mandado del rrey nuestro Señor, GREGORIO DE LEGUIA. Y señalada de los conssejo.

Al Virrey de la Nueva España guarde la zedula en esta incerta ssobre el aumento y alivio de los Yndios de la Nueva Galicia y ynforme ssobre ello como esta mandado.¹ [Madrid, 24 de Julio de 1652.]

El Rey. . . . yo (el Rey) mande dar la zedula del thenor siguiente: El Rey: Conde de Alva de Salbatierra etc.: en una carta que me escrivio, el lizenziado Don Pedro Fernandez de Vaesa, Presidente de la Audiencia de Guadalaxara en veintecinco del mes de febrero del año pasado de 1645, en que me da cuenta de la universal del gobierno de aquella provincia, y lo que havia dispuesto cerca de ello; dize particularmente en dos capitulos de dicha carta, que los tributos que de su contribucion resultan son tan solamente en cantidad de cinco mill y tantos pessos, cosa poco con-

^k Obviously a miscopy for "alsamiento".

¹ A. G. I., 103-3-1.

marks. You conclude by saying that fear of those barbarians is depopulating that kingdom, and you ask me to command that the remedy which seems most fitting be applied.

The matter having been considered in my royal Council of the Indies, together with that which my fiscal of the Council cared to say concerning it, [it has seemed wise] although under this same date I am commanding my viceroy of New Spain to inform me concerning all the above matters, to order and command you, as I do, to send to my Council on the first opportunity, in care of my secretary, the undersigned, the capitulation which you say Don Pedro de Perea made in the year 1636 with my viceroy, the Marquis of Cadereita, concerning the settlement in the province of Sonora; for you did not send it with the *autos* which you remitted with the said letter, nor is it to be found among those written to me by the Marquis of Cadereita.

As to the contents of the *autos* which you sent concerning the revolt of the Tarahumares,⁷⁹ and the measures which have been taken to preserve the town of Aguilar and to punish the perpetrators of the death of Father Cornelio Godines, missionary of the Company of Jesus, I command that you continue the efforts which you say you are making until a secure peace has been achieved, and that you endeavor to accomplish this pacification and reduction with the least number of deaths of Indians that is possible, first using the mild methods of friendship and kind treatment toward them, this being acceptable to the service of God and myself. I am also writing to my viceroy, with whom you are to co-operate in this work, asking him to order everything in the way of reinforcements which you may need in the regions which appertain to his government, disposing them in such ways as may best aid in obtaining the desired end. You will report to me what you are doing, in order that my Council, having knowledge of it, may order what is most fitting. From Buen Retiro, May 23, 1652. I THE KING. By command of the king, our lord, GREGORIO DE LEGUIA. Signed by the members of the Council.

To the viceroy of New Spain, ordering him to observe the cedula inclosed herewith concerning the improvement and relief of the Indians of Nueva Galicia, and to report on the situation as he has been commanded. [Madrid, July 24, 1652.]

The King. . . . I, the King, ordered a cedula of the following tenor to be issued: The King: Count of Alva de Salvatierra:⁸⁰ In a letter written to me by the *licenciado* Don Pedro Fernández de Baeza,⁸¹ president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, on February 25, of the past year, 1645, in which he gives an account of the entire governmental situation of that province, and relates what he has done concerning that situation, he says specifically in two articles of the letter, that the tributes collected within his territory amount only to the sum of five thousand and odd pesos, which is an insignificant figure, yet in its collection the Indians suffer many extortions and such damages that each of them lives in such

siderable, enpero que en su cobranza padecen los Yndios muchas estorciones y daños tales que para la paga de lo que le toca vive cada Uno de ellos en tan notable angustia, que le parece no a de poder cumplir con ello; siendo assi que con las molestias de la cobranza, y otros daños que juntamente padezen, y an sentido assi de los temporales, como en la labor de las minas y rrepartimientos, se hallan en estado de extinguirse, totalmente, y la lastima y compassion de verlos padezer y morir, obliga a que (si fuese posible sin mas inconveniente) del que resultaria en la perdida de los tributos, ó parte de ellos, se procurase el aliviarles de esta carga; lo qual seria la total redempcion de aquellos miserables; que con esto, lo que asta aora a sido deminuycion, en lo de adelante seria crecimiento y entonces se sacaria lo que en esse tiempo se menoscavase de mi Real Hazienda; Y añade aunque reconoze que de quitar aquellos repartimientos, se pueden seguir algunas descomodidades a el y a los demas oydores de la Audiencia tiene por facil el tolerarlas por grandes que sean, por escusarla menos que se puede seguir a los Yndios, mayormente quando son tan conforme a los disposiciones i ordenes nuestras; Y haviendo Visto en mi consejo Real de las Yndias, con lo que acerca de ello, dijo el licenciado Don Geronimo Camargo mi fiscal en el, i consultadoseme todo lo que en la materia se ofreció é considerando que segun consta por Vuestra zertificacion de Hernando de Mujica, contador de mi Real Hazienda de aquella caja, que, en ciento y ochenta y quatro pueblos, los treinta y tres de ellos de encomienda, ay dos mil seiscientos y quarenta Yndios tributarios; cuyo repartimiento, entre todos monta cinco mil trescientos y noventa y dos pesos, siete tomines, y seis granos en cada un año, que es de la suma que el Pressidente propone, sseria bien aliviar a los dichos Yndios, Y que segun lo que de aquí resulta se manifiesta claro la miseria grande que padezen aquellos pobres vasallos, pues aun siendo tan limitado el tributo que pagan les es tan gravoso y molesto, como lo pondera el presidente, tanto que se puede presumir que esta carga les abrá ocasionado la despoblacion; Y considerando tambien que en otra ocasion que se tubo noticia del excesso con que se procedia en esa Nueva España (asi por los ministros como por los naturales de las provincias della) en quanto al servicio personal de los Yndios en sus casas y en los obrajes gravandolos con penosas tareas, y otras Molestas fatigas, se despacho una zedula en treinta de Julio del año de 1627, dirigida al Marques de Cerrajero mi Virrey que entonces era en que expressamente le ordené con palabras de mucha ponderacion que puse en ella de mi Real mano que sin excussa ni omission alguna ordenasse que se executasse y cobrasse lo dispuesto Y mando en otra zedula general que con mucho acuerdo se despacho el año de seiscientos y nueve en la qual se proiбе el Servicio personal de los Yndios y Considerando tambien las necesidades y aprietos presentes Con que me hallo con tantos exercitos en españa y fuera della He resuelto de ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) leais atentamente Los dos capitulos Ynclussos de la Carta del Pressidente de Guadalaxara; y asimismo la cedula de treinta de Julio de 627 y con muy particular especulacion y cuydado os entereis de los daños que padezen los Yndios de la Provincia de Guadalaxara por caussa de los tributos que pagan inquiriendo si estos Les son tan gravosos i intolerables que Excedan a su impossibilidad, o si

constant anxiety concerning what he has to pay that it seems to him to be impossible to comply with it. Indeed, because of the trouble caused them in the collection of the tribute, combined with other injuries from which they also suffer and have experienced from storms and hard work in the mines and on the *repartimientos*, they are about to be entirely annihilated; and the pity and compassion [which he feels] at seeing them suffer and die leads him to suggest that (if it can be done without great inconvenience) effort should be made to relieve them from all or a part of the burden of the tributes. The result would be the entire rehabilitation of those miserable people, for, instead of decreasing as they have until now, they would in the future increase, and then it would be possible to recover which might be lost to my *real hacienda* in the interval.

He adds that although he recognizes that the abolition of those *repartimientos* might lead to some inconvenience to himself and to the other *oidores* of the audiencia, yet he considers that it could easily be borne, however great it might be, inasmuch as it would prevent the further impoverishment of the Indians, they being, as they are, so well disposed toward our orders and commands.

The matter having been considered by my royal Council of the Indies, together with what my fiscal of the Council, Don Gerónimo Camargo, said concerning it; and consultation having been held with me on all aspects of the situation; and, in view of the fact that, as appears by your affidavit from Hernando de Mujica, cashier of my *real hacienda* at that depository, there are in 184 towns, 33 of them being in *encomienda*, 2640 tributary Indians, the *repartimiento* of whom amounts in all to 5392 pesos, 7 tomines, 6 grains per year—approximately the sum which the president suggests should be remitted for the alleviation of the Indians; and, in view of the fact that the great misery which these poor vassals suffer is clearly manifested by the evidence, for, although the tribute they pay is so little, yet it is so heavy and troublesome to them, as the president emphatically says, that it is to be presumed that this tax has perhaps caused the depopulation of the district; and in view of the fact also that on another occasion when word was received of the harsh measures used in New Spain (by the ministers and the natives of the province alike) in the matter of personal service from the Indians in the homes [of Spaniards] and on outside work, heavy tasks and other fatiguing burdens being laid upon them, a cedula was issued on July 30, 1627, directed to the Marquis of Cerralvo,⁸² then my viceroy, in which I expressly ordered him, in words of great weight, which I put into it with my royal hand, that, without excuse or omission whatever, he should order to be executed and collected that which had been decreed; and in view of the fact that I ordered in another general cedula which was despatched in 1609, after much consultation, wherein personal service from the Indians is prohibited; and considering also the present necessity and stress under which I find myself from providing for such large armies both in and out of Spain:

I have resolved to command and order you, as I do, to read attentively the two articles herewith inclosed from the letter of the president of Guadalajara; also the cedula of July 30, 1627; and, with particular care

acaso procede del daño de las molestias que les hazen los cobradores, y si abria medio para hazer la cobranza con tal suabidad que no les fuese tan sensible el tributo pues siendo tan corto no parece que es ella causa total que los impossibilita Sino que por bentura y como lo quiere apuntar a dezir el Pressidente, Los cobradores deben de hazer grangeria de Impossibilitarlos por tenerlos mas sugetos para sus ussos y siendo esto assi constando os de ello procurareis con particular Cuydado y comunicacion del mismo Presidente hallar medio para que el tributo se cobre sin molestia de los Vasallos; porque si esto bastare para que el tributo pudiese ser cobrable sin riesgo de la despoblacion de aquellos naturales Se deve atender a no minorar el Real haver por las necessidades presentes; empero si todavia entendierades Con ebidencia que no resulta el daño de la exaccion Sino de la carga del tributo y que el es la causa principal que enflaqueze y extingue a los Indios (o son que la cobranza se aleve) entonces enterrado bien destos motibos por lo mucho que se inclina mi Real clemencia a desear el Mayor Consuelo y alivio de aquellos Vassallos que tambien son hijos tengo por vien y os mando que los alivieis de la carga del dicho tributo en la parte que Juzgaredes ser necesaria para su conservacion y aumento; Para lo qual os concedo facultad y dexo á Vuestra prudencia y consideracion la cantidad, en que los hubieredes de Aliviar Informandoos primero del Pressidente de aquella Audiencia del Obispo y de las otras personas que alli ubiere de mas satisfaccion, para que (sin perder de vista las necessidades de mi Real Hazienda) en lo que se pudiesen Conpadecer con el alibio de aquellos pobres Yndios Basallos mios como he dicho se consiga lo que en primer lugar sea de procurar por qualquier via, el consuelo y alibio de aquellos y me dareis cuenta de lo que en esto executaredes y tambien de lo que se obiere obrado en execucion y cumplimiento de la dicha mi Cedula que ba citado de tres de Julio de 627 y si la teneis presente para executarla de que particularmente me avisareis—fecha en Madrid a 20 de Diziembre 1646—Yo EL REY.

Y Porque ultimamente en carta que me escrivio Don Geronimo de Alcate fiscal de mi Audiencia de Guadalaxara en veinte y ocho de Octubre de seiscientos y quarenta y ocho que la duplico en quatro de Abril de 649 y es duplicado de la que sobre lo mismo que contiene la cedula que en esta ba Ynsera havia escrito en 17 de Abril del mismo año de 48 ynforma lo que se le ofrece sobre que no conviene remitir Los tributos que pagan los Indios de las dichas Provincias de Guadalaxara y que se mandasse quitar Con efecto el repartimiento y servicio personal por las razones que refiere en la dicha carta que el dicho mi fiscal me escrivio Con vista de una Copia de la Cedula aqui ynsera que el dicho mi virrey Imbio al Pressidente de mi Audiencia de Guadalaxara; Y haviendose visto por los del mi Consejo Real de las Yndias Con los papeles de la matheria y lo que pidio mi fiscal en el y reconocidose que el dicho mi Virrey Conde de Salvatierra ni el presidente y Audiencia de Guadalaxara no a respondido asta aora a la cedula aqui inserta Lo qual se a extrañado en el dicho mi consejo y para remedio de la omission que en esto a avido, os mando que luego que recivais esta trateis de la execucion de lo que en ella va inserta y me remitaís los ynformes que sobre lo que contiene estan pedidos con Vuestro

and attention, inform yourself as to the injuries that the Indians of the province of Guadalajara suffer on account of the tributes which they pay, inquiring whether these be so heavy and intolerable to the Indians that they cannot possibly be paid, or whether perhaps the difficulty arises from the trouble which the collectors cause them, and whether there is any method whereby the collection can be effected with such suavity that the tribute would not be so burdensome to them, for, since it is so little, it cannot be that it is the sole reason why they cannot pay it; rather, perhaps, as the president suggests, the collectors must be making a business of mulcting the Indians so as to have them more completely under control.

If this is true and you know it is true, you will endeavor, carefully and in co-operation with the president, to find some means whereby the tribute may be collected without hardship to the vassals; for, if it can be arranged so that the tribute can be collected without risk of despoiling those natives, care should be taken for the sake of present needs not to diminish the royal income. If, however, you secure evidence that the injury does not come from the collection but from the imposition of the tribute, and that it in itself is the principal cause of the weakening of the Indians (or the reason why the imposition should be lessened), then, if you are thoroughly convinced that such is the case, I think it wise and do command that, on account of the intensity with which my royal clemency desires the utmost consolation and relief of those vassals whom I consider as my children, you relieve them of such part of the tribute as you think necessary for their preservation and advancement. To this end I give you authority, and leave to your prudence and judgment the amount by which the tax should be reduced, you first to take counsel with the president of the audiencia, the bishop, and other well-informed persons there, in order that (without losing sight of the necessities of my *real hacienda*) in accord with their solicitude for the relief of those poor Indian vassals of mine, we may, as I have said, achieve what is, above all, to be attained in some way, namely, their consolation and relief. You will give me an account of what you do in this matter, and also of what may have been done in compliance with my cedula of July 3, 1627, cited above; if you are actually engaged in the fulfillment of it, you will give me an exact account of just what you are doing. Dated at Madrid, December 20, 1646. I THE KING.

Now therefore, inasmuch as Don Gerónimo de Alzate, fiscal of my Audiencia of Guadalajara, in a letter which he wrote on October 28, 1648—duplicated on April 4, 1649, which again is a duplicate of what he had written concerning the contents of the cedula herewith enclosed on April 17 of the first-named year, 1648—reports his opinion that it is not desirable to remit the tributes paid by the Indians of the provinces of Guadalajara but to abolish in effect the *repartimiento* and personal service, for the reasons which the fiscal sets forth in the letter which he wrote to me, having before him a copy of the cedula herewith inclosed which the viceroy sent to the president of my Audiencia of Guadalajara; and the members of my royal Council of the Indies having considered the papers relative to the matter, together with the request of my fiscal of the Council, and it having been noted that neither my viceroy, the Count of

parecer para que visto por los del dicho mi consejo se provea lo que com-benga.—fecha en Madrid a 24 de Julio de 1652.—Yo EL REY.^m

*La Ciudad de Guadalaxara 23 de Agosto de 1664. A su Magestad.
Recibida 30 mayo 665.ⁿ*

Señor: Esta Ciudad de Guadalaxara recibio la cedula rreal en que Vuestra Magestad se sirve mandar informe la audiencia y cavildo eclesiastico, sobre tener la alondiga que suplico esta çiudad a Vuestra Magestad para sus propios y por el brebe despacho de las Urcas los a quien toca informar le embiaran en otra Ocasion.

Bolvemos a Rendir las gracias a Vuestra Magestad de la mersed que nos hizo de embiar por Governador y presidente de esta rreal audiencia a el Lizenciado don Antonio albares de castro de cuiá entrada y principio dio esta çiudad quenta a Vuestra Magestad y despues lo a continuado con su pasifico gobierno, dando los ofisios, a los mas benemeritos y nobles, y lo mismo los Curatos en hijos patrimoniales de esta tierra, amparando los indios mineros y los que lo sirben para que rrindad^o a Vuestra Magestad muchos quintos. El despacho de la audiencia y governacion es el mas pronto que se a visto y que no pase de los derechos hordinarios; a hecho buscar con gran cuidado, los salteadores, y traer presos de otras provincias y para que no, aia los, hurtos y quemas que solia haver de noche en las puertas, de tiendas; ha mandado roden^p por sus dias los de el comercio de que se consigue otro fin que no se defraudan las alcavalas ni entran de noche las mercadurias. ha hecho Reedificar el hospital rreal de san Miguel y siendo asi que antes, no acudian enfermos por el mal avio que havia, ahora, les, a Reedificado la Casa y Capilla y los difuntos que antes se Solian enterrar en un Corral a hecho se entierren, en la Yglesia maior, hisoles comprar Ropa, sirvientes y las mas menesteres nesesarias, Con que oi es el Reparo publico de los pobres en gran bien de esta çiudad, a Cuios Vecinos y mineros a asistido en quanto fue posible, en las grandes, Vexaciones y estorsiones que les hizo aqui, un Jues de el Visitador don francisco Valles, que si el dicho don francisco y el Virrei conde de baños, hubieran seguido el dictamen, de el presidente se hubiera librado la provincia de tantas calamidades, los indios y sirbientes no se hubieran huido de las haçiendas de las minas, los quintos Reales hubieran Cresido i igua-

^m F. R. B., Sevilla.

ⁿ A. G. I., 66-6-19.

^o Obviously a miscopy for "rindan".

^p Probably "ronden" is meant.

Salvatierra,⁸³ nor the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, have yet replied to the cedula herewith inserted, whereat my Council has expressed its surprise; in view of all these things, I command you, for the remedy of the omission which has occurred in this matter, that as soon as you receive this cedula you proceed to execute the orders contained in it, and send me the reports ordered concerning its contents together with your opinion, in order that the matter may be considered by the members of my Council and suitable orders may be issued. Dated at Madrid, July 24, 1652. I THE KING.

The City of Guadalajara. August 23, 1664. To his Majesty. Received May 30, 1665.

Sir: This city of Guadalajara received the cedula in which your Majesty was pleased to order the audiencia and the ecclesiastical chapter to make a report concerning a public granary of its own for which this city petitioned your Majesty. On account of the early departure of the store-ships, those whose duty it is to make the report will send it on another occasion.

We again render thanks to your Majesty for the favor which you did us in sending as governor and president of this royal audiencia the *licenciado* Don Antonio Alvares de Castro, of whose arrival and inauguration this city gave account to your Majesty. He has since continued his beneficent rule, giving the offices to the most worthy and honorable, and likewise the curacies to the native born sons of this country, and protecting the Indian miners and those who serve, so that they may render to your Majesty many fifths.

The administration of the audiencia and government is the most expeditious that has been experienced, without going beyond common rights; he has taken great care to look for highwaymen and to bring prisoners from other provinces; and, to prevent the robberies and fires that often occurred at night in the doors of the shops, he has ordered that those of the business section be patrolled daily. By so doing still another end has been gained, namely, the prevention of fraudulent evasion of the excise tax, and the introduction of merchandise by night. He has caused to be rebuilt the royal hospital of San Miguel, which previously was in such a condition that the sick did not apply for help there because of the poor accommodations. He has now re-erected the house and chapel for them, and the dead, whom it was customary formerly to bury in a corral, are now buried in the main church. He caused clothing to be bought for them and attendants and other principal necessities to be provided, and it is to-day the public refuge of the poor and a great benefit to this city. He has also aided the citizens and miners, as much as was possible, in the great oppressions and extortions which a judge of the inspector, Don Francisco Valles, imposed upon them. If the said Don Francisco and the viceroy, the Count of Baños,⁸⁴ had followed the advice of the president, the province would have escaped those great calamities, the Indians and

lado este año el envío de plata a el pasado que con su cuidado de el presidente fue por solo en costas de salarios de un año llebo el jueves mas de ocho mil y tantos pesos para lo qual, cobro mas de trese mil pesos que cada peso, con las estorsiones y Vexaciones se triplicaba a la parte; Y al fin el presidente es amigo de pobres y gente noble, mui facil en las audiencias, Cuida mucho de el buen cobro de lo que se deve, a esta Ciudad, y su aumento. Portase con gran Lusimiento en su Casa, coches, y criados, es amado generalmente, de estos Vecinos y Reino con general aplauso por su gran, desinterés y apasibilidad, de que damos cuenta a Vuestra Magestad que guarde Dios Como la christiandad, a menester: Guadalaxara y agosto 23 de 1664 años.

Sus leales Vasallos de Vuestra magestad, Don FERNANDO CALDERON Y SOLIS; Don JUAN DE ULLOA Y LISANA; DIEGO PEREZ DE RIVERA. [*Todos con sus rubricas.*]

[*Al margen se lee:*]

Que a dado los oficios a los mas benemeritos.

Y los curatos a hijos patrimoniales de la tierra. Ampara los indios Y mineros para que se aumenten los quintos Reales.

Se buscan por su orden los salteadores.

Hase que se ronde para escusar los hurtos, que de noche se hasian en las tiendas.

A hecho reedificar el ospital casa Y capilla. Los difuntos que se enteraban en un corral se entierran ya en la Yglesia.

Probeyo de Ropa Y todo lo nescesario a el ospital. A asistido a los mineros todo lo posible contra las vexaciones que hizo el visitador que envío Don francisco balles que ocasiono ser el envío mas corto que el conste porque de solos sus salarios llebo 8 mil pesos.

Es amigo de los Pobres y Gente noble facil en las audiencias portase con gran lucimiento ampara a la Ciudad Con jeneral aplauso por su afabilidad Y agrado.

[*Al dorso se lee:*]

Que se de prisa para que lo embie, Señoria: esta carta escrivio la audiencia en 17 de nobiembre de 664.

Que lo Vea el señor fiscal con lo demas que huviere en la materia. [*Una rúbrica.*]

Esta Carta se a de juntar Con las que se llevaron en 6 de Junio al señor fiscal de la audiencia en que se quejan del mal gobierno de Don Antonio alvarez y dan cuenta de los exçesos que Comete y con otra de Don francisco balles de 18 de febrero de 665 en que trata de la Visita de guadalajara y sus cajas. Y esta asi mismo en poder del señor fiscal desde 7 de Junio de 665.

servants would not have fled from the mining establishments, the royal tithes would have increased, and the shipment of silver this year would have equalled what it was last year under the management of the president. Solely for the expense of salaries the judge took in one year 8000-odd pesos, for which he collected more than 13,000 pesos, every one of which, on account of the vexations and annoyances on its part, [seemed] to be tripled.

Finally, the president is a friend of both poor and noble people, is easy of access in his audiences, and is solicitous in the collection of all that is owing to this city; and in its advancement. He keeps his house, carriages, and servants in great splendor, is generally loved, and from these citizens and [this] kingdom [he inspires] general applause on account of his great disinterestedness and affability. Of this we give account to your Majesty, whom may God guard, as Christianity has need for. Guadalajara, August 23, 1664.

The loyal subjects of your Majesty, DON FERNANDO CALDERON Y SOLIS; DON JUAN DE ULLOA Y LISANA; DIEGO PÉREZ DE RIVERA. [*All signed with rubrics.*]

[*In the margin it reads:*]

He has given the offices to the most deserving and the curacies to the native born sons of the country. He protects the Indians and miners so that the royal tithes may be increased.

By his order highwaymen are sought out.

He causes patrols to be made to prevent the robberies that by night were wont to occur in the stores.

He has caused the hospital, house, and chapel to be rebuilt. The dead, who were [formerly] interred in a corral, are now buried in the church.

He provided the hospital with clothing and all necessities. He has aided the miners as far as possible against the extortions practised by the inspector sent by Don Francisco Valles, who caused the shipment to be less than usual. This is evident, because he carried off, for their salaries alone, 8000 pesos.

He is a friend of the poor and of noble people, is easy of access in the audiences, maintains himself in great splendor, and protects the city, with general applause for his affability and agreeableness.

[*On the back it reads:*]

Let haste be made so that it may be sent to his lordship. The audiencia wrote this letter on November 17, 1664.

Let the fiscal see it with the rest that there may be on the matter. [*A rubric.*]

This letter is to be added to those that were taken on the sixth of June to the señor fiscal of the audiencia, in which complaints are made of the bad government of Don Antonio Alvares and account is given of the excesses committed by him, and with another of Don Francisco Valles of February 18, 1665, in which he treats of the inspection of Guadalajara and its funds. It is likewise in the possession of the señor fiscal since June 7, 1665.

[Informe del Gobernador Antonio de Oca Sarmiento al Señor Virrey.
El Parral, 12 de Marzo de 1667.]^a

Luego que llegue a este gobierno Di cuenta, a Vuestra Señoría del estado en que se allava este Reino y sus provincias, y de la Ressenidencia de mi antesor que se me encargo, y por si con la perdida del havisso, y la inquietud que los yndios ocasionan no an llegado los Pliegos a tiempo de flota, y que les ayan cogido los comprendidos en la comission pues llevando estos mismos despachos, le mataron o ellos o los enemigos, sin poderse averiguar asta oy quien aya sido, Doi segunda vez cuenta de todo al Consejo, asi en lo que toca, a lo militar como a lo Politico, y espero en todo resivir las honrras de Vuestra Señoría en continuacion de las que siempre se a servido hacerme, a que estaré con el Rendido Reconocimiento que devo de servidor suio:

Señor: llegue a este gobierno a los primeros de enero de 66 allandole enzendido en guerras que los yndios salineros, y cavezas y sus aliados le davan, haviendo echo liga con las naciones tonoza yacoclames y las de su sequito, que son muchas, y antes de haver llegado a este Real, quinze dias despues de haver tomado Posesion en Durango que esta, a la entrada de este Reino, acometieron estas naciones en el medio del a los carros del capitan Pedro de Andrade que yba a traer el açogue a este Real, dero-taronseles, y mataron quanta gente y soldados llevavan en su defenssa; Junte la gente de guerra que pude, y Yndios amigos (y aunque me allava sesenta leguas de donde havia sucedido) le di alcance en su tierra adonde por la aspereça della y por haverse puesto en huida se les hico poco daño; continue despues reconocer sus tierras y por donde haze, las entradas a las de los españoles y Yndios amigos, Passandome a este Real adonde es la continua avitacion de los gobernadores, y desde aqui procuré atajar, los daños que haze con sus entradas, saliendo Personalmente a todo. Y saviendo que la provincia de Conchos se alzava a ymitacion de estotros enemigos y coligada con ellos, entre a su pacificacion, y la conseguí, (a Dios grazias) en muy corto tiempo. Castigando las cavezas de su alza-miento; Siendo esta provincia de las mas ynportantes a este Reino, por lo que servia sus haciendas del campo y Plata, y totalmente embarazava, el Comercio del a de sinaloa y del Reino del nuevo mexico, Por ser Passo preziso a entrambas partes; y asta oi se ha echo esto sin añadir mucho gasto a su Magestad quando, otras Provincias en semejantes ocasiones an costado un sinfin de hacienda con estas ocasiones e logrado la de re-conozor todo este Reino y sus Provincias Amigas, y enemigas que hazen yreparables daños, y mas sensibles quando su Magestad gasta con la gente de guerra lo que pudiera vastar para su remedio siendo sólo la mala dis-pusicion la que ocasiona estos daños; pues repartriendose la gente que tiene asta cien soldados, con quarenta yndios amigos, a los parajes por donde entra, a nuestras tierras en diez atalaias, en cada una Diez soldados, con quatro yndios amigos, que de una a otra se den la mano, quedando los enemigos sujetos al cordon que forman, y seguro el comercio y todo

Señor fiscal

^a A. G. I., 66-6-18.

[Report of Governor Antonio de Oca Sarmiento⁸⁵ to the señor viceroy.
El Parral, March 12, 1667.]

As soon as I arrived in this government I gave to your lordship an account of the state of this kingdom and its provinces, and of the *residencia* of my predecessor,⁸⁶ which was intrusted to me. But, since the despatch may have been lost, and since, on account of Indian unrest, the papers [may] not have arrived in time for the fleet, and since it is not known whether those designated for this mission recovered the despatches, for either one or all were killed, as they were carrying them, or else the Indians were killed, and since I have not yet been able to ascertain which [is the case], I again make a complete report to the Council concerning military and political matters. I hope to continue to receive in all these matters the honors which your lordship has always shown me, in the expectation of which I shall continue to display the humble submission which I owe as your servant.

Sir: I arrived in this government at the beginning of January, 1666; I found it raging with the wars which the Salineros, their chiefs, and their allies were conducting; they had leagued themselves with the Tonoza and Yacoclames nations, and those under their influence, who are many.

Señor fiscal.

Before I had reached this camp, two weeks after I had taken charge of the government in Durango, which is near the entrance of this kingdom, these nations made an attack, in about the middle of it, upon the wagons of Captain Pedro de Andrade, who was going to fetch the quicksilver for this camp. They defeated Andrade and killed all the men and the soldiers whom he had with him for defense. I therefore gathered together all the soldiers and Indian allies I could, and (although I was seventy leagues away from the scene), I overtook the Indians in their own country, where, on account of its roughness and because the Indians took to flight, I did them little damage. I then went on reconnoitring their country and the place where they make their entry into the lands of the Spaniards and the friendly Indians. Thence I came to this camp, which is the permanent residence of the governors, and from this place I attempted to restrict the damages which they commit upon their raids, going out personally in all cases.

Learning that the province of Conchos, in imitation of these other enemies and in league with them, was in rebellion, I went into their territory to pacify them. I met with success (thanks to God), in a short time, punishing the leaders of their most important uprising. This province is one of the most important of this kingdom, on account of the productions of its farms and silver mines, and the rebellion was completely checking its commerce with Sinaloa and the kingdom of New Mexico, lying, as it does, directly on the route to each [province]. Up to the present this has been effected without much expense to his Majesty, whereas other provinces in similar circumstances have cost endless treasure.

In the performance of these measures I have had occasion to reconnoitre this entire kingdom and its pacific provinces as well as its rebellious

el Reino, allandose en la vereda Real las diez atalaias, dividiendo los amigos de los enemigos, segun se muestra en un mapa, que Remito a ese Real consejo, que formé para mas vien dar a entender el yntento y seguridad de uno y otro; y se guarnezen estas atalaias sin añadir gasto a su Magestad mas que de ocho soldados, y seis mill pesos por una vez Para la fabrica de las atalaias (Como Vuestra Señoria conozerá por mi consulta que por no cansar a Vuestra Señoria pues la a dever no la Repito en esta) con que queda preservado este Reino y sus Provincias a tan corta dispusicion y Gasto, y sin ello se espera cada dia su total asolazion, por allarse los soldados en parajes y presidios que no sirven; la tierra mui dilatada; el enemigo con gran cuerpo y sin oposicion en sus fronteras; y asi espero y este Reino de la Christianidad de Vuestra Señoria singular Celo al servicio de su Magestad y de su grandeza, su remedio, pues es el mas opulento de la nueva España.

En lo politico, Señor, haviendome su Magestad encargado la residencia de mi antesor, y que segun un capitulo de carta del obispo de Durango averiguase los fraudes que se hubiesen echo a la Real hazienda, y daños de muertes en los naturales, lo executé asi, y en lo que tocó, a Don francisco de gorraiz mi antesor, esta sentenciado menos en la parte de un donativo que pidio con ocasion de Una Zedula de su Magestad sin que judicialmente constase, el haverlo pedido, y haviendole tomado su declaracion Pareze no conbiene con las cantidades que declara haver percibido ni con las provincias a donde se pidio, siendo mas las cantidades pedidas y las partes a donde se pidieron que las que declara, a cuja ocasion despache a todas las provincias para la averiguacion y por estar tan ynfestadas de guerras, no an acavado de llegar las diligenzias, que ajustadas y dado satisfacion a la Real hazienda desto, Remitiré toda la Residencia.

De ella resulto culpado el sargento Maior Valerio Cortés, que lo fué de Don francisco gorraiz por descargos suios, de haverle sido ynovediente, a sus ordenes, de que Resultaron graves daños y muertes de naturales, constando ser de muy natural, opuesto al gobierno y servicio de su Magestad y tan sospechosso en el que llegó a decir era llave de este Reino; continuele la causa sobre todo y otros malos tratamientos que a los naturales a echo el y sus Criados haviendo de ella Resultado en sus haziendas los alcamientos de yndios que son los que oi dan la maior guerra a este Reino; y ademas de su inquietud, le alle acompañado de dos hombres que tenia en su cassa, uno ecclesiastico llamado Don francisco de los Rios yntrepidisimo asi en el pulpito como en el pueblo, expulsso de la Compañia de Jesus, conzitando, los vezinos de el contra mi antesor de suerte que temiendome los alborotasse pedí al ovispo en consideracion de las zedulas y hordenes de su Magestad le mandase salir como lo hico, dando Auto para que saliese deste Reino y su obispado el otro secular Don francisco de Somoza, que haviendo traído ynquieta la nueva España con sus atrozi-dades, se retiro a este Reino para continuarlas o eximirse del castigo dellas, con quien conserto A cassar una hija suia el sargento maior, y teniendole Preso y Provado todo haviendo salido a campaña se huió de la Carcel, y haviendo ocurrido todos tres a la Audiencia de guadalaxara, sin mandar diese Razon porque prozedia contra todos tres a Valerio Cortés le dieron

ones, in which irreparable damages are done. These are the more serious because his Majesty is spending on soldiers what should be sufficient to effect the desired remedy, their unwise disposal being the only occasion for these damages.

These forces, consisting of at least one hundred soldiers and forty friendly Indians, should be located at the places where the enemy enter our lands, and in ten watch-towers, each containing ten men and four friendly Indians, in such a manner that they would support each other and keep the enemy subject to the cordon of watch-towers thus formed; this would make commerce safe, as well as the entire kingdom, for the ten watch-towers, placed upon the royal road, would divide the enemy from the friendly Indians, as is shown upon a map, which I am sending to that royal Council, which I drew for the purpose of better explaining the plan and the security which they offer each other. These watch-towers can be garrisoned without added expense to his Majesty save for eight more soldiers, and 6000 pesos at the outset for the construction of the towers (as your lordship will understand from my report which I omit here lest I tire your lordship unnecessarily).

With this arrangement the kingdom and its provinces will be preserved at very slight expense and with little change in disposition of the troops. If the plan is not adopted our total desolation is daily anticipated because the soldiers are placed in locations and presidios which are of no service; the country is of great extent, and the enemy has large forces which encounter no opposition on the frontier. I therefore hope, as does this kingdom, that the Christian spirit of your lordship, singularly zealous for the service of his Majesty and his greatness, will provide its remedy, for it is the richest province of New Spain.

As to political affairs, Sir, his Majesty intrusted me with the *residencia* of my predecessor, and, in conformity with an article in a letter from the Bishop of Durango, [ordered me] to investigate frauds which had been committed in the *real hacienda*, and the murders committed upon the natives. These orders, therefore, I executed. With regard to my predecessor, Don Francisco de Gorraez,⁸⁷ he has been sentenced except in the matter of a loan which [he claims] he demanded on receipt of a cedula from his Majesty; without this cedula it does not appear that he demanded it legally. The declaration of Gorraez having been taken, it appears that it does not conform with the amounts which he declares he has collected nor with the provinces in which he asked for the collections, the amounts being greater and the provinces more numerous than he acknowledges in the declaration. As a result I sent to all the provinces to have investigations made, but, as they are so infested with wars, the reports have not come in. When they have been received and the proper amounts credited to the *real hacienda*, I will remit a report of the entire *residencia*.

As a result of this *residencia* the former *sargento mayor* of Don Francisco Gorraez, Valerio Cortés, has been found guilty, upon his own answers to the charges brought against him, of having been disobedient to the governor's orders. As a result, serious injuries, even deaths, were suffered by the natives. It has been made evident that the *sargento mayor*

provision para que no le hiciese causas ni prozediese contra el y que no le prendiese y si le tenia preso le soltase y que me yniviese de las causas que le tuviese echas y al clerigo le dieron provision de amparo; Remití a aquella Audiencia las causas en testimonios para instruir la de los naturales y delitos de todos y de como contra Valerio Cortés obrava en virtud de Comission de ese Real consejo, a quien tocaban las apelaciones y conozimientos de ella, y que en esa consideracion, no podia ynivirme; haziendo al acuerdo consulta, aparte, sobre todo y quan en perjuicio de la Jurisdiccion Real y de la autoridad deste puesto y de la que debe tener en provincias tan remotas y ynfestadas de guerras, era que se despachasen tan facilmente tales provisiones, y a pedimiento de personas tan sospechosas, y que tenian este Reino ynquieto, siendo caussa de quantos daños padecia, Pues havian salido de sus haciendas tantos alcamientos de yndios, que oi son los maiores enemigos: Doi quenta a Vuestra Señoria dello, para con bista de las causas y consultas que embio al Real Consejo sea servido de mandar que la Audiencia no se embaraze en inpedir la comission y averiguacion de fraudes y delitos que es tan del servicio de su Magestad y alivio de estos naturales, pues mi justificacion y prozeder en ella, sea de ver en ese Real Consejo; y que, en quanto a la Jurisdiccion hordinaria, esten solo en admitir las apelaciones y no mas, sin contravenir, a las Reales Zedulas de su Magestad dadas en favor de este Gobierno, y Capitanía General; Guarde Dios a Vuestra Señoria los muchos años que deseo con los aumentos que Mereze, Parral y Marco 12 de 1667 Besa las manos de vuestra señoria su mayor Servidor ANTONIO DE OCA SARMIENTO.

is, as is to be expected, opposed to the government and service of his Majesty, and is regarded with suspicion because he went so far as to say that he himself was the key to this kingdom. I continued his trial concerning all this and other mistreatment of the natives by him and his servants, as a result of which rebellions of Indians occurred on his farms which to-day are causing the most serious wars in the kingdom. In addition to this disturbance, I found that he had two men in his house as companions, one of them an ecclesiastic named Don Francisco de los Ríos, a man bold in the pulpit and in the town, who was expelled from the Company of Jesus, and who was exciting the settlers of the place against my predecessor in such a manner that, fearful lest he should cause them to rebel, I asked the bishop, in view of the cédulas and orders of his Majesty, to order him to go away. The bishop did so, issuing an *auto* commanding him to depart from this kingdom and from his bishopric. The other companion [of Cortés] was a secular, Don Francisco de Somoza, who had stirred up all New Spain by his atrocious acts and had retired to this kingdom to continue them or to escape punishment for them, and to whom the *sargento mayor* agreed to give his daughter in marriage. I was holding him [Somoza] a prisoner, all charges against him having been proven, but while I was out on a campaign he escaped from prison. All three of these men then appealed to the Audiencia of Guadalajara. That court, without ordering an investigation as to why I was bringing actions against all three, gave to Valerio Cortés a writ specifying that no causes nor processes should be brought against him, nor should he be taken prisoner, and if he were so taken he should be set free; moreover, I was forbidden to prosecute the charges which I had brought against him. To the cleric, the audiencia issued a writ of protection. I sent to the audiencia transcripts of the cases in order to inform them of the nature of the crimes of each of the men, and I explained that I was proceeding against Valerio Cortés by virtue of a commission from the royal Council of the Indies, to which body lay any appeal, or cognizance, of the case, and that, as a consequence, the audiencia had no power to inhibit my action. I also made representation to that court in a separate document concerning the entire situation, showing how prejudicial it was to the royal jurisdiction and to the authority of my position, as it should exist in provinces, so remote and so afflicted by wars, for them to issue such orders so readily at the request of persons of such suspicious character, who were keeping the kingdom perturbed, and were the cause of all the ills from which it suffered, for all the uprisings of the Indians who are now our worst enemies had their beginnings on the farms of these men.

I am making a report to your lordship concerning this matter, so that you may, with knowledge of the cases and the reports which I am sending to the royal Council, be pleased to command that the audiencia shall not undertake to obstruct me in the discharge of my commission and the investigation of frauds and crimes—a commission which is of such great service to his Majesty and of so much benefit to these natives. As to my justification and procedure in the matter, let that be considered in that royal Council. I also hope that you will order the audiencia that in the

[*Carta del Governador Antonio de Oca Sarmiento a la Reyna. San Joseph del Parral, 19 de Marzo de 1667.*]^r

Señora: Aviendome Su Magestad hecho merced de este Govierno, fue servido darme su Real Zédula para tomase la Ressidencia a don francisco de Gorraiz, mi antecesor, sin limitacion de tiempo respecto de lo dilatado de sus Provinzias y quanto las ynfestan los yndios enemigos alcados, con las guerras que las hacen, mandandome en virtud de un capitulo de Carta del Obispo de Durango, averiguase los fraudes que a la Real hacienda se abian hecho en este tiempo, Muertes y daños de los naturales, caussadas por omission de Don francisco de Gorraiz, y sus ministros, y aviendo entendido en ella le hice los cargos que de sus excessos pude averiguar, y admitiendole los descargos que dio, di sentencia en todos, (con parezer del Lizenciado Don Juan Zessati, Oidor de la Real Audiencia de Guadalaxara, y en ella se manda diese satisfacion a la Real hacienda de algunas cantidades, que entendi fuesen mas, de que apelo para ante Vuestra Magestad) menos en la parte de un donativo que se le encargó por una Real Zedula, que aviendo hallado le avia pedido sin la justificacion, ni autuar^s ni dalle el cobro, ni la buena cuenta y racon que deviera, hize Jurasse y declarasse en que Provincias y lugares lo havia pedido, que cantidades se avian dado, y que paradero avian tenido, y aviendo jurado y declarado que en la ciudad de Durango le avia pedido, en el Real de Cuencame y en el de Guanacivi, no mas, aviendo despachado a todas las Provincias y Reales de este Reino mandamientos para la averiguacion de si se avia Pedido, o, no, hallo averse perdido en muchas mas partes de las que Juro y declaró, con que quedo entendiendo en la averiguacion y satisfacion de la Real hacienda en este punto, esperando fenerle para remitirlo con toda la mas Ressidencia a Vuestra Magestad Y por ajustarlo mexor, y ser las Provincias de este Reino tan dilatadas hice legajo y cargo a parte debaxo de su declaracion y Juramiento, y porque se avia de gastar mucho tiempo en esto, y hallarse Don francisco de Gorraiz mui quebrantada la salud en este Real, pidiendome Licencia para yrse a curar a la Ciudad de Mexico, se la di haciendo dejarse poder bastante para lo dependiente de mi comission. En este estado se halla lo que a Don francisco Gorraiz toca.

De los descargos que a los cargos que le hice dio en lo demas de su Residencia, resultado culpado el Sargento mayor Valerio Cortés que lo fue

^r A. G. I., 66-6-18.

^s Obviously a miscopy for "actuar".

affairs of the ordinary jurisdiction they shall admit appeals only, and shall not obstruct the royal cédulas of his Majesty issued in favor of this government and captaincy-general. May God guard your lordship the many years which I desire, and give you the success which you merit. Parral, March 12, 1667. Your chief servant kisses your lordship's hand.
ANTONIO DE OCA SARMIENTO.

[Letter of Governor Antonio de Oca Sarmiento ⁸⁸ to the Queen.⁸⁹
San Joseph del Parral, March 19, 1667.]

Madam: Your Majesty having given me the appointment to this government, you were pleased to give me your royal cédula ordering me to take the *residencia* of my predecessor, Don Francisco de Gorraez,⁹⁰ without limitation of time, because the province is so large and so infested by the revolted Indians who make war in it. You commanded me, in conformity with an article in a letter from the Bishop of Durango, to investigate the frauds which had been committed against the *real hacienda* during that time, and the deaths and other injuries to the natives caused by the negligence of Don Francisco de Gorraez and his ministers. Having instituted the *residencia*, I charged him with the abuses which I was able to ascertain, heard his defense, and, taking cognizance of the pleas which he made, I passed sentence upon him with the advice of the *licenciado* Don Juan Zessati, *oidor* of the royal Audiencia of Guadalajara, whereby he is ordered to make restitution to the *real hacienda* of certain amounts, which I understood might be larger, and concerning which I appeal to your Majesty except in the matter of a forced loan which was placed in his charge by a royal cédula. Finding that he had called for the loan without showing his authority for so doing, and that he had not proceeded judicially either in safeguarding the fund or in keeping an account of it in proper manner, I made him take an oath and declare in what provinces and places he had demanded the loan, what sums had been given, and where they had been kept. He swore and declared that he had demanded the loan in the city of Durango, the Real de Cuencame, the Real de Guanacebi, and no others. But I found, upon sending orders to all the provinces and camps of this kingdom to ascertain whether the loan had been requested or not, that it had been called for in many more places than those mentioned in his oath and declaration. I am therefore engaged in the investigation and the satisfaction of the *real hacienda* in this matter, hoping to finish in order to send to your Majesty a report concerning all the rest of the *residencia*. In order to arrange things best, and because of the vastness of the provinces of this kingdom, I made a separate bundle and package of the papers containing his declaration and oath. And because the investigation would have taken much time, and because Don Francisco de Gorraez, greatly broken in health, was in this camp imploring me for license to go to Mexico City for treatment, I granted him permission to go, first causing him to arrange power of attorney with some-

todo el tiempo de su Gobierno, de muchas ynobediencias que a Ordenes suyas tubo de que resultaron graves daños a este Reino y sus naturales, y ser de muy ynquieto natural, y poco afecto al servicio de Vuestra Magestad opuesto al Gobierno y a todo jenero de ministros, siendo su altivez de calidad que llego a dezir era la llave de este Reino, y para asegurarme mas de su proceder, aviendo sabido que el enemigo estaba en la sierra que llaman de Xicorica, de donde acostumbra hacer graves daños a los naturales con muertes y Robos Le di Orden, soldados y yndios amigos para que lo fuese a hechar de la Sierra, y aviendo topado con el rastro del enemigo despidio los yndios amigos, sin seguir al enemigo, en contravencion de la horden que llevaba Volviendose a este Real, y Reprehendiendole yo su ynobediencia, tubo conmigo los desaogos que acostumbraba con sus superiores. Hice caveza de processo contra el Juntandole las culpas y delitos que resultavan de los descargos de Don francisco de Gorriz y lo Reforme de su puesto prosiguiendo a la averiguacion de sus maldades y mal tratamiento que a los naturales a hecho siempre de que an resultado muchas muertes en sus haciendas y de ellas alcamientos de Yndios enemigos, que oi son los que maior Guerra dan a este Reino y otras atrocidades que con esclavos y sirvientes suios hacia, de que, asimismo, se ocassionaron muertes haciendose soberano en todo, sin respeto a la Justicia, ni a mis antecesores, amenacandoles (para conseguirlo todo) ynquietarlos con ynivissiones y provissiones de la Real Audiencia de Guadalaxara, como todo consta de la caussa que remito a Vuestra Magestad por mano del fiscal del Real Consejo de Yndias. Y aviendo Valerio Cortés savido que yo procedia contra el Ocurrió a Guadalaxara y saco provision para que yo Remitiese La Caussa y me yniviesse del Conocimiento de ella a que respondi, y hice consulta, obraba en Virtud de Comision de Vuestra Magestad, a quien tocavan las apelaciones y ynivissiones, y que por ese respecto no podia ynivirme y continuaba en el conocimiento y averiguacion de los delitos de Valerio Cortes remitiendo a aquella Audiencia un traslado de la causa, solo para instruir la del mal natural y procedimiento de Valerio Cortes, para que no se moviessen con la facilidad que por aca se acostumbra, a la solicitud de hombres tan peligrosos, y con quien se necessita mucho cuidado, respecto de sus tiranias y crueldades, y averse querido introducir a soberano con ellas a cuiu caussa, Supplico a Vuestra Magestad sea servido mandar que la Audiencia de Guadalaxara, deje obrar en cossa que tanto importa al servicio de Vuestra Magestad Paz y quietud de este Reino y sus Provincias, satisfacion de la Real hacienda, y alivio de los naturales (que tanto encarga Vuestra Magestad sus buenos tratamientos) y este los tiene perseguidos con sus rigores. Ademas de su ynquietud le halle en su cassa acompañado de Un clerigo expulsso de la Compañia de Jhessus llamado Don francisco de los Rios que predicaba con grandisima desemboltura, y yndecencia, contra Don francisco Gorraiz mi antecessor, (estandole tomando y su Ressidencia) de calidad que se hubiera amotinado este lugar, a no aver ocurrido al Obispo de Guadiana para que lo hiciera salir de este Reino y su obispado, como lo hico en consideracion de las Racones que le propuse para ello, y de quanto ynquietaba con su modo de proceder, este Reino; Asimismo tenia en su compañía el Sarxento mayor Valerio Cortes, y concertado a

one competent to act for him in the affairs of my commission. This is the condition of affairs so far as Don Francisco de Gorraez is concerned.

It developed from the answers he made to the charges which I preferred in the remainder of the *residencia*, that the *sargento mayor*, Valerio Cortés, who held the office throughout the entire term of Gorraez, was guilty of frequent disobedience to the governor's orders which resulted in grave injuries to this kingdom and to the natives. It further developed that the *sargento mayor* was of a very restless disposition, little inclined to the service of your Majesty, and opposed to the government and all its ministers. His haughtiness was so great that he even went so far as to say that he was the key to this kingdom. Desiring to be more certain concerning his attitude, and having learned that the enemy was in the mountains called Xixorica, whence they are accustomed to do great damage to the natives by killing and robbing them, I gave him orders [to take] soldiers and friendly Indians and drive the enemy out of the mountains. But when he came upon their tracks he dismissed the friendly Indians and did not follow the enemy, contrary to the orders which he carried.

When Valerio Cortés returned to this camp and I reprimanded him for disobedience, he displayed toward me his usual impudence toward his superiors. I brought a process against him, charging him with all the faults and crimes which were shown in the answers given by Don Francisco de Gorraez [in his *residencia*]. I also removed him from his position, and continued to investigate his evil acts and his habitual mistreatment of the natives. From these there have resulted many murders on his farms, and on them there have been begun uprisings of unfriendly Indians who are now waging the worst wars in this kingdom. I also investigated other atrocities which he committed against his slaves and servants, from which deaths also resulted. He has acted as a sovereign in everything, without respect for justice nor for my predecessors, threatening them (in order to accomplish his purposes) to harass them with inhibitions and orders from the royal Audiencia of Guadalajara, as appears from the cause which I remitted to your Majesty through the hand of the fiscal of the royal Council of the Indies.

Valerio Cortés having learned that I was proceeding against him, went to Guadalajara and obtained an order that I should remit the cause against him and take no more cognizance of it. To this I responded and made a report [saying] that I was operating by virtue of a commission from your Majesty, with whom lay all appeals and inhibitions, and that for this reason the audiencia could not inhibit me. I therefore continued to ascertain and investigate the crimes of Valerio Cortés and sent to that audiencia a transcript of the process, merely to inform that body concerning his bad character and actions, in order that they should not be moved as easily as they are wont by men of such dangerous character, who need careful handling on account of their tyranny and cruelty, whereby they have tried to possess themselves of sovereignty. I therefore beseech your Majesty to be pleased to command the Audiencia of Guadalajara to stop interfering in a matter of so great importance to the service of your Majesty, the peace and quiet of this kingdom and its provinces,

cassar con una hixa suia, a Don francisco Somoza a quien ofrecio en dote ochenta mill pessos, sin que tubiesse mas que la capa al hombro, solo por confrontar con su inquietud natural, y aver traido rebuelta la nueva españa haciendo en ella diferentes delitos y atrocidades, y una muerte en la Ciudad de Tepeaca, y teniendole, con noticias, provado esto le prendi, y despache cartas de Justicia a la nueva españa y ciudad de Tepeaca, Y a este medio tiempo se me ofrecio salir a campaña, a la pacificacion de la provincia de Conchos y castigo de los Tobosos, con cuiu occassion se huió de la carcel, y todos tres Ocurrieron a la Audiencia de Guadalajara, adonde no dudo abran prorumpido con aviesso de sus naturales, en odio y Venganza mia para con eso turbar el conocimiento y castigo de sus maldades, por averles Dividido, con conocimiento de que juntos pudieran causar qualquier ynquietud en este Reino. Y por si la Audiencia de Guadalajara a solicitud suya lo embarazare y despachare Juez de Residencia contra mi, en contravencion de una zedula que Su Magestad fue servido despachar a favor mio en esa Corte, a ocho de Junio de mill Seiscientos y sesenta y cinco años, en que Vuestra Magestad manda, en el tiempo que yo governare en este Reino, no despache la Audiencia de Guadalajara tales juezes de Ressidencia, con ningun Pretexto Supplico a Vuestra Magestad sea servido, mandarse este por dicha zedula, sin que este casso de Valerio Cortes sea bastante para ello, antes bien combiene al servicio de Vuestra Magestad Paz y quietud de estos Reinos, sea castigado por sus delitos, y aver de remitir yo dicha caussa al Real Consejo de Vuestra Magestad de Yndias, adonde en vista de lo autuado hasta oy, que remito, espero conocera Vuestra Magestad mi celo y justificacion en su Real Servicio, Solicitando la defenssa, Paz y quietud de este Reino y sus Provincias; Guarde Dios a Vuestra Magestad los muchos años que la Christianidad a menester San Joseph del Parral y Marzo diez y nueve de mill seiscientos y sesenta y siete años. ANTONIO DE OCA SARMIENTO.

the satisfaction of the *real hacienda*, and the relief of the natives (whose good treatment your Majesty so often commands), and whom this man has so often persecuted with harshness.

In addition to his disturbances, I found that he had as companions in his house an expelled cleric of the Company of Jesus, named Don Francisco de los Ríos, who was preaching with great boldness and lack of decency against my predecessor, Don Francisco de Gorraez (while I was taking his *residencia*). His opposition was of such character that this place might have been moved to revolt if I had not appealed to the Bishop of Guadiana to command the cleric to depart from the kingdom and bishopric. The bishop complied out of consideration for the reasons which I submitted and because of the unrest which he was occasioning this kingdom by his actions. The *sargento mayor* Valerio Cortés also had in his company Don Francisco Somoza, to whom he had agreed to give his daughter in marriage, and to whom he offered a dowry of 80,000 pesos. Somoza did not possess anything but the cape on his shoulder, merely because he was of his own restless disposition. He has stirred up all New Spain by the perpetration of various crimes and atrocities, including a murder in the city of Tepeaca. Being in possession of proofs of this, I arrested him and sent judicial advice of the fact to New Spain and to the city of Tepeaca.

At this time I found it necessary to go on a campaign for the pacification of the province of Conchos and the punishment of the Tobosos, whereupon Somoza escaped from jail, and all three companions went to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, where I have no doubt they have broken out with all the perversity of their natures in hatred and vengeance upon me for the purpose of retarding the investigation and punishment of their evil deeds, especially in view of the fact that I had separated them because I knew that if they were allowed to remain together they would cause all manner of disturbance to this kingdom.

Lest the Audiencia of Guadalajara should at their instance attempt to embarrass me and send a *residencia* judge against me, in contravention of a cedula which your Majesty was pleased to issue in my favor at that court on June 8, 1665, in which your Majesty commands that during the time in which I shall serve as governor of this kingdom the Audiencia of Guadalajara shall under no pretext send out such *residencia* judges, I beseech your Majesty to be pleased to command that this cedula shall be obeyed, and that the case of Valerio Cortés shall not be considered to warrant the sending of a *residencia* judge; but that it is on the contrary fitting to the service of your Majesty and the peace and quiet of this kingdom that he should be punished for his crimes; and that I shall remit his case to your Majesty's royal Council of the Indies, where, full knowledge being had of all the process to this date, which I am remitting, I trust that your Majesty will take cognizance of my zeal and uprightness in your royal service, and my solicitude for the defense, peace, and quiet of this kingdom and its provinces. May God guard your Majesty the many years for which Christendom has need of you. San Joseph del Parral, March 19, 1667. ANTONIO DE OCA SARMIENTO.

Al Virrey de Nueva España Sobre que se quite una ymposicion que los Governadores de la Nueva Vizcaya han hecho a los Yndios de aquella Provincia y avisse los motivos que Huvo para ello con lo demas que se le ordena.^t [Madrid, 22 de Junio de 1670.]

La Reyna Governadora. Marques de Mantjera, etc., Virrey, etc.: . . . en capitulo de carta que me escrivio en el mes de Abril del año pasado de 1669 El obispo de la Yglesia Cathedral de la ciudad de Durango en la Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya refiere quan molestados se hallan los Yndios de ella, obligandoles a retirarse a los Montes, donde Carezen de la administracion de los Santos Sacramentos, estando Bautizados muchos de ellos, el Veer tan oprimidos por los Governadores a otros que estan congregados en Pueblos con los Repartimientos que hazen a titulo de Encomienda a los mineros y Lavadores estandoles prohibido por Cédulas Reales con graves penas y que la ocasion, es porque los tienen ocupados la mayor parte del año en las Labranças de sus Haciendas, dejando a sus familias, sin Recurso para sustentarse y les pagan su Servicio en Ropa a precios muy subidos todo lo qual havia significado al obispo. Don Juan Constantino Yndio Governador de los de la Nacion Concha, quejandosse de que el Governador de la Nueva Vizcaya le compelia a que fuesse a traer de los Montes a los Yndios encomendados, y que lo hacia con gran riesgo de su Vida, porque se resisten en forma de alsamiento por las caussas referidas, supplicome mande aplicar el Remedio conveniente para evittar Semejantes excessos y que aquellas Provincias se mantengan en Paz y los Yndios no carezcan de la administracion de los Santos Sacramentos y educacion en la doctrina christiana; Y haviendose Visto en el Consejo Real de las Yndias con los testimonios que Remitio tocantes a lo Referido y lo que Sovre ello dijo el fiscal de el; Ha parecido Ordenaros y mandaros (como lo Hago) que luego que recivais este Despacho deis las Ordenes convenientes para que luego al punto se quite y revoque el dicho tributo, o ymposicion que refiere el Obispo haverse cargado a los Yndios, y que assimismo hagays averiguacion sobre quienes han sido los Autores de el y en la primera ocasion que haviere me ynformareis de las razones y mottivos que ha havido para su ymposicion y que tiempo havra que se Cargo, y lo que ha montado, y en que se ha convertido.—Fecha en Madrid, 22 de Junio de 1670—YO LA REYNA.^u

[*Sigue otro escrito igual a la Audiencia de Guadalajara, de la misma fecha.*

Otra identica al Governador de Nueva Vizcaya Don Antonio de Oca, de la misma fecha.^v—F. R. B.]

^t A. G. I., 103-3-1.

^u F. R. B., Sevilla.

^v Either the original, or a copy, of each of these two letters is in A. G. I., 144-1-15. They are concluded as follows: "Por mandado de su Magestad. Francisco Ynez de Madrigal. Y senalada del Consejo."—C. W. H.

To the viceroy of New Spain, ordering the removal of an impost which the governors of Nueva Vizcaya have laid upon the Indians of that province, and asking him to report the reason for levying it, and to comply with other orders. [Madrid, June 22, 1670.]

The Queen Regent.⁹¹ Marquis of Mancera,⁹² etc., viceroy, etc.: . . . In an article of a letter which the bishop of the cathedral church of the city of Durango, in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, wrote to me in April of last year, 1669, he relates how afflicted are the Indians of that province. They are obliged to retire to the mountains, where they lack administration of the holy sacraments, although many of them have been baptized. Others, who are gathered in towns in *repartimiento* which the governors give under title of *encomienda* to the miners and farmers—this, notwithstanding, being prohibited by royal cédulas under heavy penalties—are grievously oppressed by the governors. The occasion for this is that they are kept busy for the greater part of the year in the work of the farms, their families being left without resources for their sustentation, and they themselves being paid for their labor in clothing at exorbitant prices. All this had been reported to the bishop by the Indian governor of the Concha nation, Don Juan Constantino, who complained that the governor of Nueva Vizcaya had compelled him to go and fetch from the mountains the Indians who had been in *encomienda*, and that he had done so at great risk to his life, as they had revolted on account of the reasons given above.

The bishop besought me to apply a suitable remedy so that such abuses might not recur, that the peace of the provinces might be preserved, and that the Indians might not lack the administration of the holy sacraments and instruction in the Christian doctrine. The matter having been considered in the royal Council of the Indies together with the transcripts which the bishop sent concerning it, and the opinion of the fiscal of the Council, it has seemed wise to order and command you (as I do), that as soon as you receive this despatch you shall give suitable orders to have the tribute or impost which the bishop says has been laid on the Indians removed and revoked at once; you shall also make an investigation as to who authorized the tax, and at your earliest opportunity you will report to me the cause or reason for its imposition, how long it has been collected, to what sum it has amounted, and in what this has been invested. Dated at Madrid, June 22, 1670. I THE QUEEN.

[*There follows a similar letter to the Audiencia of Guadalajara bearing the same date.*

There is an identical letter to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Don Antonio de Oca, bearing the same date—F. R. B.]

Al Obispo de la Nueva Vizcaya sobre que se observe lo dispuesto en las cédulas arriba ynsertas en que se manda que los Curas doctrineros sean examinados por los Prelados en la lengua de los Yndios.^w [Madrid, 6 de Septiembre de 1670.]

La Reyna Gobernadora. Reverendo en Cristo: Padre obispo de la Yglesia Cathedral de la Ciudad de Durango en la Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya, del Consejo del Rey mi hijo, El Rey mi Señor que este en gloria, mando despachar La Cedula del tenor Siguiente:

[Aqui La Cedula de 10 de Junio de 1631, que entra Por quanto y esta assentada en H^{as},^x para de oficio de 633 hasta 636.]

Y en carta, que me escrivisteis en treinta de Abril del año pasado de 1667, Referis los daños espirituales que se ocasionan en esas Provincias de la Administracion de las doctrinas que tienen a su cargo los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jhesus por no querer guardar la forma del Real Patronato ni lo dispuesto por el Santo Conzilio de Trento examinandose y aprovandose en la suficiencia y lenguas para ser Curas por el Prelado de su diosesi, y que los mas de ellos no saben las lenguas de los Yndios ni aun la Mexicana conque no pueden ynstruyrlos en la doctrina cristiana, y los confiesan por medio de Un Ynterprete de que pueden resultar graves ynconvenientes y poco util en su Reduzion de que me dais quenta para que mande proveer del Remedio Conveniente de suerte que se evite este desorden, y haviendose Visto en el Conssejo Real de las Yndias, Ha parecido deciros que supuesto que por las Cédulas arriva yncertas esta dispuesto lo que se deve executar en quanto a que los sugetos que fueren presentados, para las doctrinas Sean examinados y aprovados por los Arcobispos, y obispos de su diosesi en la lengua de los Yndios que han de doctrinar, y conforme a esto, os toca la observancia, y Cumplimiento dello, Os ruego y encargo, que pues teneis entendido quanto ymporta que los doctrineros Sean muy bersados en el Ydioma de los naturales a quien han de administrar los Santos Sacramentos pongays en ello el cuydado y atencion que conviene, para excusar el daño que de lo contrario Resulta, y el grave escrupulo que deve causar qualquier omision ó toleranciazia que en ello aya a que deveis ocurrir como Prelado y Pastor espiritual obrando con el celo y Vigilancia que corresponde a Vuestra obligacion—fecha en Madrid a 6 de septiembre de 1670.—YO LA REYNA.^y

^w A. G. I., 103-3-1.

^x It is not known for what this abbreviation stands.

^y F. R. B., Sevilla.

To the bishop of Nueva Vizcaya, commanding observance of the provisions of the cédulas inserted above, in which it is ordered that parish priests be examined in the language of the Indians by the prelates. [Madrid, September 6, 1670.]

The Queen Regent.⁹³ Reverend Father in Christ, bishop of the cathedral church of the city of Durango,⁹⁴ in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, [member] of the Council of the king, my son: ⁹⁵ The king, my lord, who is now deceased,⁹⁶ ordered issued the cedula whose tenor is as follows:

[Here appears the cedula of June 10, 1631, just as it is set down in the record of official papers for the years 1633-1636.]

And in a letter which you wrote to me on April 30 of the past year, 1667, you recount the spiritual injury occasioned in those provinces from the administration of the *doctrinas* which the religious of the Company of Jesus have in charge, because they do not care to observe the provisions of the *real patronato* ⁹⁷ nor the regulations of the holy Council of Trent,⁹⁸ namely, that in order to become parish priests they shall be examined and approved as to ability and proficiency in languages by the prelate of their diocese. You say that most of them do not know the languages of the Indians, nor even the Mexican language, so that they cannot instruct the Indians in the Christian doctrine, and they hear their confessions by means of an interpreter. From this may follow serious difficulties and little success with respect to their reduction, concerning which you give me an account in order that I may provide the suitable remedy, so that [in turn] this disorder may be avoided.

This matter having been considered in the royal Council of the Indies, it has seemed wise to say to you that, inasmuch as it is stipulated in the cédulas inserted above what ought to be done with respect to those persons who may be presented for the *doctrinas*, let them be examined and approved by the archbishops and bishops of their dioceses in the Indian languages in which they are to give religious instruction. Accordingly, its observance and fulfillment rests with you. I command and charge you, [therefore,] since you understand how important it is that religious instructors should be well versed in the language of the Indians, to whom they are to administer the holy sacraments, to give this matter proper care and attention in order to prevent the harm, which, on the contrary, results, and to prevent the serious consequences which any remissness or laxity must necessarily cause. As a prelate and spiritual pastor, you ought to take action to remedy such a defect, laboring with zeal and watchfulness as your obligation demands. Dated at Madrid, September 6, 1670. I THE QUEEN.

Al Virrey de la Nueva España que ynforme ssobre si conbendra agregar al Governador de la nueva Vizcaya el Govierno de los Presidios de sinaloa el cerro gordo y san sevastian de aquella provincia. Corregida. Con duplicado. Duplicose. [Madrid, 6 de Septiembre de 1670.]*

La Reyna Gobernadora. Marques de Mancera Pariente del consejo de Guerra Virrey Governador y Cappitan General de las provincias de Nueva España y Presidente de la Audiencia Real que Reside en la ciudad de Mexico o a la persona o personas a cuyo cargo fue su Govierno en el Consejo Real de las Yndias se a tenido noticia de los inconvenientes que Resultan para la defensa y seguridad de las provincias de la nueva Vizcaya de que el Govierno militar de ellas este dividido corriendo a Vuestro Cargo la provision de las Plaças del Presidio de Sinaloa que tiene quarenta y cinco soldados y un cappitan Y el del Zerro Gordo que tiene otro capitan con veinte y quatro soldados y otra plaça mas para un Yndio que sirve de espia, Y el de San Sebastian con otro capitan y seis soldados con trezientos y cinquenta pesos de sueldo al año cada uno. Y a cargo del Governador de dichas provincias estan los presidios de santa Catalina y san Ypolito, cada uno con su cappitan y nueve soldados y treinta hombres de campaña con quatrocientos y cinquenta pesos cada una al año. Y haviendo esta Guarnicion no se castiga a los Yndios Reveldes escusandose los gobernadores con que no tienen jente suficiente por que la de los dichos presidios que estan a vuestra orden no le obedecen y que seria muy combeniente para la defensa y seguridad de aquellas provincias que toda la jente militar dellas estubiesse a orden y del Governador y Cappitan General de la Nueva Vizcaya. Y Haviendose Visto en el consejo Real de las Yndias a parecido ordenaros y mandaros (como lo hago) me ynformeis del estado y forma en que estan aquellas presidios y como se gobiernan, y si conbendra agregarlos todos a la Jurisdiccion y Dominio del Governador de la nueva vizcaya o si de ello podra seguirse algun ynconveniente o que disposicion se podra dar que sea mas eficaz para la seguridad de aquellos Basallos y correccion de los yndios Reveldes y que se eviten los delitos que cometen dando ssobre ello Vuestro parecer para que con entera noticia de todo se tome la Resolucion que convenga fecha en Madrid a seis de settiembre de mill y seiscientos y setenta años. YO LA REYNA. Por mandado de su magestad Don FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ DE MADRIGAL: señalada del Consejo.

Al fiscal de la Audiencia de Guadalajara dando representacion por haver pedido se ponga en Livertad a los Yndios del distrito de ella, que tenian por esclavos. [Madrid, 13 de Diciembre de 1672.]*

La Reyna Gobernadora. Lizenciado Don Fernando de Haro y Monterroso oydor de la Audiencia de la ciudad de Guadalajara . . . que

* A. G. I., 144-1-15.

* A. G. I., 103-3-2.

To the viceroy of New Spain, ordering him to report as to whether it would be fitting to assign to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya the control of the presidios of Sinaloa, Cerro Gordo, and San Sebastián, of that province. Corrected; with a duplicate. Let it be duplicated. [Madrid, September 6, 1670.]

The Queen Regent.⁹⁹ Marquis of Mancera,¹⁰⁰ relative, member of the Council of War, governor and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain, and president of the royal audiencia which sits in the city of Mexico, or to the person, or persons, in whose charge its government may be: The royal Council of the Indies learned of the difficulties that arise with reference to the defense and security of the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, due to the fact that the military government of these provinces is divided—there being under your charge the control of the presidio of Sinaloa, which has forty-five soldiers and a captain; that of Cerro Gordo, which has another captain, twenty-four soldiers, and a place for an Indian who serves as a spy; and that of San Sebastián, with another captain, and six soldiers, the salary of each being 350 pesos per year. Also under the control of the governor of the said provinces are the presidios of Santa Catalina and San Hipólito, each with its captain, nine soldiers, and thirty field soldiers, the salary of each being 450 pesos per year. But, with all these garrisons, the rebellious Indians are not punished, for the governors excuse themselves from assisting by saying that they do not have a sufficient force, because the forces in the said presidios, which are under your charge, do not obey; therefore it would be very suitable for the defense and security of those provinces that the entire military force in them should be under the command of the governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya.

The matter having been taken up in the royal Council of the Indies, it has seemed wise to order and command you (as I do) to report to me concerning the state and condition of those presidios, how they are governed, if it would be wise to assign them all to the jurisdiction and control of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, or whether any detriment would arise from this, or what arrangement may be made that may be more efficacious for the security of those vassals, the correction of the rebellious Indians, and the prevention of the crimes which they commit. You will also give me your opinion concerning the situation so that, with complete knowledge of everything, the proper course may be taken. Dated at Madrid, September 6, 1670. I THE QUEEN. By command of her Majesty. DON FRANCISCO FERNÁNDEZ DE MADRIGAL. Signed by the Council.

To the fiscal of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, offering acknowledgments for his having asked that the Indians of that district whom they hold as slaves be set at liberty. [Madrid, December 13, 1672.]

The Queen Regent.¹⁰¹ *Licenciado* Don Fernando de Haro y Monteroso, *oidor* of the Audiencia of the City of Guadalajara . . . serving temporarily as fiscal of the same: In a letter which you wrote to me on

servis en ynterin la fiscalia della en carta que me escrivisteis en 20 de Marzo de este año decís que desde el principio de la Conquista de las Yndias esta prohibida la esclavitud de los Yndios, y que haviendo entendido que muchos estavan en ella, pedisteis en essa Audiencia se pusiesen en livrtad y se despacharon Provisiones y en su ejecucion se livertaron a los Yndios chinos, chichimecos, Sinaloes, Los del nuevo Mexico y nuevo Reyno de Leon y respecto de que en los districtos de las Audiencias de Mexico y Guatemala ay muchos esclavos de esta calidad proponeis que sera mui del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor que se haga lo mismo con ellos inponiendo la pena que pareciere contra los que los bendieren y compraren Y havendose Visto en el Consejo de las Yndias con lo que me escrivio acerca de esso esta Audiencia en 7 de Abril de este año, y lo que sobre ello dijo y pidio el fiscal del, ha parecido daros gracias (como lo hago) por lo que en esto haveis obrado que es mui conforme a vuestro zelo, y atencion, y os encargo que por lo que os toca esteis siempre con todo cuidado de que se observe en lo de adelante, pues estan Justo y conveniente dejar a los Yndios en livrtad, como esta mandado por tan repetidas cédulas, por el escrupulo que causa su esclavitud, y a las Audiencias de Mexico y Guatemala, he mandado por despacho de la fecha de este ejecuten lo mismo en sus districtos, de que me a parecido avissaros para que lo tengais entendido. Madrid 13 de Diciembre 1672. YO LA REYNA.^b

A la Audiencia de Guadalajara dandolas Gracias por haver puesto en livrtad a los Yndios del distrito de ella, como esta mandado por diferentes cédulas.^c [Madrid, 23 de Diciembre de 1672.]

La Reyna Gobernadora. Presidente y Oydores de la Real Audiencia . . . en carta de 7 de Abril de este año me dais cuenta de que con ocasion de haver pedido el fiscal de ella se diese cumplimiento a las cédulas que prohíven la esclavitud de los Yndios chinos y chichimecos del distrito de essa audiencia, despachasteis provision al Governador de la Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya, y al Corregidor de Zacatecas para que pusiessen en livrtad, a los Yndios de las fronteras de la Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo Reyno de Leon, Nuevo Mexico, y Provincia de Sinaloa, y lo ejecutaron, de que a resultado gran servicio a Dios nuestro Señor, y alivio, y conquelo de los demas Yndios, y Juntamente disteis orden para que los poseedores Justificaren el titulo con que los tenian, y declarasteis que las mugeres y niños de 14 años, aunque fuesen apresados en Guerra Justa fuesen libres Por estar Resuelto así por diferentes cédulas y en particular por las de los años 1553 y 1563 y que en el distrito de la Audiencia de Mexico ay gran numero de chinos tenidos y rreputados por esclavos, y que sera muy con-

^b F. R. B., Sevilla.

^c A. G. I., 103-3-2.

March 20 of this year, you say that since the beginning of the conquest of the Indies slavery of the Indians has been prohibited, and that having learned that many of them are in slavery, you made a request in that audiencia that they should be set at liberty. Orders were issued and in obedience thereto the Chinos, Chichimecos, Sinaloa Indians, and those of New Mexico and of Nuevo Reyno de León were set at liberty. As there are still many slaves in the districts of the Audiencias of Mexico and Guatemala, you suggest that it will be very pleasing to the service of God our Lord to do the same with respect to them, and to impose suitable punishment upon those who buy and sell them.

The matter having been considered in the Council of the Indies, together with what that audiencia wrote to me concerning this matter, on April 7 of this year, and the opinion which the fiscal of the Council gave and requested concerning it, it has seemed wise to thank you (as I do) for what you have done, which is very much in conformity with your zeal and attentiveness. And I command you that, as regards what relates to you, you continue with all diligence as to the observance of the laws in the future, for it is just and proper to leave the Indians in freedom, as is commanded by oft-repeated cédulas, on account of the scruples of conscience which their enslavement causes. I have ordered the Audiencias of Mexico and Guatemala, in a despatch under even date herewith, to do the same within their districts, of which action it has seemed wise to advise you for your information. Madrid, December 13, 1672. I THE QUEEN.

To the Audiencia of Guadalajara, thanking its members for having set at liberty the Indians of its district, as is commanded in various cédulas. [Madrid, December 23, 1672.]

The Queen Regent.¹⁰² To the president and *oidores* of the royal audiencia . . . : In a letter of April 7 of this year you advise me that pursuant to a request by the fiscal of the audiencia for compliance with the cédulas which prohibit the enslavement of the Chinos and Chichimecos Indians of the district of that audiencia, you issued an order to the governor of the province of Nueva Vizcaya, and to the *corregidor* of Zacatecas, requesting them to set at liberty the Indians of the frontier of Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo Reyno de León, New Mexico, and the province of Sinaloa. They complied, rendering a great service to God, our Lord, and contributing relief and consolation to the other Indians. At the same time you ordered that their owners should prove the titles whereby they held slaves, and you declared that women and children of fourteen years, even if taken in just war, should be free, since it has been so ordered by various cédulas, particularly those of the years 1553 and 1563. [You also report] that in the district of the Audiencia of Mexico there are large numbers of Chinos held and reputed to be slaves, and that it would be very proper for the same thing to be done there.

veniente se execute lo mismo. Y haviendose visto en el consejo de las Yndias, con el testimonio de Autos que remitisteis, y lo que me escrivio el Licenciado Don Fernando de Haro y Monterroso Siendo fiscal de essa Audiencia en 20 de Marzo de este año con lo que açerca de ello dijo y pidio el fiscal del consejo, Ha parecido daros gracias por lo que haveis ejecutado en esta materia, y encargaros y mandaros, (como lo hago) esteis siempre con todo cuidado de que se observe lo rresuelto por las cedulas referidas que tratan de la libertad de los Yndios chichimecos, y chinos, por ser tan justo y conveniente dejarlos en ella, como esta ordenado pues con esto cessara el escrupulo que causa su esclavitud, y por despachos de la fecha de este, he mandado a las Audiencias de Mexico y Guatemala, pongan en livertad a los esclavos que huviere de esta calidad en el distrito de ellas. Madrid 23 de Diziembre 1672. YO LA REYNA.^d

A la Audiencia de Guadalajara, estrañandole que no aya embiado al Consejo los Autos de un Pleyto que siguio Don Fernando de Haro sobre el servicio Personal de los Yndios de las Provincias de Sonora y Sinaloa y mandando los remite sin dilacion.^e [Madrid, 2 de Abril de 1676.]

El Rey . . . el Licenciado Don Fernando de Haro y Monterroso, oydor de essa Audiencia en carta de Junio primero de 1675, da quenta entre otras cosas de que haviendo seguido pleyto en essa Audiencia Con diferentes personas poderosas sobre el servicio personal de los Yndios de las Provincias de Sonora y Sinaloa y sobre la division de tierras y Aguas de dichas Provincias Obtubo Sentencia de Vista y Revista en favor de los Yndios de que se despacho executoria y la execucion Se Cometio a Don Joseph Garcia de Salzedo Governador de la Nueva Vizcaya mandandole que quando hiziese la Visita diese Orden para que se cumpliese la executoria, y con ocasion de Una carta que escrivio a la audiencia Provisteis Auto en que mandastes se suspendiese la execucion hasta darme quenta de ello. Y haviendose Visto en mi Consejo de las Yndias con lo que pidio mi fiscal he mandado se os advierta se a estrañado mucho la omision que haveis tenido en remitir este pleyto y poner en execucion el auto que provisteis, y os ordeno y mando que sin dilacion ninguna imbieis a mi Consejo de las Yndias los papeles autos y testimonios que huviere sobre el punto que estuviere pendiente Sin dilacion alguna para que se provea lo que fuere Justicia y del Recivo de este despacho y de su execucion me dareis quenta en la primera ocasion . . . Madrid, 2 de Abril 1676. YO EL REY.^f

^d F. R. B., Sevilla.

^e A. G. I., 103-3-2.

^f F. R. B., Sevilla.

The matter having been considered by the Council of the Indies, together with the transcript of the *autos* which you sent, that which the *licenciado* Don Fernando de Haro y Monterroso, fiscal of that audiencia, wrote to me on March 20 of the present year, and the opinion of the fiscal of the Council, it has seemed wise to thank you for what you have done in this matter, and to charge and command you (as I do) to be always very careful that that which has been resolved by the cédulas mentioned, which prescribe the liberty of the Chichimecos and Chinos Indians, is observed, because it is so just and proper to leave them at liberty, as is ordered, for thereby the scruples which their slavery causes will cease. In despatches of even date I have commanded the Audiencias of Mexico and Guatemala to set at liberty those who may be of the status of slaves in their districts. Madrid, December 23, 1672. I THE QUEEN.

To the Audiencia of Guadalajara, expressing surprise that it has not sent to the Council the autos in a suit which Don Fernando de Haro prosecuted concerning the personal service of the Indians of the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa, and commanding that it forward them at once. [Madrid, April 2, 1676.]

The King. . . . The *licenciado* Don Fernando de Haro y Monterroso, *oidor* of that audiencia, in a letter of June 1, 1675, reports, among other things, that, having prosecuted a suit in that audiencia against various powerful personages concerning the personal service of the Indians of the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa, and the division of land and water in those provinces, he obtained a sentence for examination and review in favor of the Indians, by virtue of which a writ of execution was obtained, and its enforcement was entrusted to Don Joseph García de Salcedo,¹⁰⁸ governor of Nueva Vizcaya. He was commanded that when he performed the visitation he should give orders that the writ be complied with, but, because of a letter which he wrote to the audiencia, you issued an *auto* in which you ordered suspended the execution of the writ until a report on it could be made to me.

The matter having been considered by my Council of the Indies, together with the request of my fiscal, I have commanded that you be apprised that I am greatly astonished at your failure to report the suit and put into execution the writ which you issued. And I order and command you to send to my Council of the Indies without any delay the papers, *autos*, and transcripts which may exist concerning the point now pending, so that whatever may be just may be commanded. You will report receipt of this despatch and of its execution at your earliest opportunity. Madrid, April 2, 1676. I THE KING.

*El Lizenciado Don Lope de Sierra Ossorio Oidor de la Real Audiencia de México, Gobernador y Capitan General que fué del Reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, informa a Vuestra Magestad el estado de las cossas de aquel Reino.*² [Mexico, 26 de Septiembre de 1678.]

Señor: Por muerte de Don Martin de Revollar Gobernador y Capitan General del Reino y provincias de la Nueva Viscaia, fueron tantas las muertes rovos y latrocinios, que onze naciones de Indios enemigos executaron en los pobres miserables vezinos de aquel Reino que haviendole dado las quejas, y noticia del riesgo en que estava de perderse en el todo, a Vuestro Arzobispo de Mexico Virrey de la Nueva España, resolvio imbiarme a mi por Capitan General y Governador de aquel Reino y provincias, persuadido a que em medio de mi ynutilidad, el zelo y veras con que siempre he deseado emplearme en el servicio de Vuestra Magestad, desempeñaria su elección y aseguraria a Vuestra Magestad aquel Reino cuia total ruina y despueble amenazava, la avilantez, con que los Yndios enemigos andaban executando en todos sus poblaciones, muertes y rovos no rreservando su bárvara crueldad, mugeres niños viejos, Religiosos y sagerdotes.

Salí de esta ciudad de Mexico para el Real de san Joseph del Parral, distante de ella como trescientas leguas, por ser la parte mas principal de aquel Reino y que Vuestra Magestad tributa mas crecidos intereses y estava mas a riesgo de perderse porque en todos sus contornos, andaban los yndios enemigos, executando muertes y rovos, sin resistencia, y en los primeros dias que llegue, dieron en una hazienda de labor y mataron veinte yndios que estaban segando trigo, y llevaron la cavallada, y mulada, luego que tube esta noticia ymbié en su seguimiento algunos soldados, yndios amigos, y fué nuestro Señor servido de favorecerles con tan especial misericordia, que haviendoles alcanzado al segundo dia, al amanecer el siguiente, les dieron albazo los nuestros y siendo mui pocos en numero mataron de los enemigos treinta y tres y en espacio de los primeros quatro meses me favoreció Nuestro Señor con otros suzessos mui felizes en que les matamos y quitamos, pasadas de trescientas a quatrocientas personas, sin que en alguno nos hubiesen muerto a herido persona alguna de los nuestros, y si yo hubiera tenido medios para hazerles la guerra, me podia prometer concluir la y dejar en paz el Reino mejor que tiene Vuestra Magestad en toda su corona, por que teniendo cassi quatrocientas leguas en quadro y partiendo terminos por la parte del poniente con el Reino de la Galizia y por la de medio dia con la California y por de norte con el Nuevo Mexico, las tierras llanas de que se compone, son muy abundantes para todos genero de siembras, y crianzas de ganados mayores y menores, por ser muchos los rios, arroyos y ojos de agua que las riegan; Por el medio de este Reino atraviessa la Sierra madre que tiene su principio cerca de el puerto de Acapulco y se entra por el Nuevo Mexico sin que se sepa su fin, son infinitas las sierras, y montañas en que se divide y todas ellas estan llenas de ricos minerales de plata y oro, como se ha experimentado en los Reales de minas que en ellas se empezaron a poblar, y han

The licenciado Don Lope de Sierra Ossorio,¹⁰⁴ oidor of the royal Audiencia of Mexico, former governor and captain-general of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, informs your Majesty of the state of affairs of that kingdom. [Mexico, September 26, 1678.]

Sir: On account of the death of Don Martín de Revollar,¹⁰⁵ governor and captain-general of the kingdom and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, there were so many murders, robberies, and outrages committed by eleven nations of hostile Indians upon the poor miserable inhabitants of that kingdom that, after complaints and information with reference to the danger of the entire kingdom being lost had been filed with your Archbishop of Mexico and viceroy of New Spain,¹⁰⁶ he resolved to send me as captain-general and governor of that kingdom and [its] provinces, being convinced, notwithstanding my poor abilities, that the zeal and fidelity with which I have always desired to employ myself in the service of your Majesty would justify his choice and would secure to your Majesty that kingdom, whose total ruin and depopulation were threatened by the boldness with which the hostile Indians were committing murders and robberies in all of the settlements, not sparing from their barbarous cruelty the women, children, old men, religious, and priests.

I left this city of Mexico for the camp of San Joseph del Parral, which is distant from Mexico City about three hundred leagues; it is the principal place in that kingdom and the one that pays your Majesty the highest tribute. The kingdom, moreover, was in danger of being lost, because throughout its length and breadth hostile Indians were wandering about, committing murders and robberies, without resistance. In the first days after my arrival they fell upon a farm, killed twenty Indians who were sowing wheat, and carried off the horses and mules. As soon as I received this information I sent in pursuit of them some soldiers and friendly Indians, and our Lord was pleased to favor them with such especial kindness that our forces, having caught up with them on the second day, made a surprise attack upon them at daybreak of the following day, and, although but few in number, they killed thirty-three of the hostiles.

In the period of the first four months our Lord favored me with other very happy successes in that we killed and took from them more than three or four hundred persons, while they did not kill or wound any one of our force in any [of the engagements]. If I had had the means to make war upon them I was in a position to promise to end the war and have peace in the best kingdom that your Majesty has in his entire crown. For it is almost four hundred leagues square and is bounded on the west by the kingdom of [Nueva] Galicia, on its south [*sic*] by California, and on the north by New Mexico. The level lands of which it is composed are very productive for all kinds of crops and the raising of cattle and sheep, for there are many rivers, arroyos, and springs which water them. The Sierra Madre, which has its beginning near the port of Acapulco and extends through New Mexico, without its end being known, traverses the centre of this kingdom. The mountains and ranges into which it is divided are infinite, and all are full of rich ores of silver and gold, as has been

destruido y aniquilado en el todo los yndios enemigos, sin que se les pudiese hazer resistencia, y mientras no se les hiziere la guerra mui de propósito, y se permitiere se hagan esclavos, siempre estará con conozido riesgo de perderse aquel Reino y para que Vuestra Magestad reconozca la justificazion con que uno y otro se podrá hazer referiré lo que tengo visto y entendido en esta materia.

De la ciudad de Guadiana Caveza de la Viscaia hasta el Real de San Joseph del Parral, habrá de distancia cien leguas, y todas despobladas, al lado derecho del camino Real estan las serranias y montañas a donde asisten estas onze naciones de yndios enemigos, y por ser entre ellas la de más valor la de los Tovossos comunmente todas se llaman con este nombre, si bien despues que yo llegue a aquel Reino todos los de esta nazon se han reducido de paz, y los poblé en San Francisco de Conchos, y ha permitido Nuestro Señor que estos se enemistasen de manera con las naciones alzados que hoi son la principal defensa de la Vizcaia, y a quien mas temen los yndios enemigos, en toda su tierra no hai rio, arroio o fuente, que sea peregue,^h ni ellos tienen poblaciones o siembras algunas, y por lo que yo he visto en dos vezes que he pasado por parte de ella, ni paxaros ni animales hai; si los españoles hubiesesses pretendido en algun tiempo quitarles su tierra, o entrar en ella o hazerles guerra, no hubiera razón alguna que les disculpara ni justificara el hazerles esclavos, pero siendo los yndios enemigos, los que vienen a las tierras que estan poseiendo los españoles, y los Yndios cristianos, y que estan de paz y con bárvara crueldad les rovan sus haziendas, quitan la vida sin distincion de xesso, sin que para su fin principal que es rovar, conduzga, en mi sentir con mas justificazion se les puede hazer la guerra, y hazerles esclavos, que a los Turcos, que siendo los enemigos declarados de toda la cristianidad dan quartel a todos los que se rinden sin llegar a ensangrentarse en las vidas de los que por su sexo, edad o profession estan indefensos y estas tierras nunca fueron de la dominación del emperador Montezuma o de otro cazique de estos reinos; y con estos indios se ha procurado en todos tiempos por los medios de la suavidad y blandura, se combiertan a nuestro Santa Fee o por lo menos, se esten en sus tierras, sin salir a hazer daños en las nuestras; y con la fingida paz que en diferentes ocasiones han dado, han conseguido el reconocer todas las poblaciones y haziendas de los españoles y yndios amigos, que ya del todo tienen aniquiladas y despobladas, y con el pretexto de la paz, se baptizaron los mas, y hoi todos son apostatas, y por las mas ynnumerables muertes que han hecho de españoles y yndios amigos, no hai indio de arco y flecha, entre ellos, que no merezca pena de muerte, porque además de ser sin caussa todas las que exejutan, son con alenosiaⁱ por que jamás han salido a pelear a campaña rasa mientras no se les hiziere la guerra mui de propósito, y de veras, está a riesgo conozido de perderse todo el Reino de la Vizcaia el de el Nuevo Mexico y la Galicia porque a sus espaldas tienen convecinas innumerables naciones de otros indios a quien han solicitado traer en su ayuda, y si lo que Dios no permita, lograsen el rovar los carros que pasan al Parral y

^h Obviously a miscopy for "perenne".

ⁱ "Alevosia".

demonstrated in the mining camps which, in them, were beginning to be settled, but which the hostile Indians have destroyed and entirely annihilated without its being possible to offer any resistance to them until determined war may be made upon them. Until it is permitted for them to be enslaved, that kingdom will always remain in acknowledged danger of being lost. In order that your Majesty may perceive the justification with which the one and the other may be done, I shall relate what I have seen and learned concerning this matter.

From the city of Guadiana, capital of [Nueva] Vizcaya, to the camp of San Joseph del Parral, the distance must be one hundred leagues, all depopulated. On the right side of the *camino real* are the ranges and mountains where these eleven nations of hostile Indians live. Because the bravest among them are the Tobosos, all are commonly called by this name, although after I arrived in that kingdom all those of this nation were reduced to peace and I settled them at San Francisco de Conchos. Our Lord has permitted that they should become such enemies to the rebellious nations that to-day they are the principal defense of [Nueva] Vizcaya, and are those whom the hostile Indians fear most.

In all their land there is no river, arroyo, or spring that is perennial; neither do they have towns nor do they plant crops, and, as far as I observed on two occasions when I have passed through part of the region, there are neither birds nor animals. If the Spaniards had attempted at any time to take their land away from them or to enter there and make war upon them, there would be no reason that would excuse or justify making slaves of them, but since it is the hostile Indians who come to the lands that are in possession of the Spaniards and Christian Indians who are at peace, and rob them of their farms with barbarous cruelty, taking their lives without distinction of sex, and without any halt to their principal purpose, which is to rob, there is more justification, in my opinion, in making war upon them and making slaves of them than on the Turks, for the latter, although they are the declared enemies of all Christendom, give quarter to all those who surrender without reaching the point of imbruing themselves in the blood of those who by their sex, age, or profession are defenseless.

These lands were never under the dominion of the emperor Montezuma or of any other cacique of these kingdoms. With these Indians attempts have been made at all times by gentle and kind means to convert them to our holy faith, or at least, to persuade them to remain in their country, without coming out to do damage in ours; but, under a feigned peace which on various occasions they have made, they have succeeded in securing a knowledge of all the towns and farms of the Spaniards and friendly Indians, which they have now utterly annihilated and depopulated. Also, under the pretext of peace, most of them were baptized, yet to-day they are apostates. And on account of the innumerable murders of Spaniards and friendly Indians which they have committed there is among them no Indian with bow and arrow who does not merit pain of death, for, in addition to the fact that all of the murders which they commit are without motive, they are treacherous, since they have never gone out to fight in the open. Unless very determined and real war is made upon them there

Nuevo Mexico con ropa como en todos tiempos y en el poco que yo governé la Vizcaia, lo han intentado, aunque no conseguido, estava a riesgo de perderse toda la Nueva España, por que con el zeno¹ de la ropa, que tanto apetiesen por andar todos desnudos fueran innumerables las naciones del norte que salieran a innundar estos Reinos y provincias; y en medio de no tener todo este Reino mas que trecientos vecinos se sacan de el pasados de ciento y cinquenta mil marcos de plata, en cada un año de que percive^{*} Vuestra Magestad de quintos y diezmos cerca de doscientos mill pesos y solo en el Real del Parral, en año y dos meses se ensaiaron, ciento y veinte mill marcos, como constara del testimonio incluso.

Dentro de la jurisdision del Reino de la Nueva Viscaia, hai muchas diversas naciones y algunas de ellas mui numerossas, y solo las de los Tepeguanes, Tarmaures y Conchos, en lo descubierto llegaron a trecientos mill familias, y todo estos estan de paz, y algun número aunque mui corto estan ya baptizados, y redusidos a doctrina y aunque Vuestra Magestad tiene en sus tierras algun número de doctrineros para que los conbiertan y doctrinen, es mui corto, respecto de la multitud de estas naciones, y ocupar cada una ciento y cinquenta leguas de cordillera, y preguntados los yndios ultimos a donde han llegado los padres, si en lo de adelante y a los lados hai mas indios, responden, que es innumerable la multitud, hazia todas partes y solo en el rio del norte, que es la divission del Nuevo Mexico y el reino de la Nueva Vizcaya son tantos las naciones que hai, que toda la diligencia de los padres que hai por aquellos contornos, no ha podido comprehender y saver sus nombres, todas estas tierras, estan contiguas a las que Vuestra Magestad posee en este Reino de la Nueva Viscaia, y por esta misma razon juzgo que es mui propio del contrario¹ zelo de Vuestra Magestad el proveherlas de los ministros nezesarios para la combersion de sus avitadores, y siendo tanto lo que hai en estas partes contiguo a lo que Vuestra Magestad posehe me persuado que las gastos grandes que se han hecho en la Comberssion de las Yslas marianas Xapon y Filipinas las ha ocasionado la falta de noticias y zelo indiscreto de las personas que han informado a Vuestra Magestad y que esta misma falta de noticias es la que tiene tan atrasado el servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y de Vuestra Magestad en estos reinos.

Todas las naciones que hai en el de la Nueva Viscaya y Nuevo Mexico se podrán reducir a nuestro Santa fee com maior facilidad que otras y a mucha menos costa porque sobre ser las mas mansas y dosiles por especial misericordia de Dios, en todas ellas no hai ydolatria alguna, ni sus avitadores dan adoracion a cossa viviente o no viviente de que podrá Vuestra Magestad inferir la facilidad con que se podran reducir a nuestra Santa fee cathólica, no haviendo ydolatrias que fué la maior dificultad y resistencia que todos los santos apostoles y demás Predicadores del avangelio encontraron en todas las partes del mundo, donde le predicaron.

Estando en el Real de San Joseph de Parral, tube noticia de la horden que Vuestra Magestad dió para el quintal de azogue se vendiese de con-

¹ This is clearly a miscopy for "zelo".

^{*} Obviously a miscopy for "recive".

¹ This is probably a miscopy for "conocido".

is evident risk of losing the whole kingdom of [Nueva] Vizcaya, that of New Mexico, and that of [Nueva] Galicia, for they [the hostile Indians] have to their rear innumerable neighboring nations of other Indians whom they have invited to come to their aid. Unless God refuses to permit it, they will succeed in robbing the wagon trains that go regularly to Parral and New Mexico¹⁰⁷ with clothing. In the short time that I governed [Nueva] Vizcaya they attempted it, and, while they did not succeed, there was danger of all New Spain being lost, for, because of their desire for clothing, which they crave so much since they all go naked, there would be innumerable nations from the north which would go out to inundate these kingdoms and provinces.

Notwithstanding that this entire kingdom does not contain more than three hundred citizens, there are drawn from it over 150,000 marks of silver annually, from which your Majesty receives in fifths and tithes nearly 200,000 pesos. At the Real del Parral alone there were extracted in a year and two months 120,000 marks, as will appear from the certified copy enclosed.

Within the jurisdiction of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya there are many distinct nations, some of which are very large. Those of the Tepeguanes, Tarmaures, and Conchos alone, in what has been explored, will total 300,000 families, all of whom are peaceful, and a certain number of them, though very small, is already baptized and reduced to the faith. Although your Majesty has in their country a certain number of instructors to convert and teach them, it is very small in comparison with the multitude of these nations, each one occupying 150 leagues of mountain range. When the Indians at the last point to which the padres have gone are questioned as to whether there are more Indians further on and on either side, they reply that the multitude is innumerable in every direction. Solely on the Río del Norte, which is the boundary between New Mexico and the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, there are so many nations that with all their efforts the padres who are in that vicinity have not been able to understand and learn their names. All these lands are contiguous to those which your Majesty possesses in this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, and for this same reason I consider that it is very much in accord with the recognized zeal of your Majesty to provide them with the necessary ministers for the conversion of their inhabitants. Since there is so much in these regions which is contiguous to that which your Majesty [already] possesses, I am convinced that the great expenses which have been incurred in the conversion of the Marianas Islands,¹⁰⁸ Japan, and the Philippines have been occasioned by the lack of information and indiscreet zeal of the persons who have advised your Majesty and that this same lack of information is what is holding back the service of God our Lord and of your Majesty in these kingdoms.

All the nations in the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya and in New Mexico can be reduced to our holy faith in greater facility than others, and at much less cost, for, besides being the most gentle and docile, by special kindness of God, there is no idolatry among any of them, nor do the inhabitants worship anything living or dead. From this—since they do not practise idolatry, which constituted the greatest difficulty and ob-

tado a los mineros a ciento y veinte pesos y que precissamente bajaren por ellos a la Vera Cruz y esta resolucion me persuado, la ha ocasionado algun informe que a Vuestra Magestad se hizo por alguna persona falta de noticias, que quiso exponer este Reino, al rriesgo de perderse con esta rresolución; su conserbacion y poblacion depende de la mucha plata que se saca de los Reales de minas que hai en el, y faltando estos se concluire con todo, yo he estado en diferentes Reales de minas, y en las bocas de ellas, hay montones de metales crezidisimos que se benefician por azogue y por ser este ingrediente el mas costosso, no se puede costear su beneficio; y si los azogues mandara Vuestra Magestad que se dieran a los mineros por el costo y costas que tienen puestos en los Reales de minas, se pudieran beneficiar todos los metales aunque fueran de mui cortas leies, y importara a Vuestra Magestad el quinto y diezmo, que se sacara de ellos, tres tanto mas que el precio de los azogues que se remiten a las yndias, y por su mucha pobreza de los mineros y los excesivos costos de los azogues y más ingredientes, no pueden profundar las minas, porque en los primeros treinta, o quarenta estados, no se hallan metales, que sean de considerable lei, y los que no son de esta calidad se arrojan, y los pobres miserables sin medios no puedan profundar las minas, que hasta los cinquenta o setenta regularmente no se encuentra la riqueza, y todos los mineros de esta Nueva España estan tan pobres, que aunque el azogue se les diera de balde, no solo no pudieran personalmente bajar por él a la Vera Cruz, pero no hallaran persona que les prestare para los fletes y muchos de los Reales de minas, a trecientas, quatrocientas y quinientas leguas de la Vera Cruz, y en atencion a esta imposibilidad, Vuestra Magestad tiene prebenido y mandado que los azogues se pongan en las Caxas Reales de donde se les reparta dando fianza de que dentro de quatro meses pagarán el precio del azogue y la cantidad correspondiente de quintos de cada quintal, y esto precissamente a de ser de la Plata que sacan con aquellos azogues, que se les reparten entonzes.

He juzgado mui propio de mi obligasion hallandome ministro de Vuestra Magestad y con la ocasion de haber pasado a gobernar el reino y provincias de la Nueva Viscaia, participarle estas noticias para descargo de mi consciencia y para que con ellas mande Vuestra Magestad lo que fuere servido y juzgare mas combeniente cuiá Catholica y Real Persona guarde Nuestro Señor, muchos años, como la Christianidad ha menester, para su maior exaltación. México y septiembre 26 de 1678 años. Licenciado Don LOPE DE SIERRA DE OZORIO. [*Rubricado.*]

stacle which all the holy apostles and other preachers of the gospel encountered in all parts of the world where they have preached it—your Majesty will be able to infer with what facility they may be reduced to our holy Catholic faith.

While I was at the camp of San Joseph de Parral, I received news of the order which your Majesty gave that quicksilver should be sold to the miners for cash at 125 pesos per quintal, and that it would be necessary for them to go down for it to Vera Cruz. I am convinced that this decision has been occasioned by some report which was made to your Majesty by some person, lacking in knowledge, who wished to expose this kingdom to the risk of being ruined by this decision. Its preservation and settlement depend upon the amount of silver that is taken from its mining camps, and if these are gone all will be at an end. I have been at the different mining camps, and at their entrances there are the most enormous heaps of ore which are worked with quicksilver, and since this ingredient is the most expensive, it does not pay for the working. If your Majesty would order that quicksilver should be given to the miners at the cost as fixed in the mining camps, all the ores could be worked, even though they should be of very low quality, and the fifth and tithe which would be taken from them would amount to three times as much for your Majesty as the price of the quicksilver sent to the Indies.

Because of the great poverty of the miners and the excessive cost of the quicksilver and other ingredients, they are not able to deepen the mines, because in the first thirty or forty *estados*¹⁰⁹ ores of appreciable quality are not found. Those that are not of appreciable quality are thrown out, and the poor unfortunates, being without means, cannot deepen the mines, in which rich ore usually is not found until the fiftieth or seventieth [*estado* is reached]. And moreover, all the miners of this New Spain are so poor that even though the quicksilver should be given to them free, not only would they not be able to go down for it in person to Vera Cruz, but they will not find anyone to lend them the money for the freight charges—many of the mining camps being three hundred, four hundred, and five hundred leagues from Vera Cruz. In view of this impossibility, your Majesty has provided and ordered that the quicksilver shall be placed in the royal depositories, from which it is to be apportioned to them, credit being given for the payment within four months of the price of the quicksilver and the corresponding fifth of each quintal. This necessarily must be in the silver taken out with that quicksilver which at the time may be divided among them.

I have been very sensible of my obligation—being a minister of your Majesty, and because of having gone to govern the kingdom and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya—to inform you of these matters for the unburdening of my conscience and in order that with this information your Majesty may order that which may suit you and that which you judge to be most desirable. May our Lord guard the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty for many years, as Christianity, for its greater exaltation, has need of. Mexico, September 26, 1678. *Licenciado* Don LOPE DE SIERRA DE OZORIO. [*Signed with a rubric.*]

Extracto de Papel que formo el Señor Don Lope de Sierra sobre las cosas tocantes al Reyno de la Nueva Vizcaya.^m [Sin fecha. Subsecuente al año de 1683.]

Por los Auttos Cartas y informes que ha leído se an Vistoⁿ en el Consejo halla, que la Nueva Vizcaya que es Uno de los Reynos mas fertil y abundante de todo genero de frutos y minerales de Plata y oro, que ay en las Indias y si estubiera igualmente poblado que otros; contribuyera a su Magestad mas tesoros que el resto de ellos, se alla oy ó perdido, en el todo ó en el inmediato riesgo de perderse por haver sublevados 100 naciones que contienen innumerable numero^o de Yndios muy belicosos y guerreros, las doce de ellas que se comprehenden debajo del nombre Tobosos, son tan desesperados y valientes que ni admiten [cuartel^p] ni le dan, y a los Niños y mugeres que cojen los hacen esclavos, las tierras donde estas naciones avitan cojen desde la entrada de la Vizcaya y confines de la Galicia siguiendo al Norte y camino de la Nueva Mexico 170^a leguas con poca diferencia todos por los terminos de la Vizcaya donde an despoblado y destruydo en el todo muchos pueblos haciendas Ranchos y Reales de Minas con muerte de muchos Yndios Catholicos, y Españoles pasando a executar estas ostilidades hasta los Reales de Sombrerete y Zacatecas dentro del Reyno de la Nueva Galicia, y el año de 83 estando Sentados de Paz y Recividos algunos a doctrina que les administrava Un Religioso de la Compañia de Jesus Movidos del exemplo de lo que poco antes hicieron las naciones de la Nueva Mexico, que por falta de defensa triunfaron de sus avitadores o logradolos^r a despoblar en el todo, o en la mayor parte atropellando la obediencia, y abandonando la religion con lastimosa perturbacion de los ya reducidos, a costa de tanto trabajo Sudor y desbello de los Ministros Apostolicos se bolbieron a sublebar y hacer al Monte executando las hostilidades y atrocidades que se refieren en los autos que pasan en el consejo cerrando totalmente la comunicacion de las provincias y Reyno de la Nueva España y Galicia con el de la Vizcaya los parajes principales por donde salen ha hacer estos daños, y se rretiran con los robos que logran en estas partes son los que llaman del Gallo y Quencame donde es preciso se pongan dos presidios de 50 Soldados cada Uno con su capitan ó cabo que los gobierne para zerrarles estas puertas, y asegurar el comercio y transito de aquellas provincias dandose la Mano estos dos Presidios y el que ya ay que llaman del Cerro gordo en la lignia que forman desde sombrerete ó paraje del mal passo y Rio de Medina hasta el Real de San Joseph del Parral donde residen los gobernadores que incluye 100 leguas mas ó menos, y bienen a quedar en proporcionada distancia para la comunicacion de Un Presidio a otro, y para correr y registrar sus

^m A. G. I., 67-4-11.

ⁿ The University of Texas copy of this document, hereinafter referred to as Copy B, reads: "que ha tenido y se an Visto."

^o Copy B has "multitud".

^p Words, phrases, or sentences omitted from the Bandelier copy of this *expediente* have been added, in brackets, from the University of Texas copy of this document.

^q Copy B has "120 Leguas".

^r Copy B has "obligandolos".

Extract of a paper which Don Lope de Sierra wrote in regard to matters touching upon the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya. [Undated; subsequent to the year 1683.]

By the *autos*, letters, and reports which he has read and which have been examined in the Council, he [Don Lope de Sierra] finds that Nueva Vizcaya, which is one of the most fertile kingdoms in the Indies, one most abounding in all kinds of fruits and in silver and gold mines, and one which, if it were populated proportionately with the others, would contribute more treasure to his Majesty than all the others, is to-day either entirely lost, or is in immediate danger of being lost, by reason of the uprising of one hundred nations, which contain uncounted numbers of very bellicose and warlike Indians. Twelve of these nations, comprised under the name of Tobosos, are so desperate and valiant that they take or give no quarter, and they make slaves of all the women and children whom they capture.

The country which these nations occupy extends from the entrance into Vizcaya and the confines of Galicia to the north, toward New Mexico, for 170 leagues, more or less, all along the boundaries of Vizcaya, where they have depopulated and completely destroyed many towns, haciendas, ranches, and mining camps, and have killed many Catholic Indians and Spaniards. They even proceeded to commit such hostilities as far as the settlements of Sombrerete and Zacatecas, within the kingdom of Nueva Galicia. In the year '83, although they were in a state of peace, and some had accepted the instruction which a religious of the Company of Jesus was offering to them, influenced by the example of what had been done a little while before by the nations of New Mexico,¹¹⁰ who triumphed over its inhabitants through their lack of defense, and succeeded in depopulating it either entirely or in great part—trampling obedience under foot and forsaking religion, to the grievous perturbation of those already reduced at the cost of so much labor, sweat, and vigilance of the apostolic ministers—these [Indians of Nueva Vizcaya] rose in rebellion, took to the mountains where they committed the hostilities and atrocities which are related in the *autos* that were sent to the Council, and totally shut off communication between the provinces and kingdom of New Spain and Galicia and that of Vizcaya.

The principal places from which they sally forth to do this damage, and to which they retire with the spoils which they secure in these parts, are those which they call El Gallo and Cuencame, where it is necessary that there be established two presidios of fifty men each, with a captain or corporal to command them, in order to close the doors to these Indians and to make safe commerce and travel in those provinces—these two presidios and the one that is already there, called Cerro Gordo, to join hands in the line formed from Sombrerete, or Paraje del Mal Paso, and Río de Medina, to the Real de San Joseph del Parral, where the governors reside. This line measures one hundred leagues, more or less, divided off in convenient distances to allow communication from one presidio to another, and to reconnoitre and watch the intervening spaces. Another place from which they sally forth to commit similar hostilities, following

intermedios, otro parage por donde salen a executar las mismas ostilidades Siguiendo la propia lignia se llama San Francisco de conchos 22 leguas a la parte del norte del Parral poco desbiado del camino de la Nueva Mexico que es Raya de las referidas naciones, y la de conchos donde se ha de poner Presidio como los antezedentes que servira de contener en respecto a Unas y otras naciones privarles de la comunicacion, y obrar la execucion de las daños y Robos que por aquella parte logran y se dan la Mano este presidio con 30 soldados y Un cabo que llaman de campaña, y tiene el Governador en aquellos contornos para acudir Con prontitud a qualquiera imbassion que hagan, y se aseguraran las Poblaciones y Reales de Minas de San Joseph del Parral san diego de Minas nuevas, san Francisco del oro santa Barvara y otros muchos desamparados pueblos indefensos que indubitablemente Volberan a tener Veneficio hallandose por el medio Referido Resguardados asi los mineros como las haciendas de Minas, labor, estancias de Ganado y carboneras de sus contornos precisas para su conservacion y beneficio de la mineria.

Con esta disposicion Se zierra el passo por toda la lignia Referida que es la que corta lo poblado, y Reducido de la nueva Vizcaya; y lo divide de la tierra de los Yndios barbaros, y alzados que con ser sumamente aspera y cassi impenetreable a los españoles por su maleza es no menos seca sin que en todo lo en ella Reconocido se halla rrio, Arroyo, ó fuente sustentandose en ella sus Avitadores, mas como fieras que como Racionales beviendo Aguas inmundas y corruptas de algunas pocas lagunas, y las que de las lluvias se conserban por algun tiempo en los huecos de las peñas y a falta, con el humor de frutas silbestres Rayces y Corteças de plantas y Arboles Siendo al mismo passo que boraces quando Roban algunos Ganados, ó caballadas (que es a lo mas que anhela su codicia por conseguir con este medio dos fines, el primero es el de su mantenimiento pues Su mayor Regalo es este Genero de comida y el segundo por que consiguiendo el dejar a pie los Avitados logran sin resistencia el apoderarse de la Provincia) Grandes sufridores de la ambre y sed, y mas inclemencias del tiempos a que estan sujetos por su desabrigo en temple muy frio no Usando demas Vestido del que les concedio la naturaleza ni de poblado o congregacion cultura ni siembra de los Campos caussas por que nunca se les ha podido hacer guerra ofensiva ni entrar a buscarles en sus tierras sino sobre Avisso a muy poca distancia y esso pocas veces, y con poco provecho con que la experiencia a mostrado que el mejor medio y Unico para corregir y evitar sus ostilidades es de cortarles los transitos de su tierra a la que esta reducida y poblada de Yndios y españoles ques de la fertilidad y abundancia de todas las cossas dichas.

Las demas naciones nuebamente sublebadas y que oy tienen el reyno de la nueva Vizcaya en el estado que se refiere segun las noticias que ha tenido el consejo y constan de los autos y esclamaciones del Governador; con diferentes nombres de chizos, Julimes, y otros que no puede retener la memoria Se contienen en el Apellido de Conchos, que es el mas General Confinan y parten terminos Con otras que llaman Cibolos, Apaches, y todas las que se revelaron en la Nueva Mexico y abitan aquellos payses con la misma Policia y moda de Vivir que queda dicho de los Tobosos, pero la tierra de los conchos es llana fertil y Regada de muchos Rios y

the same line, is called San Francisco de Conchos, a little to one side of the New Mexico road and twenty-two leagues to the north of El Parral, which is the limit of the above-mentioned nations and that of the Conchos. A presidio should be placed there, as well as at the first-named places. It will serve to hold in check some nations, and to deprive others of communication, and to prevent the outrages and robberies which are common in that district. This presidio will also co-operate with thirty soldiers and their leader, comprising a field company, which the governor has in that vicinity in order to oppose promptly any invasion that they might make. Furthermore safety will be assured to the settlements and mining camps of San Joseph del Parral, the new mines of San Diego, San Francisco del Oro, Santa Bárbara, and many other deserted, defenseless towns, which undoubtedly will be worked again, provided, in the manner referred to, the miners as well as the mine buildings, and the farms, cattle ranches, and charcoal pits in their vicinity necessary for their conservation and the working of the mines are safeguarded.

By this arrangement their passage would be stopped all along the line referred to, which divides the settled and reduced part of Nueva Vizcaya from the country of the barbarous and rebellious Indians. The latter region, while it is supremely rough and almost impenetrable to the Spaniards by reason of its underbrush, is no less dry, and in the whole of it there is not known to be a single river, creek, or spring, its inhabitants sustaining themselves on it, more like wild beasts than as rational beings, by drinking filthy and corrupt water from some few lagoons, and the pools that the rain leaves for a while in the hollows of the rocks. When these fail they sustain themselves with the juice of wild fruits, roots, and the bark of plants and trees. At the same time they are voracious when they steal some cattle or horses (which is what they most eagerly desire, since they secure in this way two ends, first, their maintenance, for their greatest treat is this kind of food, and second, as a result of the [Spanish] inhabitants being forced to go on foot, they are able without resistance to obtain possession of the province). And yet they are great endurers of hunger and thirst, and other inclemencies of the weather to which they are subject through their exposure to a very cold temperature, as they use no other dress than that granted them by nature. They have no settlement, nor community cultivation or planting of the land, for which reasons it has never been possible to make offensive war upon them, nor to enter in pursuit of them in their country except very cautiously for a short distance, and that only a few times, and with little advantage. Experience has therefore shown that the best and only means to chastise and prevent their hostilities is by cutting off the exits from their country to that which is reduced and settled by Indians and Spaniards, and which is fertile and abundant in all the things spoken of.

The other nations lately in rebellion, which have placed the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya to-day in the condition referred to, according to information that the Council has had and which appears from the *autos* and vehement petitions of the governor, have different names such as Chisos, Julimes, and others which it is impossible to remember, included under the appellation of Conchos, which is the more general name. They border

Arroyos Siguiendo la lignea desde San Francisco de Conchos hasta el rrio que llaman del Norte que es el que divide la Jurisdiccion de la Nueva Vizcaya de la de la Nueva Mexico, estos como se rrefiere en las noticias que an benido al consejo tienen ocupado todo el camino que ba del Parral a Sonora y Salinas de donde inescusablemente se probee toda aquella Minería de este ingrediente sin el qual no se beneficiara plata por Azogue que es la que mas abunda y son los que asta aora por su mucho numero, llebavan de trabajo assi de dicha Minería Como de las Haciendas de Campo a que benian ellos Conbidados de sus propios yntereses, y con su falta es yndubitable este parado Uno y otro, a esto, por esta razon por ser a los españoles penetrable su tierra, por rebelados y apostatas de Nuestra santa fee, se les ha de hacer la guerra de proposito Sin alçar la Mano de ella hasta Reducirlos, y sujetarlos, Mayormente, con lo que Ultimamente Consta por los Autos Referidos an executado con no esperado atrevimiento pues parece que por fin de febrero del año proximo passado yendo una quadrilla de carros que constava de 18 cargados de fardería y diferentes generos desde la Nueva España al Real de San Joseph del Parral y conboyandolos ocho soldados y por su cabo el capitan Antonio Rodriguez de cangas saliendo para su Resguardo del Paraje de quencame, les salieron al encuentro gran numero de Yndios entre los parajes del Gallo y Santo Domingo y acometiendolos con notable Arrojo y osadia hiriendo al capitan y algunos de los soldados se llebaron mas de 300 Mulas y desbalijaron ocho carros Retirando y llebandose la fardería de ellos y tres Indios dos Muchachos y muerto Un Negro y el no haver conseguido el Acabar con todos, fue, por haver Sobrevenido la noche, prorrumpiendo al tiempo de Retirarse en Palabras de Ultraje contra dichos soldados y demas gente amenazando bolverian la Mañana Siguiente como lo hizieron, Si bien no osaron el bolver acometer, por haverles llegado (ha diligencias que se hizieron aquella noche) Socorro de Jente y Bagaje del Presidio de Cerro gordo Concurriendo con esto, la hostilidad que por la parte del Parral a dos leguas de el, hicieron a 24 de Marco del mismo año Robando mas de 250 bestias, con muerte de 4 personas y aunque para obiar semejantes perjuicios, y enfrenar el orgullo de aquellos Barbaros se dispusso, por el Governador de dicha Provincia, a costa de los vezinos y otros efectos, que por principios de Agosto, de mismo año, hiciesse entrada al zentro de los Alzados Juan de Retana Con 100 Arcabuzeros y cantidad de Yndios Amigos y Confederados de la nacion Tarmaura al cavo de 5 semanas se bolvieron Sin haver podido hazer efecto de ningun provecho continuando esta diligencia en otras ocasiones para evitar los Yntentos de los yndios Tobosos que quisieron Matar a su Capitan, y al Religioso que los administrava y lo hubieran conseguido, a no haverseles socorrido, y aunque pelearon, Ubieron de escapar con mucho trabajo los 60 Arcabuzeros que fueron al efecto referido por el crecido numero de los enemigos, y por Ultimo haviendo hecho tercera Salida con 70 Arcabuzeros les obligo a lo mismo con cuyo desconsuelo por la deshigualdad tan grande de fuerzas para poder hazer ni aun guerra defensiva se hallava resuelto el Governador a entrar personalmente por ultimo remedio y acuerdo de los Vezinos Interesados del Parral fiando le seguirian los que se hallaren con mayores obligaciones pero desconfiando en la persistencia y duracion deste Ultimo

upon others called Cíbolos, Apaches, and all those who rebelled in New Mexico, and they inhabit those countries with the same government and way of living as has already been said of the Tobosos. However, the country of the Conchos is level, fertile, and watered by many rivers and streams, following the line from San Francisco de Conchos as far as the river called Del Norte, which is the one that divides the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya from that of New Mexico. These Indians, as is related in the reports that have come to the Council, have occupied the entire road extending from El Parral to Sonora and Salinas. From the latter place all those mines must inevitably be provided with this ingredient [salt], without which silver, which is the most abundant mineral, cannot be extracted with mercury.

These were the Indians, who, up to this time, on account of their large numbers, were accustomed to work in the mines as well as on the farms, to which they came, impelled by their own interests. Lacking these interests it is inevitable, as a result, that both mining and farm work will be halted.

For this reason, and since, as of rebels and apostates from our holy faith, their country is open to the Spaniards, war must be made upon them resolutely, without lifting hand from it until they are reduced and subjected, especially because of what, from the above-mentioned *autos*, it appears that they have recently done, with unexpected daring. For it seems that in the latter part of February of last year, while a train of wagons, loaded with eighteen consignments of baggage and different sorts of goods, was en route from New Spain to the Real de San Joseph del Parral, under convoy of eight soldiers, with their leader, Captain Antonio Rodríguez de Cangas, who had gone out as an escort from Cuencame, a large number of Indians issued forth to meet them between El Gallo and Santo Domingo. The Indians attacked with remarkable ardor and boldness, wounded the captain and some of the soldiers, carried off more than 300 mules, and plundered eight carts. After killing a negro they retired, taking with them the goods and also three Indians and two boys. The reason why they did not succeed in destroying the entire train was because darkness intervened. However, when they retired they broke out in abusive words against the soldiers and the rest of the people, threatening to return the next morning. This they did, although they did not venture to attack again, because of reinforcements of men and baggage having arrived from the presidio of Cerro Gordo (through action that was taken in the night).

Concurrent with this was the attack which they made on March 24 of the same year in the vicinity of El Parral, about two leagues therefrom, when they stole 250 animals and killed four persons. Despite the fact that, with the object of preventing such outrages and bridling the arrogance of those barbarians, it was ordered by the governor of that province that an expedition should be made in the beginning of August of the same year to the centre of the [country of the] rebels, at the expense of the citizens and of other funds, by Juan de Retana, with one hundred harquebusiers and a number of friendly and allied Indians of the Taramara nation, they returned at the end of five weeks without having been able

Recurso por la falta de Medios de socorro De bastimento y cavallada y su conduccion respecto de que en dicha Jurisdiccion del Parral y su Contorno ay mas de 30 Labradores de Regadio no se havian sembrado quatro, por la Retirada de las naciones pues con solo ella hacen la mayor Hostelidad por deshacer la Armonia de los sirvientes y no haver con que sustentarlos medio, a que principalmente atienden para conseguir por el fin de la despoblacion, y para ocurrir a estos ynconbenientes se ordenará al Virrey de la nueba españa que en caso de no acudir personalmente A causa de tanta Urjencia y en que tanto se aventura y interes al Servicio de Su Magestad aplique toda su atencion, Celo, y Cuidado a esta expedizion Asistiendo al Governador de la Vizcaya con el dinero y todos los Medios, Gente, Armas, Cavallos, y peltrechos de que necessitare advirtiendole sea estrañado y Reparado en la culpable omission Con que en cossa de tanta importancia yttambanbista^a del riesgo se a portado hasta aora y en la desacordada Resolucion de la Junta que formo con vista de los avissos y representaciones que le binieron de aquel aflijido Reino no deviendo ygnorar ni dudar que su primera obligacion hera y es la de mantener y conserbar aquellos dominios a su Magestad que los fio a su cuydado y Probidencia y la fee plantada en aquella gentilidad que a su bista si no se perdio en el todo a lo menos descaecia y Vacilaba aun antes que hacer Remisios de la Real Hazienda a estos Reynos Sin embargo las necessidades de que tenian noticia pues deviera Considerar que perdida la Vizcaya Cuyo riesgo le he Manifesto por los avisos y Representaciones Referidos [*Aqui prosigue lo testado.*]

Ademas de lo dicho se ha de prebenir Conforme a lo acordado para el mejor Gobierno de la milicia de aquel Reyno y para evitar fraudes que Governadores menos celosos del Servicio de su Magestad pueden cometer que la provision de los capitanes ó cabos de los tres presidios que nuebamente se an de erijir sea perpetuamente del Cargo del Governador y Capitan general y que la aya de hacer en soldado que hubiere servido con reputacion y credito en qualquiera de los Presidios de aquel Reyno, ó en la que llaman Compañia de campaña y no se le pueda remober ni quitar si no es por promocion a otra cossa de mayor grado por caussa justa que se le aya fulminado ó por inavilidad, ó Yneptitud, y que esto mismo se obserbe por dicho Governador en los demas presidios que son de su provision y con los soldados que llaman de campaña, y por el Virrey en los de sinaloa, cerro gordo y san sebastian que son de la suya y que los ponga siempre y desde aora a la horden de dicho Governador Como lo esta mandado por cedula del Año de 682 para que higuamente tenga el superior gobierno de todos y se pueda valer destas armas sin contradiccion en las Urgencias que se le ofrecieren estando el Virrey a la mira del proceder de cada uno para castigar y corregir al que lo mereciere, y dicho Virrey a de hacer las provisiones que le tocan en la forma Referida elijiendo Un soldado de cada presidio precediendo el que el governador le proponga quando Siempre se ofresca ocasion y no en otra forma, medio que servira de estimulo y aliento para que sirban en aquella Melicia per-

^a Copy B has "y tam anbista". Both copyists apparently have miscopied what was meant to be "y tambien a vista".

to accomplish anything of any consequence. They continued their efforts on other occasions with the object of preventing the Tobosos Indians from accomplishing their purposes, [as, for example,] when they tried to kill their captain and the religious who ministered to them. This they would have succeeded in doing if succor had not arrived, for, although they fought, it was with great difficulty, on account of the great number of enemies, that the sixty harquebusiers who went for the purpose stated made their escape. Finally, when a third sally was made with seventy harquebusiers, the Indians compelled them to do the same thing. Discouraged by so great an inequality of forces for making even defensive war, the governor resolved to enter personally, as a last resort, and by agreement of the interested citizens of El Parral, trusting that those who were under the greatest obligations would follow him. However, he had no confidence in the persistence and duration of this last recourse because of the lack of provisions and horses and their conduction.

Despite the fact that in the said jurisdiction of El Parral and its vicinity there are more than thirty irrigated farms, not even four have been planted, as a result of the retirement of the [Indian] nations. Indeed, in this way alone they commit the greatest hostility by destroying the harmony of the servants. As a result of the latter not having their means of sustenance, which is their principal aim, the Indians thereby realize their purpose of depopulation.

In order to remedy these difficulties let the viceroy of New Spain be ordered, in case he cannot go in person to aid in a cause of such urgency, in which so much is at stake, and which so greatly interests the service of his Majesty, to apply his whole attention, zeal, and care to this expedition, assisting the governor of Vizcaya with money and all character of supplies of soldiers, arms, horses, and provisions that he may need. Let the viceroy be warned that he will be censured and held accountable for the culpable neglect with which he has conducted himself up to now in a matter of such importance, especially in view of the danger, and of the discordant resolution of the junta which he held, in the face of the information and representations that came to him from that afflicted kingdom. He ought not to be ignorant of the fact or doubt that his first obligation was, and is, to maintain and preserve those dominions for his Majesty, who confided them to his care and management, as well as the faith planted among those heathen, which, in his opinion, if it was not lost entirely, at least languished and vacillated. Nevertheless before sending assistance from the *real hacienda* to those kingdoms, notwithstanding the needs of which they have had information, he should ascertain whether Vizcaya is lost, which danger, from the reports and representations referred to, I have pointed out to him. [*Here follows the testimony.*]

Besides the aforesaid, measures must be taken, in accordance with what was resolved for the better government of the militia of that kingdom, in order to prevent frauds which governors less zealous in the service of his Majesty may commit. Let the appointment of the captains or chiefs of the three new presidios that are to be erected be perpetually under the control of the governor and captain-general, and let him be required to give it to a soldier who has served with good repute and

sonas de onrra y reputacion y los hijos de los vezinos acomodados de aquel reyno y porque ya se a experimentado la abilantes de los Yndios enemigos, ha arrojarse a los mismos presidios y Matar los soldados Como sucedio por el referido tiempo de la sublevacion, que considerable numero de los Tovosos se arrojó al de Cerro gordo encerrando en el a los soldados, hiriendo a los mas, y dando la muerte a algunos y llebandose mas de 300 bestias, de su Cavalleria, sin que la inferior fuerza de los soldados, pudiese resistir a la de los Yndios; Y en otras ocasiones los de la nacion concha y sus aliados en el paraje de Cassas grandes, y camino del Parral a Sonora, Superaron, y pusieron en grave conflicto escuadras de 60 y 70 Arcabuceros españoles, que pudieron juntarse de aquellos contornos, y haciendas, intentando resistir, mas que castigar la livertad con que los enemigos, Robavan las cavalladas, Ganados y quanto havia; de suerte que ya en ninguna parte de aquel Reyno dejan de estar los españoles en el mayor estremo de la necessidad, Sino es que (lo qual Dios no permita) este entregado todo al furor de aquellos barbaros, que se deve temer, mas que esperar se aya mantenido la poca Resistencia que avia a sus Crueldades.

Se mandara guarnecer a cada uno de los quatro, de quencame, Gallo, Cerro Gordo, y San Francisco de conchos de Veinte y Cinco Mosquetes que estien de Prebencion para semejante Casso.

Respecto de que los Arcabuces que Usan aquellos soldados son cortos y de poco alcance y no de tanto efecto como haran las mosquetas, y que ansimismo se socorra Cada año Con dos quintales de Polbora a cada uno de dichos quatro presidios.[†]

[†] F. R. B., Sevilla, Dec. 1, 1914.

credit in any of the presidios of that kingdom, or in what is called the field company, who shall not be allowed to be removed or taken away unless it be for promotion to a better rank, or for a just cause that may be brought against him, either for inability or inaptitude. Let this same procedure be followed by the governor in the other presidios that are under his control, and with the soldiers called field soldiers, and by the viceroy in those of Sinaloa, Cerro Gordo, and San Sebastián, which are under his control. Let him henceforth place them under the control of the said governor, as is ordered by the cedula in the year of 1682, so that he [the viceroy] may have in equal degree the superior government of all and may be able to avail himself of these forces without opposition in urgencies that may occur. Let the viceroy keep watch over the behavior of each one, in order to castigate and correct any who may deserve it. The viceroy must make the appointments that fall to him in the manner stated, choosing a soldier from each presidio to outrank the one proposed to him by the governor in case there should be occasion for it, and not in any other way. This measure will act as a stimulus and an encouragement to serve in that militia to persons of honor and reputation, and to the sons of well-to-do citizens of that kingdom, for the boldness of the Indian enemies in attacking the presidios themselves and killing the soldiers has now been experienced, as happened at the time of the said uprising when a considerable number of Tobosos attacked the presidio of Cerro Gordo, and shut the soldiers up in it, wounded most of them, killed some, and carried off more than three hundred animals from their drove, the inferior force of the soldiers being unable to resist that of the Indians.

On other occasions those of the Concha nation and their allies, at Casas Grandes, and on the road from El Parral to Sonora, overcame and forced into a desperate struggle the squads of from sixty to seventy Spanish harquebusiers who were able to assemble from the farms of that vicinity, for the purpose of resisting, rather than punishing, the boldness with which the enemies were stealing the horses, cattle, and whatever there was. Hence there is now no part of the kingdom where the Spaniards are not in extremity, unless it has happened (which may God forbid) that all has been delivered over to the fury of those barbarians, which is to be feared, rather than any hope that they may have maintained the little resistance that was being made to cruelties of the Indians.

Let orders be given for each of the four presidios, Cuencame, Gallo, Cerro Gordo, and San Francisco de Conchos, to be furnished with twenty-five muskets, so that they may serve to prevent such occurrences. In view of the fact that the harquebuses used by those soldiers are short, and have little range, and are not so effective as the muskets, let each of the four presidios likewise be supplied every year with two quintals of powder.

Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas, Gobernador de la Nueva Vizcaya, A su Magestad. Parral, 21 de Noviembre 1688. Recivida por mano de Don Bernardino Pardiñas su hermano en 16 de Agosto de 1689.^u

Informa de estado de aquel Reyno, Nuevos descubrimientos de minerales que en el hay, y del excito de la guerra, noticias de estrangeros por la parte del Norte de dicho Reino, y providencia que ha dado a todo, de que remite testimonio.

Señor: En quince meses que ha que aprehendi la possession de este Gobierno de la nueva Vizcaya me he enterado de lo mas notable de el para dar a Vuestra Magestad cuenta de que se compone, estado en que se halle Y tiene al presente, que es un Reyno muy fertil pues en el se cojen todos generos Semillas que hay en otra qualquiera parte de la America, Tiene ganados mayores y menores los necessarios para mantenersse Es opulentissimo de minerales de platta y oro por que no hay parte en todo el que no manifieste betas que no se labran mas (prometiendо riquezas) porque lo hevita el Riesgo de los enemigos que obstilizhan con Repitidas muertes a los que deponen el temor por el ynteres; Verificandosse el que Cessante esta Causa se multiplicaran los descubrimientos Y Tessoros, pues por haverse Combertido a nuestra Santa fee Catolica los de la nacion Tarahumara se han buscado en sus Tierras, Y despues que entre en este gobierno se descubrio en aquella partte Un mineral de los mas ricos que se han experimentado en estas partes, Y que ba fructificando mucha platta aunque se halla en sus principios, Y estarse haciendo para el veneficio de Sacarla Yngenios, assi por fuego como por Açogue, Y mediante la buena correspondencia que he procurado se tenga con los naturales, se hallan muy bien sin estrañar el que pueblen en su provincia los Españoles; Cossa que esta Nacion ha escussado (hasta el tiempo pressente) con Cuya ocasion en el Camino de Sonora se han descubierto otros minerales que se van poblando que segun demuestran seran de mucha Utilidad al Real haver de Vuestra Magestad y de grande alivio de sus Vassallos que havitan essas regiones mediante la mineria Y Tessoros de la tierra que es el unico fin conque se han poblando, Y porque Vuestra Magestad estara y nformado por mis antecessores de lo que consta este Reyno desde su primer descubrimiento no lo expresso Remitiendome a sus ynformes.

Lo mas deste Reyno es despoblado de Españoles por que como ha ssido continua la guerra en el, no se atreben a poblar, muchas partes que hay comodas para Poblaciones, por la poca seguridad que tienen por las Ymbasiones de los enemigos, no obstante que en el tiempo que ha que me hallo Con este cargo no he dejado las Armas de la mano haciendoles guerra Cuya obstinacion ha sido y es, tanta que ni aun por el medio suabe de la Paz los he podido Reducir, porque como es todo este Reyno Tierra tan abierta y en muy larga distancia por qualquier parte entran ha ymbadir, Robar y matar caussando tanto Perjuicio que quando menos consiguen, se lleban las Cavalladas Y muladas que pastan los campos frustando el Veneficio de Sacar platta (porque sin ellas no se puede hacer)

^u A. G. I., 66-6-18.

^v Obviously a miscopy for "estaba".

Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas, governor of Nueva Vizcaya, to his Majesty. Parral, November 21, 1688. Received by the hand of Don Bernardino Pardiñas, his brother, on August 16, 1689.

Report on the state of that kingdom, on new discoveries of minerals in it, and on the outcome of the war; information concerning foreigners in the northern part of the said kingdom, and action which he has taken with respect to everything, of which he sends a certified copy.

Sir: In the fifteen months that have passed since I took possession of this government of Nueva Vizcaya I have informed myself of the most important part of its affairs, in order to give account to your Majesty of what it is composed, and the state in which it is [at present]. It is a very fertile kingdom, for in it are grown all kinds of grain that are to be found in any other part of America. It has the requisite cattle and sheep for its support; it is extremely rich in gold and silver ores, for there is no part in the whole of it that does not show veins. These are not worked more (despite their promise of riches) because the danger from enemy Indians, who carry on hostilities by continually murdering those who postpone fear to interest, prevents it. It has been demonstrated that if this interference ceases the discoveries and riches will be multiplied, for, as a result of the Indians of the Tarahumara nation having been converted to our holy Catholic faith, riches have been sought in their lands, and after I entered upon this governorship there was discovered in that region one of the richest mineral deposits that has been encountered in these parts. It is producing a great deal of silver, although it is in its beginning, and machines, both for fire and for quicksilver, are being utilized in the work of extracting the ore.

As a result of the good relations that I have endeavored to keep with the natives, they are pleased and are not alienated by the fact that the Spaniards may settle in their provinces, a thing from which this nation has been exempt (up to the present time). As a result other mineral deposits have been discovered on the road to Sonora. At these, settlements are being made, and, according to the showing that they are making, they will be of great profit to the royal income of your Majesty, and a great aid to your subjects who live in those regions, by virtue of the minerals and treasures of the region, which is the only object for which they have settled [there]. Since your Majesty was informed by my predecessors of what this kingdom, since its first discovery, is composed of, I do not relate it here but refer to their reports.

The greater part of this kingdom has no Spanish population, for, since the war in it has been continuous, the Spaniards do not venture to settle many parts that are very suitable for towns because of their lack of security against attacks by the Indian enemies. Notwithstanding that during the time that I have had this charge I have not been without arms in my hands and have made constant war upon the Indian enemies, their obstinacy has been and is so great that not even by the mild method of peace have I been able to reduce them. For, since this entire kingdom is such an open country, and the distance is very great across whatever sec-

Y para que la guerra les contenga, he hecho por mi persona diversas entradas a las propias Tierras de los enemigos Y con deseo de obligarles con las Armas a apeteer la Paz, que solo he Consequido con la nacion Pima que haviendo negado la debida Obediencia que tenian dada a Vuestra Magestad (aunque gentiles) despoblaron Sus Ymbaciones las mejores Minas que se labravan en la Provincia de Sonora a la qual provey con gente española y Yndios Auxiliares en mucho numero por ser muy necesarios y ynescussables, Y la nacion Revelada muy Numerosa y de mucho Valor que se experimento con haver acometido en su aloxamiento al Campo de los españoles Y yndios Auxiliares Con animo de que Rompidos los que se les oponian con mayor facilidad lo harian a toda la Provincia que mediante el haver yo Reforçado al alcalde mayor de aquel partido con Una Compañia de gente española de Valor Y experiencia, Resistieron La furia del enemigo Y Recobrada le apretaron haviendo havido de Una Y otra parte muchos muertos obligando a los Reveldes ha apeteer la Paz que se les concedio Y se han asentado en sus pueblos Y Rancherias pidiendo los mas ministros que los ynstruyan en la Santa ffe Catolica (cossa que no se ha podido conseguir en mas de quarenta años.) La Provincia de Sonora tubo en esta ocasion el Riesgo que padecio en nuevo Mexico Y huviera sido de las grandes perdidas que pudiera haver en estas partes, pues fuera de perderse La christiandad de tantos naturales como tiene Reducidos se destruyan minerales muy Ricos Y que Rinden muchos haveres a Vuestra Magestad en Reales quintos ha sse obviado sin gasto de Vuestra Real hacienda, porque pretendo escussarlo Y en la asistencia que se me da para gastos de paz Y guerra proveo de Yndios Auxiliares sus pagos Y mantenimientos por ser muy necesarios para la guerra Y de qualquiera manera es ynescusable mantenerla para ympedir las entradas que hacen los enemigos como dueños de las Campañas, porque aunque los soldados de los presidios aseguran el camino y entradas del Comercio, son muchas las partes que son acometidas, Y por lo difuso de ellas no es facil ni superable guarnecerlas todas, aunque fuera con muy copiosa manera * de soldados, Y assi continuo traer gente de guerra en Campaña con mucho numero de Españoles Vezinos de estos partidos que me parece medio mas eficaz para moderar este genero de gentes tan Yrreducibles; que aunque en mi tiempo en Varias ocasiones de Requentros a muerto gran numero de ellos, no ceden de su obstinacion En medio de estar atendiendo personalmente a lo Referido me ha sido necessario dar providencias a los puertos del Mar del Sur de este Reyno para la defensa de las Ynbassiones que yntenta el Pirata en ellos, por haver Saqueado en el Reyno de la Nueva Galicia Un Pueblo nombrado Acapaneta que confina con poca Ynmediacion con este Reino.

Los Indios del Rio del Norte con quien tengo Confidencia me han dado noticia como se ve en tierra por aquella parte de este Reino gentes Estrangeras que pretenden Yntroducirse, con los naturales como consta del testimonio adjunto, Y por ser materia que pide remedio con brevedad me ha parecido precisso despachar como despacho Una compañía de nobenta españoles Arcabuceros con mucho numero de Yndios Auxiliares a Re-

* Obviously this is a miscopy for "numero".

tion they enter in order to attack, rob, and kill, they do so much damage that even when they accomplish least, the horse and mule herd that are grazing in the fields are carried off, thereby preventing the working of the silver mines (for without the horses and mules this work cannot be done).

In order to stop them from making war I have personally made several expeditions into the very country of the hostile Indians, for the purpose of compelling them, by force, to crave peace. In this I have only been successful with the Pima nation. These Indians have repudiated the due obedience which they had given to your Majesty (although heathens) and their invasions resulted in the depopulation of the best mines that were being worked in the province of Sonora. [Accordingly] I sent to that province a large number of Spaniards and Indian auxiliaries, for they were necessary and indispensable, and the rebellious nation was very numerous and brave. This [fact] was experienced when, in their quarters, in the camp of the Spaniards and Indian auxiliaries, they began an attack in the belief that when those who were opposed to them were routed they could the more easily rout the whole province. But as a result of my having reinforced the *alcalde mayor* of that district with a company of Spanish soldiers of valor and experience, they resisted the fury of the enemy; having recuperated, they harassed the enemy after many deaths had occurred on both sides. This obliged the rebels to crave peace, which was granted to them, and they have settled down in their towns and rancherias and are asking for the largest number of ministers to instruct them in the holy Catholic faith (a thing which it has not been possible to accomplish in more than forty years).

On this occasion the province of Sonora faced the same peril that was experienced in New Mexico,¹¹¹ and the losses that might have occurred in these parts would have been enormous, for, in addition to the loss of the Christianity of so many natives who have been reduced, very rich mineral deposits, which render great profits to your Majesty in royal fifths,¹¹² might have been destroyed. This has been obviated without expense to your *real hacienda* because I try to prevent it. From the allowance that is given me for expenses of peace and war I provide the Indian auxiliaries with their pay and provisions, for they are very necessary for the war, which it is absolutely indispensable to keep up in order to prevent the expeditions which, as masters of the country, the hostile Indians make. For, although the soldiers of the presidios guard the roads and commercial expeditions, the districts that are attacked are many, and the commercial expeditions are so diffuse that it is not easy or practicable to guard them all, although it might be done with a very large number of soldiers. Therefore I am continuing to lead a military force into the field made up of a great many Spanish residents of these districts, which seems to me the most efficacious means to subdue this kind of intractable people.

Although during my incumbency, in various encounters, a great number of them have been killed, they refuse, through obstinacy, to submit. In the midst of attending personally to what has been related, it has been necessary for me to take action at the ports of this kingdom on the South

conocer este genero de gentes Estrangeras Y obviar al que hagan pie, con orden que para que por el Rio del Norte abajo se solicite Saver donde estan alojados, Y siendo la Baya del Espiritu Sancto, porque este Rio (hay noticias) entra en la Baya, Y por este Reyno se esguassa con mas facilidad que por otras que no se puede hacer.

Esto es el estado en que he hallado este Reino el qual si gozara Paz Rindiera a Vuestra Magestad muchos Thesoros Reduplicados que hasta ahora ha fructificado y con deseo de lograr yo cossa tan del Real servicio de Vuestra Magestad no omitto, ni, omittiere diligencia alguna en procurarlo conseguir Cumpliendo con mi obligacion guarde Dios La catholica persona de Vuestra Magestad Como la Christiandad ha menester. Parral Y Nobiembre 21 de 1688 años. Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO [Rubricas].

[Decreto del] Consejo [de Indias].

Consejo a 20 de Octubre de 1689. Al Señor Fiscal. [Rúbrica.]

Respuesta del Fiscal. [Madrid, 25 de Enero de 1690.]

El fiscal ha visto esta carta y testimonio Inclusso; Y dice que se debe aprobar a este Governador el celo Con que obra Y providencias que ha dada para la Seguridad Y defensa de Aquel Reyno; ordenando le de quentta con auttos de lo que hubiere resultado de la compañía que embio a reconozar los estrangeros que se han descubierto a los Indios de el Rio del Norte mandandole que conforme lo que de dichas diligencias se ofreciere digno de providencia Y de puntual reparo; lo comunique Y participe al Virrey para que aplique los medios mas eficaces Y prompts que fueren necesarios; Y que este governador por su parte Y en lo que le toque, las solicite Y execute Y de todo dé quenta Madrid Y enero 25 de 1690. [Rubrica] Para todo el consejo [Rubrica].

[Decreto del] Consejo [de Indias].

Consejo a 31 de Henero de 1690. Como lo dice el Señor fiscal fecho. [Rubrica.]

Sea with respect to the attacks which the pirate ¹¹⁸ contemplates on them, for he has plundered a town, in the kingdom of Nueva Galicia, called Acaponeta, which is almost on the borderline of this kingdom.

The Indians of the Río del Norte, in whom I have confidence, have informed me that some foreign people are in territory in that part of this kingdom and are trying to thrust themselves upon the natives, as appears from the enclosed certified copy. As it is a matter that calls for prompt action, it has seemed to me to be necessary to despatch, as I am despatching, a company of ninety Spanish harquebusiers, with a large number of Indian auxiliaries, to inquire into the character of these foreign people and to prevent them from getting a foothold; also it has orders to endeavor to learn, in the lower Río del Norte, where they are established and whether it is on the bay of Espíritu Santo ¹¹⁴ because (there are rumors that) this river empties into the bay, and because it can be forded more easily through this kingdom than through others, where it cannot be done.

This is the state in which I have found this kingdom, which, if it enjoyed peace, would render to your Majesty much wealth—double what it has produced up to now. And with the desire of accomplishing a thing so greatly to the royal service of your Majesty, I do not omit, nor shall, any effort in an endeavor to procure peace, thus complying with my duty. May God keep the Catholic person of your Majesty, as Christianity needs. Parral, November 21, 1688. Don JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. [*Rubrics.*]

[*Decree of the*] *Council [of the Indies].*

The Council, October 20, 1680. To the señor fiscal. [*Rubric.*]

Reply of the fiscal. [Madrid, January 25, 1690.]

The fiscal has examined this letter and the enclosed certified copy. He says that the zeal with which this governor works and the measures he has taken for the security and defense of that kingdom ought to be approved; that he should be ordered to give an account, with *autos*, of what may have resulted from the company that he sent to investigate the foreigners who have revealed themselves to the Indians of the Río del Norte; that he should be commanded to adjust himself to whatever may develop from the said efforts that is worthy of taking action and worthy of prompt repair; that he communicate it and report it to the viceroy in order that he may apply the most efficacious and prompt means that may be necessary; and that this governor, on his part, shall search for and put them into practice. Let him give account of everything. Madrid, January 25, 1690. [*Rubric.*] For all the Council. [*Rubric.*]

[*Decree of the*] *Council [of the Indies].*

The Council, January 31, 1690. Done as the señor fiscal says. [*Rubric.*]

Autos Fechos por el Señor Gobernador y Capitan General de la Nueva Vizcaya Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos sobre las Noticias que Dieron los Yndios del Rio del Norte de que Subian por el Naciones Extrangeras y Providencia que Dio sobre ello. [3 de Noviembre de 1688 hasta 8 de Julio de 1692.]*

(Vino con carta de Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas de 1º de Abril de 1693.)

El General Juan Fernandez de Retana Capitan del Presidio de San Francisco de Conchos por su Magestad y Justicia Mayor de esta Jurisdiccion: Por quanto a llegado a mi noticia se hallan en la mision de San Pedro de Conchos dos religiosos que han bendido de la Junta del Rio del Norte y asi mismo algunos yndios de dicho religioso ^y y que unos y otros dan noticia de como los yndios correos que llegan a dicha junta de los rios dicen haber visto nacion de gentes extrangeras para tomarles noticia combeniente al mayor serbicio de su Magestad y dar noticia al Señor Gobernador y Capitan General de este Reyno se exsaminen dichos religiosos escribiendoles para ello se lleguen a este presidio u el que me aguarden en dicha mision y digan lo que supieron [u]² han oido dezir a los naturales de dicho Rio u a los sibolos en razon de dicha nacion estrangera y lo demas que supieren y para que en todo tiempo conste lo firme en veinte de Noviembre de mil seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años con los testigos de mi asistencia que lo fueron Martin de Zarate y el Sarjento Martin Aldai y escribano de guerra Fernando de Hinojos. JUAN DE RETANA. MARTIN DE ZARATE. MARTIN DE ALDAI. Ante mi FERNANDO DE YNOJOS escrivano de guerra.

En el presidio de San Francisco de Conchos en veinte y uno de Noviembre de mill y seissientos y ochenta y ocho años Yo el General Juan de

Declaracion de Don Nicolas Yndio.

Retana Capitan de dicho Presidio habiendo llegado a el este dia el Theniente don Nicolas de la Junta de los Rios del Rio del Norte con su gente que es de su cargo en conformidad del auto antecedente por mi pro-

veido hize comparecer a quien rescevi juramento que lo hizo por dios nuestro señor y la señal de la cruz de dezir verdad de lo que supiere y le fuere preguntando [que diga y declare, fuele preguntado] que diga si por la parte del rio del norte a bisto algunas nazioni es tranjeras usi an ^a oido dezir a los yndios sibolas u otras nazioni es de que ayan bisto dichas naciones es tranjeras quien estado ^b enterado por medio del interprete Mathais del hierro dijo que lo que sabe es que quedan en dicho rio del norte unos

* A. G. I., 67-4-11.

^y The University of Texas transcript of this *expediente*, hereinafter referred to as Copy B, reads "de dicho Rio". This is probably correct.

² The letter enclosed in brackets above is not in the original Bandelier transcript of this *expediente*, but it appears in the University of Texas transcript of the same *expediente*. Hereinafter letters, words, or phrases which appear in the latter and not in the former transcript will be added, in brackets, without attention being directed to their source.

^a Copy B reads "a oido".

^b Copy B reads "quien estando". This is probably correct.

Autos drawn up by the señor governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, concerning the information which the Indians of the Río del Norte gave, namely, that foreign nations were ascending the river, and the measures taken in regard to it. [November 3, 1688, to July 8, 1692.]

(It came with a letter from Juan Isidro de Pardiñas of April 1, 1693.)

General Juan Fernández de Retana, captain for his Majesty of the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos and chief justice of this jurisdiction, says: Inasmuch as it has come to my knowledge that two religious are in the mission of San Pedro de Conchos who have come from La Junta del Río del Norte, and also some Indians from the same river, and that both the religious and the Indians report that the Indian runners who come to the said La Junta de los Ríos say that they have seen men of a foreign nation; in order to secure information useful for the greater service of his Majesty, and in order to give notice to the señor governor and captain-general of this kingdom, let the said religious be examined, and let them be advised in writing that for this purpose they shall come to this presidio, or that they shall await me at the said mission and relate what they may know or what they have heard the natives of the said river, or the Cíbolos [Indians] say in regard to the said foreign nation, and whatever else they may know.

In order to place it on record for all time, I signed this on November 20, 1688, with the witnesses assisting me, namely, Martín de Zárate, Martín Aldai, and the secretary of war, Fernando de Hinojos. JUAN DE RETANA. MARTÍN DE ZÁRATE. MARTÍN DE ALDAI. Before me, FERNANDO DE HINOJOS, clerk of war.

In the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, November 21, 1688, I, General Juan de Retana, captain of the said presidio, in conformity with the preceding *auto* which I drew up, caused to appear before me Lieutenant Don Nicolás, since he has this day arrived at this pueblo from La Junta de los Ríos, on the Río del Norte, with the people in his charge.

Declaration of Don Nicolás, an Indian.

I administered to him the oath, which he made by God, our Lord, and the sign of the cross, to tell the truth concerning what he might know and what might be asked him. This let him state and declare.

He was asked to state whether he has seen in the vicinity of the Río del Norte any foreign people, or whether he has heard the Cíbolos Indians or other nations say whether they may have seen the said foreigners. Having been instructed through the medium of the interpreter, Matías del Hierro, he said that what he knows is that there are some friendly Cíbolos Indians on the said Río del Norte; that they [the Indians at La Junta de los Ríos] trade and bargain with these couriers sent by Don Nicolás, the Cíbolo; that he notifies them that he is coming with his people; that with them a Spaniard is coming who has been separated from the others who, they say, are marching near the kingdom of the Texas In-

indios sibolos amigos que tratan y contratan con estos correos despachados por don Nicolas el sibolo e que les da noticia de como viene saliendo con su gente e que con ella viene un español que se desagregó de los demas que dicen andan junto al Reyno de los tejas y que dicho español se hizo cortar la melena a usansa de los yndios como el tambien el rajarse^o y cortar la barba que dize se juio porque lo querian matar y que así mismo hay oydo dezir a dichos yndios correos que traen cartas de los españoles u estrangeros que andan junto[s] a los texas para los padres de las misiones de dicho Rio del Norte y que así mismo les ha oido dezir en otras ocasiones a dichos yndios sibolos y a su Capitan Don Nicolas que entran españoles si bien no lo saben distinguir en los texas y que rescatan cavallos por hachas y que se buelben a yr y que no saben tengan hechas casas ni asistencia fija cerca de dicho Reyno de los tejas y que esto es la verdad de lo que sabe y a oido desir so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene en que se afirmo y ratifico y dijo ser de edad de cuarenta años poco mas o menos y para que conste lo firme con los testigos de mi asistencia que lo son el Capitan Martin de Zarate y el Sargento Martin [de] Aldai presentes. JUAN DE RETANA. MARTIN ORTIZ DE ZARATE. MARTIN DE ALDAI. Ante mi FERNANDO DE YNOJOS escrivano de Govierno.^d

En dicho presidio dicho dia yo dicho Capitan hize comparezer ante mi a Don Juan de Salaises yndio que viene en la compañía del Theniente Don

Declarassion de Juan de
Salaises Yndio.

Nicolas [a quien Recivi juramento en forma que lo hizo por Dios nuestro Señor y la Señal de la cruz de decir verdad de lo supiere y le fuere preguntado]. Fuele preguntado si ha visto u ha oydo dezir de las naciones es-

tranjeras que andan por la parte del Rio del Norte dijo que lo que sabe es que ha oido dezir a los yndios sibolos que bienen de la parte del oriente a tratar y contratar con ellos como amigos que son que ha tiempo que entran en el Reyno de los Tejas extrangeros a rescatar cavallos y otras cosas con los naturales de la tierra y que les dan achas y ropa y que agora nuebamente sabe han venido a la junta de los Rios unos yndios sibolos despachados por su Capitan Don Nicolas avisando a la gente del Norte como se viene saliendo con su gente y que con su nacion viene un español que dize se huio de los demas que andan junto[s] a los tejas porque lo quieran matar y que dijo a los yndios le cortasen^o el cabello a su usanza y lo ragaran^t como lo hizieron como tambien la barba y que el arcabus que traia se le hecho a perder y que dijo lo compondria y que esto es la verdad de lo que sabe so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene en lengua castellana por ser ladino en que se afirmo y ratifico y dijo ser de edad de treinta y seis años. [Y para que conste lo firme con los testigos de mi

^o Obviously this is a miscopy for "raparse".

^d Copy B reads "escrivano de Guerra". This is probably correct, since elsewhere in the Bandelier transcript the title of Fernando de Inojos appears as "escrivano de guerra". See pp. 234, 238, 240, 242, 244.

^e Copy B reads "le cortaran".

^t Obviously this is a miscopy for "raparse".

dians; that the said Spaniard caused his hair to be cut in the fashion of the Indians and also cropped and cut off his beard; and that the Spaniard says that he fled because they wished to kill him.

He has also heard the said Indian couriers say that they are bringing letters from the Spaniards, or foreigners, who are near the Texas Indians, for the padres of the missions of the said Río del Norte. Also he has heard the Cibolos Indians and their captain Don Nicolás say on other occasions that Spaniards—though they do not know how to differentiate [between] them and other foreigners—go among the Texas Indians and trade axes for horses, that they go away again, and that they do not know whether they have built houses or have any fixed residence near the said kingdom of Texas Indians.

He said that under the burden of the oath which he has taken this is the truth concerning what he knows and has heard stated. This statement he affirmed and ratified. He said that he was forty years old, a little more or less. And in order to place it on record I signed it, with the witnesses assisting me, who were present, namely, Captain Martín de Zárate and Sergeant Martín Aldai. JUAN DE RETANA. MARTÍN ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE. MARTÍN DE ALDAI. Before me, FERNANDO DE HINOJOS, clerk of government.

At the said presidio, on the said day, I, the said captain, caused to appear before me Don Juan de Salaises, an Indian who comes in the company of the lieutenant, Don Nicolás. To him I administered the oath, in proper form—which he made by God, our Lord, and sign of the cross—to tell the truth of what he might know and what might be

[Declaration of Juan de Salaises, an Indian.]

asked him. He was asked whether he has seen or heard [anything] concerning the foreign people who are travelling in the neighborhood of the Río del Norte. He replied that what he knows is that he has heard the Cibolos Indians, who come from the direction of the east to trade and bargain with them as friends, as they are, say that some time ago strangers entered the kingdom of the Texas Indians to trade for horses and other things with the natives of the country, and that they gave the natives axes and clothing. He has just lately learned that some Cibolos Indians have come to La Junta de los Ríos who were sent by their captain Don Nicolás, to inform the people of the [Río] del Norte that he is coming with his people, and that with his nation a Spaniard is coming who says that he fled from others, who are among the Texas Indians, because they wished to kill him, that he told the Indians to cut off his hair in their fashion, and crop it, as they did, and likewise his beard, and that the harquebus which he was carrying had been damaged, but he said he would repair it.

He says that this is the truth concerning what he knows, under burden of the oath which he has made. [He spoke] in the Castilian language, because he understood it. He affirmed and ratified [his statement], and said he was thirty-six years of age. And in order to place it on record I signed it with the witnesses assisting me, who were present, namely,

asistencia que lo son el Capitan Martin de Zarate y el sargento Martin de Aldai presentes. JUAN DE RETANA. MARTIN DE ZARATE. MARTIN DE ALDAY. Ante mi FERNANDO DE INOJOS escrivano de Guerra.]

En el presidio de San Francisco de Conchos dicho dia yo dicho Capitan hize comparecer ante mi al yndio Salvador de los que bienen del Norte con el Theniente Don Nicolas a quien rescivi juramento en forma para que diga y declare lo que save y ha oido dezir tocante a las naciones extrangeras que dicen los sibolos han visto dijo que lo que sabe es lo que es publico

Declaracion de Salv[ador]
Yndio.

a todos los yndios de la junta de los Rios de que dicen los sibolos que en el reyno de los tejas entran españoles u extrangeros a rescatar cavallos y otras cosas y que en retorno les dan hachas y ropa y que agora acabaron de llegar unos yndios sibolos a la junta de los Rios despachadas por Don Nicolas los cuales dan noticia de un español que bienen con su nacion y que dice haberse huido de los demas que andan junto a los tejas y que trae su arcabus y que ajado a dar el vaso ^s a una nacion que no corre con dichos sibolos y que dicho arcabus se le maltrato y que se hizo cortar el cabello y rajarse ^h a usanza de dichos yndios como tambien la barba y que esto es lo que sabe so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene en que se afirmo y dijo ser de edad de veinte y ocho años y para que conste lo firme con los testigos de mi asistencia con que son [el capitan Martin de Zarate y el Sargento Martin de Aldai presentes. JUAN DE RETANA, MARTIN ORTIZ DE ZARATE, MARTIN DE ALDAI. Ante mi FERNANDO DE YNOJOS escrivano de Guerra].

En este presidio de San Francisco de Conchos a veinte y dos dias del mes de Noviembre de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años yo el General

Ymbianse dos Yndios a los
del Norte.

Juan de Retana Capitan de dicho Presidio hize comparecer ante mi a dos yndios del Rio del Norte llamados Pedro y Alonso a quienes les mande saliesen luego con recaudo y mansage de parte de el Señor Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno y mia para los yndios de su nacion de la junta de los Rios del Rio del Norte para que les digan como los padres que se hallavan con ellos en sus misiones se buelben conmigo para que les asistan en la enseñanza y doctrina en los Misterios de Nuestra Santa Fee y que tengan todo consuelo y que asi mesmo les digan a todos los Capitanes del Rio arriva como boy a hazer entrada por aquel lado para castigar a los enemigos que les inquietan matan y rroban amparandolos como vasallos del Rey Nuestro Señor que dichos Capitanes me salgan a encontrar para que me den razon de lo que ubiere y asi mismo di orden a dichos yndios para que de los sibolos que ubiere en dicha Junta de los Rios salgan algunos a encontrar a su Capitan Don Nicolas y le digan de mi parte que las cartas y el español que traen dichos yndios llos traigan

^s Copy B reads "y que ayudo a dar alvaso", which obviously is correct.

^h Obviously this is a miscopy for "raparse".

Captain Martín de Zárate and Sergeant Martín de Aldai. JUAN DE RETANA. MARTÍN ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE. MARTÍN DE ALDAI. Before me, FERNANDO DE HINOJOS, clerk of war.

At the presidio of San Francisco de los Conchos, on the said day, I, the said captain, caused to appear before me the Indian Salvador, one of those who come from the north with Lieutenant Don Nicolás. To him I administered the oath, in proper form, in order that he might state and declare what he knows and has heard concerning the said foreign nations which the Cíbolos say they have seen.

Declaration of the Indian Salvador.

He said that what he knows is that it is well known to all the Indians of La Junta de los Ríos that the Cíbolos say that in the kingdom of the Texas Indians, Spaniards, or foreigners, come to trade for horses and other things, and that in return they give them axes and clothing, and that some Cíbolos Indians had just arrived at La Junta de los Ríos, having been sent by Don Nicolás. These brought information of a Spaniard who is coming with their nation who says that he had fled from the others who are among the Texas; he carries a harquebus, and aided them in an attack on a nation that is not united with the said Cíbolos. His harquebus was broken, and he caused his hair to be cut and cropped in the fashion of the said Indians, and likewise his beard.

He says that this is what he knows, under burden of the oath which he has taken. He affirmed his statement and said that he was twenty-eight years old. In order to place it on record I signed it with Captain Martín de Zárate and Sergeant Martín de Aldai. JUAN DE RETANA, MARTÍN ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE, MARTÍN DE ALDAI. Before me, FERNANDO DE HINOJOS, clerk of war.

At this presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, on the twenty-second day of the month of November, 1688, I, General Juan de Retana, captain of the said presidio, caused to appear before me two Indians from the Río del Norte, named Pedro and Alonso. And I ordered that these should be sent immediately with a present and a message, in behalf of the señor governor and captain-general of this kingdom and myself, to the Indians of their nation at La Junta de los Ríos on the Río del Norte, to tell them that the padres who were with them in their missions are returning with me in order to assist them with instruction and discipline in the mysteries of our holy faith, and that they may be entirely consoled. Likewise I ordered them [Pedro and Alonso] to tell all the captains of the upper Río [del Norte] that I am going to make an expedition through that region in order to chastise the enemies who are disturbing, killing, and robbing them, and that I will protect them as vassals of the king, our lord, and that the said captains are to come out and meet me in order to report to me concerning what might be going on.

Two Indians are sent to those of the North.

con todo cuydado y me bengan a rogar¹ al Rio del Norte sin que pase la palabra de mi entrada para la parte de los tejas y asi mismo para los chichitames salineros ni tobosos que me dizen asisten por aquella deresera para que en todo tiempo conste lo firme con los testigos de mi asistencia que son [el Capitan Martin de Zarate y el sargento Martin de Aldai presentes. JUAN DE RETANA, MARTIN ORTIZ DE ZARATE, MARTIN DE ALDAI. Ante mi FERNANDO DE YNOJOS escrivano de guerra.]

En este pueblo de San Pedro de Conchos en veinte y tres de Noviembre de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años yo el General Juan de Retana

Declaracion del Padre
Fray Agustin de Colina del
Horden de San Francisco.

Capitan del Presidio de San Francisco de Conchos en virtud del auto de veinte de el corriente por mi proveido hize notorio al Reverendo Padre Predicador y Presidente Fray Augustin de Colina que lo es de las

misiones de la junta de los Rios del Rio del Norte para que su paternidad fuere¹ y declare como lo hizo *yn bervo sacerdotis* puesta la mano en el pecho de lo que sabe y ha oido dezir en orden a las naciones extrangeras que dicen los naturales de aquellos paises han visto quien estando enterado de todo dijo que lo que save y ha oido dezir es en la manera siguiente. Que el año pasado de ochenta y siete los yndios sibolos y jumanas le pidieron a su paternidad carta para los españoles que dezian dichos yndios salian y entraban en los tejas y que a esto les dijo dicho Padre trujesen ellos carta de dichos españoles que entonces responderia a ella a lo cual prometieron los yndios traer carta de los tales españoles y que este año por el mes de septiembre vinieron cinco yndios sibolos a la junta de los Rios y estuvieron con dicho Padre a quienes oyo dezir por medio de los yndios de su mision qu sirbieron de interpretes (que un moro que de esta manera lo apellidan) assiste con una nacion ynnmediata a los tejas el cual dicen trae su arcabus largo y bestido de hierro con su morrion y que ese tal ayudo a la nacion con quien asistia a dar alvaso a la nacion Michi que dijeron dichos yndios asolaron la mitad de ellos y que despues llegaron diferentes yndios sibolos y que estos dijeron que entraban a tratar y contratar en los tejas dandoles ropa por cavallos y frutos de la tierra y que de noche yban a dormir al agua donte tenian casas de palo y que los tales andan bestidos de hierro y que se les hundio una casa de palo y que les desian a los naturales de aquella tierra como tambien a los sibolos jumanas que los españoles del parral no eran buenos y que ellos habian de entrar con carros por toda esta tierra y que esto es lo que su paternidad sabe y ha oido dezir so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene en que se afirmo y para que conste lo firme con los testigos de mi asistencia el Padre Presidente Fray Gabriel de Burgos y Joseph Nabarro. JUAN DE RETANA. Fray AGUSTIN DE COLINA. Fray GABRIEL DE BURGOS. JOSEPH NABARRO. Ante mi FERNANDO DE YNOJOS Escrivano de Guerra.

¹ Copy B has "topar", which obviously is correct.

² Copy B has "jure", which obviously is correct.

Likewise I gave an order to the said Indians for some of the Cíbolos who may be at the said La Junta de los Ríos to go and meet their captain, Don Nicolás, and tell him in my behalf that the said Indians shall bring with all care the letters and the Spaniard which they have with them, and that they shall come to meet me at the Río del Norte, without passing the word of my coming through the district of the Texas Indians nor among the Chichitames, Salineros, or Tobosos, who they tell me live along that road.

In order to place it on record for all time, I signed it with the witnesses assisting me, who were present, namely, Captain Martín de Zárate and Sergeant Martín de Aldai. JUAN DE RETANA. MARTÍN ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE. MARTÍN DE ALDAI. Before me, FERNANDO DE HINOJOS, clerk of war.

At this pueblo of San Pedro de Conchos, on November 23, 1688, I, General Juan de Retana, captain of the presidio of San Francisco de Con-

Declaration of Father
Fray Agustín de Colina, of
the Order of Saint Francis.

chos, in virtue of the *auto* of the twentieth of the current month promulgated by me, made known this *auto* to the reverend father preacher and president,¹¹⁵ Fray Agustín de Colina, president of the missions of La Junta

de los Ríos, on the Río del Norte, in order that his paternity might swear and declare—as he did *in verbo sacerdotis*,¹¹⁶ placing his hand on his breast—concerning what he knows and has heard with regard to the foreign people whom the natives of those countries say they have seen.

Having been instructed concerning everything, he said that what he knows and has heard said is as follows: In the past year, 1687, the Cíbolos and Jumanos Indians asked his paternity for a letter to the Spaniards who, the said Indians stated, were going and coming among the Texas Indians. To this the said padre replied that they should bring a letter from the said Spaniards and he would then answer it. The Indians thereupon promised to bring a letter from these Spaniards, and this year, in the month of September, five Cíbolos Indians came to La Junta de los Ríos and visited the said padre, and he heard them say, by means of the Indians of his mission who served as interpreters, that a Moor (for in this manner they referred to him) is living with a nation adjacent to the Texas Indians. They say this man carries his long harquebus and his plate armor, with a helmet, and that he so aided the nation with whom he is living in making an attack on the Michi nation, that they said that the Indians with whom he lived destroyed half of the Michi Indians.

Afterwards other Cíbolos Indians arrived who said that the strangers went to trade and bargain with the Texas Indians, giving them clothing for horses and fruits of the land, that at night they went to sleep on the water where they had wooden houses, that they went about in plate armor, that one of their wooden houses was sunk, that they told the natives of that country, as well as the Cíbolos and Jumanos, that the Spaniards of El Parral were not good people, and that they themselves were going to penetrate all of that country in wagons.

En el Pueblo de San Pedro de Conchos en veinte y tres de Noviembre de mil seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años yo el General Juan de Retana

Declaracion de Joachin de Ynojosa del Horden de San Francisco.

Capitan del Presidio de San Francisco de Conchos e justicia mayor de esta jurisdiccion para efecto de aclarar y verificar las diligencias que constan en estos autos por ser tan del servicio de su Magestad pase a

recebir juramento al Padre Predicador Fray Joachin de Hinojosa Misionero en la junta de los Rios del Rio del Norte en orden a lo que sabe y ha oido dezir tocante a las naciones extrangeras que dicen haber visto los naturales hacia el Reyno de los Tejas quien estando enterado juro *yn bervo sacerdotis* puesta la mano en el pecho de dezir la verdad de lo que supiere y hubiere oido en esta razon.

Fuele preguntado si ha visto su Paternidad algunos extrangeros por aquel rumbo a lo cual dijo que lo que sabe es por noticios de los yndios sibolos y jumanos que asisten hacia la parte de los tejas gente extrangeras y que tratan y contratan con los naturales de dicho Reyno de los tejas y que de noche se buelven a sus casas de palo que tienen en el agua y que asi mismo dijeron dichos yndios que dezian los extrangeros que los españoles no heran buena gente, que ellos si y que han de entrar al Parral con carros y que andan bestidos de hierro y que asi mesmo les ha oido dezir a dichos yndios que un moro asi les llaman se desagrego de los demas y que este tal assiste con una nacion de yndios que assiste junto a los tejas que trae su arcabus largo y bestido de hierro y con su ayuda suelen dar algunos albasos los yndios que con el asisten y habiendole preguntado a dicho Padre Predicador si les oyo a los sibolos que a que generos se reducian el comercio que tienen los tejas con los extrangeros dijo que lo que les oyo dezir fue que los yndios les davan cavallos frutos de la tierra como tambien porciones de tierra colorada y que en retorno le[s] dan a los yndios hachas ropa y otras cosas y que esto es la verdad de lo que sabe y ha oido dezir so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene en que se afirmo conmigo y los testigos de mi asistencia [que lo son el Reverendo Padre Predicador y presidente fray Gabriel de Burgos y Joseph Nabarro presentes. JUAN DE RETANA, fray GABRIEL DE BURGOS, JOACHIN DE YNOJOSA, JOSEPH NABARRO. Ante mi FERNANDO DE YNOJOS escribano de guerra.]

En el Presidio de san francisco de Conchos en veinte y cinco de nobiembre de mill y seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años Yo el General Juan de

Auto Remitiendo estos al señor governador.^k

Retana Capitan de dicho presidio por su Magestad Abiendo bisto estos autos y Como de ellos consta el que los estrangeros entran a tratar y Contratar Con los naturales de los Yndios¹ que Caen del norte a ori-

ente que se Componen de muchas y distintas naciones Como son la

^k A copy of this document was omitted entirely from the Bandelier transcript of this *expediente*. As herewith printed, the copy of this document is that in the University of Texas transcript of the same *expediente*.

¹ Evidently a miscopy for "las yndias".

This is what his paternity knows and has heard said, under burden of the oath which he took. He affirmed his statement. In order to place it on record I signed it, with the witnesses assisting me, namely, the father president, Fray Gabriel de Burgos, and Joseph Navarro. JUAN DE RETANA. Fray AGUSTÍN DE COLINA. Fray GABRIEL DE BURGOS. JOSEPH NAVARRO. Before me, FERNANDO DE HINOJOS, clerk of war.

At the pueblo of San Pedro de Conchos, on November 23, 1688, I, General Juan de Retana, captain of the presidio of San Francisco de Con-

Declaration of Joachim de Hinojosa, of the Order of Saint Francis.

chos, and chief justice of this jurisdiction, for the purpose of clarifying and verifying the measures that appear in these *autos*, since it is so greatly to the service of his Majesty, proceeded to administer the oath

to the father preacher, Fray Joachim de Hinojosa, missionary at La Junta de los Ríos, on the Río del Norte, in respect to what he knows and has heard concerning the foreign people whom the natives say they have seen in the direction of the kingdom of the Texas [Indians]. Having been instructed, he swore *in verbo sacerdotis*, with his hand placed on his breast, to tell the truth concerning what he might know and had heard relative to this matter.

His paternity was asked whether he had seen any foreigners in that direction. To this he replied that what he knows from reports brought by the Cíbolos and Jumanos Indians is that strange people are living in the direction of the Texas Indians; that they trade and bargain with the natives of the said kingdom of Texas; that at night they return to their wooden houses which they have on the water; that the Indians also said that the strangers said that the Spaniards were not good people, but they themselves were, and that they were going to enter El Parral in wagons; and that they go about in plate armor. Also he has heard the said Indians say that a Moor, for they designated him thus, withdrew from the others, and that this man is living with a nation of Indians that resides near the Texas Indians, and that he carries his long harquebus and plate armor, and that with his assistance the Indians with whom he is living are in the habit of making attacks.

When the question was asked the said father preacher if he had heard the Cíbolos say in what goods was the trade which the Texas Indians carried on with the strangers, he said that what he heard them say was that the Indians give them horses and fruits of the land, and also some portions of red earth, and that in return they give the Indians axes, clothing, and other things.

He says that this is the truth as to what he knows and has heard said, under the burden of the oath that he has made. He affirmed and ratified his statement, which he signed with the witnesses assisting me, who were present, namely, the reverend father preacher and president, Fray Gabriel de Burgos, and Joseph Nabarro. JUAN DE RETANA. Fray GABRIEL DE BURGOS. JOACHIM DE HINOJOSA. JOSEPH DE NABARRO. Before me, FERNANDO DE HINOJOS, clerk of war.

nasion Sibola y los tejas naciones todas muy domesticas y afectas a nuestra debocion y teniendo presente yo dicho Capitan Como leal Vasallo de Su Magestad el cuidado que puede dar el que dichas naciones estrangera acarreen a su debocion a los naturales Como Jente docil Como el que pueden penetrar tierra adentro y que de ello puede resultar en grave perjuicio de su Magestad y todo este Reyno hise Remission de estos Autos originales al Señor Governador Y Capitan General deste Reyno el Señor Don Juan, Ysidro de Pardiñas Villar de francos Cavallero de orden de Santiago para que su sseñoria Como tan zeloso del servicio de Su Magestad ordene lo que mas combenga al Real Servicio y que el presente escrivano de guerra Saque testimonio destos autos para que queden en mi poder y para que conste lo firmo con los testigos de mi asistense que lo son el Capitan Martin de Zarate y el sargento Martin de Aldai presentes. JUAN DE RETANA, MARTIN ORTIZ DE ZARATE, MARTIN DE ALDAI, ante mi FERNANDO DE YNOJOS esscrivano de guerra.

Muy Señor mio: la de Vuestra Señoria de trece del corriente recivi en esta Mision de San Pedro de Conchos despues de haber ydo al presidio de San Francisco en persona a dar relacion al General Juan Fernandez de Retana de las razones y motibos de los superiores para salir de aquella tierra donde asistimos un año y siete meses donde siempre vivimos con

Carta de Fray Agustin de Coliñá.

el consuelo de la obediencia porque en semajantes parages fuera horror grave correr largo tiempo sin que se añadiera a tan santo Exercicio el esmalte de la obediencia que en la religion es lo seguro Y pues el Reverendo Padre Custodio esta en ese Real por escusado tengo el esperar mi resolucion pues la dara mi prelado atendiendo siempre al mejor serbicio de las dos Magestades que yo hasta ahora no he salido de este parage para el paso por habermelo asi representado de parte suya el General Retana a quien pase luego a besar la mano por responder a su carta boca a boca no representando desconsuelo de nuestra parte porque no cabe quando han precedido ynformes que [se] han hecho a los superiores serio ^m compasion y lastimar ⁿ aquellos pobres naturelas que yban tomando amor a la enseñanza y aunque para el logro de la doctrina ay muchos inconbenienetes que embarazan a su efecto y no esta el quitarlos de nuestra mano pues en retiradas tierras y desamparadas de todo fabor no se puede apretar con ello por habernos hallado sin justicia que lo haga y alli Señor aunque los naturales son los de mas dosil natural rodean la tierra muchas naciones enemigas y mas facilmente se unen unos con otros que con sus ministros que esta ya experimentado en otra ocasion que estuvieron alli dos religiosos de la Santa Custodia los cuales salieron maltratados a buen librar perdiendose los ornamentos sagrados los cuales ^o no obstante ha instado la Santa Custodia en poner Ministros todo a fin de aprovechar en el servicio de Dios y util de la Monarquia y hoy se halla el prelado

^m Copy B has "sino"; apparently this is correct.

ⁿ This might be a miscopy for abbreviations for the two words "lastima para".

^o Copy B reads "los ornamentos sagrados; lo cual", etc.

At the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos on November 25, 1688, I, General Juan de Retana, captain of the said presidio, for his Majesty, in view of these *autos*, and, since from them it appears that foreigners are entering to trade and bargain with the natives of the Indies, extending from the north to the east, and comprising many different nations, such as the Cibolo nation, and the Texas nations, all of whom are very domestic and receptive to our attentions, and because I, the said captain, as a loyal vassal of his Majesty, am as solicitous as possible concerning the fact that the said foreigners may win the affection of the natives, since they are a people as docile as they are, and because the foreigners are able to penetrate inland, from which serious damage might follow to his Majesty and to this entire kingdom, I remitted these original *autos* to the señor governor and captain-general of this kingdom, Señor Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, in order that his lordship, as one so zealous for the service of his Majesty, may decree whatever may be suitable for the royal service.

Auto transmitting these documents to the señor governor.

Let the present clerk of war make a certified copy of these *autos* in order that they may remain in my possession. In order to place it on record I signed it with the witnesses assisting me who were present, namely, Captain Martín de Zárate and Sergeant Martín de Aldai. JUAN DE RETANA. MARTÍN ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE. Before me, FERNANDO DE HINOJOS, clerk of war.

My Dear Sir: I received your lordship's letter of the thirteenth of the current month at this mission of San Pedro de Conchos, after having gone to the presidio of San Francisco in person to give account to General Juan Fernández de Retana concerning the reasons and motives of the superiors for leaving that country, where we were for a year and seven

Letter of Fray Agustín de Colina.

months, and where we always lived with the consolation that comes from obedience, for it would be a grievous error to spend a long time in such places unless there were added to such holy exercise the satisfaction of obedience which is the certain thing in religion. Since the reverend father *custodio*¹¹⁷ is at that camp on leave, I must await the resolution concerning myself, for my prelate, always attentive to the service of the two Majesties, will give it. I have not yet left this place for El Paso on account of General Retana, on his part, having thus represented it to me. I went immediately to kiss his hand and to respond to his letter by word of mouth.

I do not express discouragement on our part, because it is not proper, when reports, which have been made to the superiors, devoid of compassion and pity for those poor natives who were acquiring a love for the instruction, have already gone on ahead. And although for success in the teaching of the doctrine there are many obstacles which hinder its realization, it is not taking them off our hands, for, in distant lands, and

como obligado a sacarnos por cuanto la nacion suma esta alborotada y no era facil el ampararnos de otra manera ultra de que aun suponiendo que no hubiera alsamiento la salida a[1] trabajo de las haziendas tan sin el concierto que quiere el Rey Nuestro Señor para la conserbacion de los pobres yndios por quedarse por aca fuera los mas sin saber el Ministro como reducirlos a la doctrina nasido solo de los tenientes y Governadores naturales que solo tiran a sacar el numero de gente necesaria y otro[s] se queda[n] mucho tiempo solo por cobrar el precio de su trabajo en horden a lo cual tengo escrito a Vuestra Excelencia ^p una carta que entregara Don Nicolas teniente pidiendo con todo rendimiento a Vuestra Excelencia ^q les haga pagar porque nuestra injusticia no los escandalize que es muy ymportante el que nosotros seamos los que debemos para hazerlos a ellos cuales sean conviene y en fin hay Señor mucho que remediar y no con los yndios todo lo cual omito por ahora que es cansar a Vuestra Excelencia ^r solo lo apunto porque conozca Vuestra Excelencia ^s algo de los motivos que puede tener mi superior y para que se conozca que sin remediar estas cosas se hace insuperable el Ministerio por cual poniendome en medio pasando hasta la interpretativa voluntad del superior (que no debia si yo fuera el Religioso que debo) dixel al dicho General ^t que lo que es para la jornada fuera con muchisimo gusto y esto no teniendo conocimiento de contraria voluntad en mi prelada que debo suponer y supongo leal vasallo de Su Magestad que Dios guarde a cuyo fin tiramos todos y yo promptisimo espero muchas ordenes de Vuestra Excelencia ^u y aguardo en esta mision de San Pedro de Conchos el mandato del Reverendo Padre Custodio que con el ire con notable consuelo pues afianza solo en la obediencia el logro de mi perfeccion ^v cuando veo que como es ninguna mi observancia eso solo saneara en los riesgos de mi conciencia y aunque [es] grande el merito de la administracion prepondera el de sacrificar la propia voluntad y alvedrio e yo juzgo mi superior hara con mucho gusto todo lo que fuere combeniente en orden al mejor logro de la entrada que espera por la cual no paso adelante en mi viaje que con deseo en todo a asertar ni puedo negarme al mandato de Vuestra Señoria menos de todo resolverme; pido a Nuestro Señor lo dispongo como mas combenga y me guarde a Vuestra Excelencia ^w los años que deseo San Pedro de Conchos y Noviembre diez y ocho de mil seiscientos y ochenta y ocho. Besa la Mano de Vuestra Excelencia su humilde capellan y serbidor. Fray AGUSTIN DE COLINA Señor Governador Capitan General don Juan y Pedro ^x de Pardiñas Villar de Francos mi dueño.

^p Copy B has "señoria", which probably is correct.

^q *Ibid.*

^r *Ibid.*

^s *Ibid.*

^t Copy B reads "dixo el dicho General".

^u Copy B has "señoria".

^v Copy B has "profesion", which probably is correct.

^w Copy B has "señoria".

^x Copy B has "ysidro"; this is correct.

forsaken of all favor, it is not possible to be more rigorous concerning it on account of having found ourselves without justice, as I find myself. There, Sir, although the natives are of the most docile disposition, many enemy nations surround the country and more readily they unite with one another than with their ministers, as has already been experienced on another occasion when two religious of the holy *custodia*¹¹⁸ were there. These, being maltreated, left, and fortunately escaped, but lost the sacred ornaments.

Notwithstanding this, the holy *custodia* has insisted on sending ministers there, all for the purpose of promoting the service of God and the benefit of the monarchy. But in this instance the prelate finds himself obliged to withdraw us, for the reason that the Suma¹¹⁹ nation is in a tumult, and it was not easy to protect us otherwise. Besides this, even supposing that there were no uprising, the departure of the poor Indians to work on the haciendas, under conditions not such as our lord, the king, wishes for their conservation, [is bad] on account of the most of them remaining outside without the minister knowing how to induce them to accept Christian teaching. [This state of affairs] only originates with the native lieutenants and governors, whose sole aim is to draw out the required number of people. Others remain a long time merely to collect the price of their labor, in regard to which I have written a letter to your lordship which the lieutenant, Don Nicolás, will deliver, and in which I ask with all humility that your lordship will cause them to be paid, so that our injustice may not scandalize them, for it is very important that we shall be what we ought to be, in order to make them be what they ought to be.

In short, sir, there is much to remedy, but not as regards the Indians, all of which I now omit in order not to weary your lordship; I only state it so that your lordship may know something of the motives which my superior may have, and in order that you may perceive that unless these things are remedied the ministry will become impossible. For this reason, going so far as to interpret the will of my superior (which I ought not to do if I were the religious that I ought to be) I told the said general that in so far as the journey was concerned I would go with much pleasure. This I did without having any knowledge of any wish to the contrary on the part of my prelate, whom I ought to suppose, and whom I do suppose, to be a loyal vassal of his Majesty, whom may God guard.

Toward this end we are all striving, and I am hoping very promptly for many orders from your lordship, and am awaiting at this mission of San Pedro de Conchos the orders of the reverend father *custodio* with whom I will go with notable consolation, for there is security solely in obedience [which is] the attainment of my perfection. When I realize that my observance is imperfect, the above fact alone will make amends for risking my conscience, for although the merit of action is great, the sacrifice of one's own will and freedom is greater. I judge that my superior will do with great pleasure all that may be necessary for the greater success of the expedition which he awaits. For this reason I do not go on with my journey; desiring to do right in everything, I cannot oppose

En el Real del Parral en dos dias del mes de Noviembre de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años el Señor Sargento Mayor Don Juan Ysidro

Autos promovidos^v por el
governador con las prime-
ras noticias.

de Pardiñas Villar de Franco[s] Cavallero de la Horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno de la nueba Viscaya por su Magestad. Dijo que porque^a la nacion de los yndios chisos a muchos años

que ostilizan estas fronteras y que lo van continuando no solo en perjuicio de las vidas y haziendas de los vezinos españoles sino de los pueblos de yndios catolicos que estan debajo de la Real obediencia fiados en el retiro que tienen en sus tierras muy distantes de estas fronteras y coligacion que tienen hecha con las demas naciones reveladas y que es necesario qu se ocurra al remedio mas conbeniente mejor^a se despache orden en forma al General Juan de Retana para que con noventa hombres españoles los cuarenta de los que son de su cargo veinte de los de la compañía de campaña y treinta vezinos de su Señoria le proveera salga el dia quinze de este presente mes con la cantidad de yndios amigos que fueren suficientes y vaya a la parte que llaman la junta de los Rios y busque a los enemigos en las partes donde estubiere[n] y les haga guerra con toda ostilidad observando con la nacion chisa el no admitirlos de paz aunque^b se sujeten a las poblaciones que su Señoria les asignase por cuanto por autos y ordenes de los señores Governadores sus antecesores estan declarados por enemigos los mas perniciosos que tiene este Reyno. Y por cuanto los yndios de la nacion sibola que abitan a la parte del Rio del Norte han dado noticia que llegan por dicho Rio unas gentes que parescen extrangeros y pueden ser de los que asisten en el puerto de el Espiritu Santo en atencion a que Su Señoria tiene noticias que por la parte de este Reyno tiene paso el dicho Rio y ser combeniente tomar noticias y lengua de estos generos de gentes para darle a su Magestad y al Excelentissimo Señor Virrey de la Nueva España para que se provea de lo mas conbeniente y se reconozca la parte por donde fuese mas facil desalojar al enemigo del dicho Puerto mandaba y mando que asi mismo se incluia en dicha orden que el dicho General Juan de Retana pasa el dicho Rio^c del Norte y haga las diligencias combenientes para coger algun prisionero de las dichas gentes que suben por el dicho Rio del Norte procurando pasarle y reconocer el puesto donde estubieren alojados y fortificaciones que tubieren hechas [y de] todo lo demas que fuere combeniente reconocer trayendo de todo relacion en forma que de dicha orden se tome razon a la letra al pie de este auto asi lo probeyo mando y firmo don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDINAS VILLAR DE FRANCO[s] ante mi MIGUEL DE ARANDA [esscrivano Real].

^v Copy B has "proveidos".

^a Copy B reads "que por quanto", which is probably correct.

^b Copy B has "mando". This is obviously correct.

^b Copy B has "Sin que". This apparently is correct.

^c Copy B reads "pase a dicho Rio". From the context, this appears to be correct.

the mandate of your lordship, but still less can I decide to do it. I pray that our Lord will arrange all for the best and that he will keep your lordship for all the years that I desire. San Pedro de Conchos, November 18, 1688. Your humble chaplain and servant kisses the hand of your lordship. Fray AGUSTÍN DE COLINA. For the señor governor and captain-general, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, my master.

At the camp of El Parral on the second day of the month of November, 1688, the señor *sargento mayor*, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de

Autos promulgated by the governor on receipt of the first notices.

Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, declared that inasmuch as Indians of the Chizas nation have been committing hostilities upon

these frontiers for many years, and are still continuing to do so, not only to the prejudice of the lives and property of the Spanish residents, but also to the prejudice of the pueblos of Catholic Indians who are under royal authority, but who feel secure in the privacy which they enjoy in their lands, which are very distant from these frontiers, and because of the alliance which they have made with the other rebel nations, and since it is necessary that the most efficient remedy shall be anticipated, he commanded that an order, in legal form, shall be sent to General Juan de Retana to set out with ninety Spaniards—forty of them to be those of his own command, twenty from the field company and thirty to be citizens that his lordship will provide him with—on the fifteenth day of this present month, together with a sufficient number of friendly Indians. Let him proceed to the place called La Junta de los Ríos, and look for the hostile Indians, wherever they may be, and make war upon them with all vigor, being particular not to agree to peace with the Chiza nation unless they shall agree to congregate in the settlements which his lordship may assign to them, inasmuch as through *autos* and orders of the señores governors, his predecessors, they are declared to be the most pernicious enemies which this kingdom has.

And inasmuch as the Indians of the Cíbolo nation, who live in the region of the Río del Norte, have given information that some people, who appear to be foreigners, are approaching by way of the said river, and may be of those who are at the port of Espíritu Santo, and in view of the fact that his lordship has knowledge that the said river has passage through a part of this kingdom, and since it is necessary to obtain information and tidings as to the sort of people these are, in order to [be able to] report it to his Majesty and to the most excellent señor viceroy of New Spain,¹²⁰ so that whatever is most proper may be done and the district through which the enemy may the easiest be dislodged from the said port may be reconnoitred, that likewise it shall be included in the same order that the said General Juan de Retana shall proceed to the said Río del Norte and take the necessary steps to secure a prisoner from the said people who are ascending by way of the said Río del Norte, and that he shall endeavor to cross it and reconnoitre the place where they may be

El sargento mayor [Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de francos Governador y Capitan General de este Reino y probincias de la nueva Viscaia por su Magestad]. Por quanto los indios rebelados de las naciones Tovosos salineros cabezas chisos e chichitames cholemes y otras naciones sus congregadas ostilisan este reino con muertes y robos asal-

Horden para que se vaya a reconocer el rio del Norte.

tando los pueblos de los indios de paz o que estan obedientes debajo del real amparo y que es reconocido que la guerra defensiva contra dichos rebeldes no evita en el todo los daños que causan ni se pueden estorbar respecto a ser la tierra abierta y tener el enemigo muchas entradas sin ser sentido[s] y [que] para aplicar el remedio que parece mas exsequible ha parecido combeniente buscar a dichos enemigos en sus tierras y harcerles guerra ofensiva por tanto ordeno y mando al General Juan Fernandez de Retana Capitan del Presidio de Conchos que el dia quince de este presente mes salga para las tierras del enemigo con noventa hombres españoles alcabuceros que llebara en esta manera los cuarenta de los de su cargo y presidio los veinte de la compañía de campaña de ese Reyno y los treinta de los vezinos de estas jurisdicciones que tengo prevenidos y dispuestos para dicho efecto y los yndios auxiliares que les parecieren necesarios y buscara dichos enemigos en las partes donde tuvieren sus retiros y les hara la guerra ofensiva con toda ostilidad hasta reducirlos o dejarlos castigados para que con el temor deseen la quietud executando en las naciones mas protervas y nosibas lo que esta mandado y hordenado por autos y hordenes de los Señores Gobernadores mis antecesores y constan por las que tiene el dicho General Juan Fernandez de Retana executandolas ynviolablemente como si aqui fueran expresas.

Y porque los yndios sibolos y otros de otras naciones me an dado noticia que han visto en el Rio del Norte gentes extrangeras que suben por el y estando poblado de franceses el puerto y bahia del Espiritu Santo es muy necesario reconocer que jentes son las que suben por el dicho Rio y donde tienen la asistencia y con que fuerzas prebencion y jentes estan y que no se a podido conseguir por la parte del mar ni del Reyno de Leon aunque se han hecho diversas diligencias y en atencion a que por la parte de este Reino se pasa el dicho [Rio] con mas facilidad que con^a otra alguna el dicho General Juan Fernandez de Retana en llegando al puerto nombrado la junta de los Rios pasara el del Norte esguasandolo por las partes donde se puede hacer el respecto ° a las naciones numerosas que ay en el y que es necesario atraerlos para que sean fieles y no se colegen con dichos extrangeros como gente facil asentara con ellos buena paz tratandolos con todo cariño afabilidad y urbanidad para que con ella se conserben con dicho General y se reduscan a la obediencia de su Magestad asiendosela jurar en cuyo Real nombre tomara posesion de las tierras que por aquella parte descubriere y en señal de ella lebantara y pondra la señal de la Santa Cruz en todas partes que le pareciere haciendo el auto

^a Copy B reads "que por otra".

^o Copy B reads "donde se puede aser y Respecto a". From the context it appears that this is correct.

lodged, the fortifications that they may have made, and everything else that it may be advisable to reconnoitre, bringing a report of all in proper form.

Let a literal record of the said order be made at the foot of this *auto*. Thus did he provide, order, and sign. DON JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. Before me, MIGUEL DE ARANDA, royal clerk.

The *sargento mayor*, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and these provinces of

Order for an expedition
to reconnoitre the Río del
Norte.

Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, [said that] inasmuch as the rebellious Indians of the Tobosos, Salineros, Cabras, Chizos, Chichitames, and Cholemes nations and other allied nations are committing hostilities against

this kingdom by murdering and robbing, and are attacking the pueblos of peaceful Indians who are living obediently under royal protection, and since it has been learned that defensive war against the said rebels does not entirely prevent the harm that they cause, nor can the Indians be held back because the land is open and the enemy has many places where he can enter without being perceived, and in order to apply the remedy that seems the most attainable, it has seemed best to seek out the said hostiles in their own lands and make offensive war upon them.

Therefore, I order and command General Juan Fernández de Retana, captain of the presidio of Conchos, to set out on the fifteenth day of this present month for the country of the enemy with ninety Spanish harquebusiers, whom he will take in this manner: forty of them from his own command and presidio, twenty from the field company of this kingdom, thirty from the citizens of these jurisdictions whom I have provided and prepared for the said purpose, and such Indian auxiliaries as may appear to be necessary. He will seek the said enemy in the places where they may have their hiding places and make offensive war on them with all vigor until they are reduced or punished so that through fear they may desire peace; and he shall execute upon the nations that are most stubborn and obnoxious that which is commanded and ordered in the *autos* and orders of the señores governors, my predecessors, and the orders which are contained in the said *autos* given by the said General Juan Fernández de Retana, executing them inviolably as though they were stated here.

And since the Cibolos Indians and other Indians of other nations have informed me that they have seen foreigners on the Río del Norte, who are ascending it, and since the port and Bay of Espíritu Santo are occupied by Frenchmen, it is very necessary to find out what men they are who are ascending by way of the said river, where they have their residence, and what forces, supplies, and men they have. Since it has not been possible to obtain this information by way of the sea or by way of the kingdom of León, although many attempts have been made,¹²¹ and in view of the fact that in a section of this kingdom the said river may be crossed more easily, General Juan Fernández de Retana, upon reaching the place called La Junta de los Ríos, shall cross the Río del Norte, fording it wherever possible. With regard to the numerous nations living

y autos juridicos que estan dispuestos por leyes Reales en casos de esta calidad y para aprehenderla y tomarla por nuestra Santa Madre Yglesia lo hara el Reverendo Padre Fray Juan de Jumeta del horden de San Francisco Ministro doctrinero del valle de San Bartolome persona aprobada por el ordinario de este obispado ynteligente en las lenguas del dicho Rio del Norte y en quien concurren virtud y demas calidades necesarias para el dicho efecto y el dicho General reconocera para reconocer^f la parte y puesto a donde suben los dichos extrangeros y de donde y pondra toda diligencia en cojer a las manos alguno o algunos de ellos para tomar lengua de todo lo que fuere necesario cobrando^g en esta materia con toda cautela procurando y precautelandose de que los yndios no den noticia a dichas gentes de su llegada y si tubiere razon que por aquella parte ubiere alguna nazon de yndios que vivan en policia como los texas que tengan Rey cacique o Jefe a quien obedezcan hara liga y confederacion con ellos para que no lo consigan los dichos extrangeros y les dara a entender por medio del religiosos^h las cosas de Nuestra Santa Fee y derecho que Su Magestad tiene a todas las Yndias occidentales y que su Real yntencion es de la propagacion del Santo Evangelio y no de oprimirles la livrtad de la qual gozaran debajo de su Real obediencia con los cuales hara ligas y confederaciones las que le parecieren conbenir para que no admitan otros de dichas gentes extrangeras y pondra todo cuydado en que sus soldados den buen exemplo a las dichas naciones haziendoles frecuentar en actos de virtud y caridad con dicho naturales sin entrar en sus casas sin hazerles molestia en mugeres hijos y familias teniendolos como quienes han de ser espejos de naciones barvaras para la introducion de Nuestra Santa Religion haziendolos confesar y hazer otros actos de catolicos y que todos acaricien a dichos naturales con mucha urbanidad sin altibez ni mayoria alguna y asi mismo reconocera el puerto o bahia del Espiritu Santo u otro cualquier puerto donde tubieren noticia esta poblada alguna nacion extrangera procurandolo conseguir con espias que den buena razon y fidedigna de todo y de las fortificaciones que tubieren hechas y numero de gente que paresciere haver en lo que estuviere poblado obrando como dicho es y conforme la ynstruccion que asi mismo lleva y sobre todo obrara como quien tiene la cosa presente tomando razon de los puestos jornadas rumbos alturas y rios de las partes que reconociere y de las conbeniencias o ynconbeniencias que hallare para conseguir por la parte mas facil desalojar dichos extrangeros trayendome relacion autentica de todo para que con ella se la de yo a Su Magestad y al Exelentissimo Señor Virrey de la nueba españa para que se provea de lo mas conbeniente al Real servicio en materia que amenaza tan malas consecuencias a todos estos Reynos que fio de las obligaciones del Dicho General Juan Fernandez de Retana lo executara con el selo que le asiste del mayor servicio de Su Magestad en lo cual se lo hara muy señalado y mando a los Capitanes Antonio de Medina y otras cualesquiera que fueren a dicha jornada y a

^f Copy B reads "Reconosera o ara Reconoser".

^g Copy B has "obrando"; obviously this is correct.

^h Copy B has "Religioso". This is obviously correct.

on it, and because it is necessary to attract them, so that they will be faithful, and will not associate themselves with the said foreigners, like the facile people that they are, he will arrange a satisfactory peace with them, treating them with all affection, affability, and urbanity, so that they will keep it with the said general, and in order that they may be reduced to the obedience of his Majesty.

This obedience sworn to, he will take possession, in the royal name, of the lands which he may discover in that region. In sign of this he shall raise and erect the form of the holy cross in all places that may seem proper to him, drawing up the legal *auto* or *autos* that are ordered by the royal laws¹²² in cases of this sort. The act of taking possession of it for our holy mother Church shall be done by the reverend father, Fray Juan de Jumeta, of the Order of Saint Francis, minister doctrinero of the valley of San Bartolomé, a person approved by the ordinary of this bishopric, versed in the languages of the said Río del Norte, and one in whom are united the virtue and other qualities necessary for the said purpose. Also the said general will take steps to reconnoitre the locality and place toward which the said foreigners are proceeding up the river, and the place whence they come. He will use all diligence to lay hands on some one or more of them in order to get information of all that may be necessary, working in this matter with all caution, and taking care that the Indians do not give notice to the said people of his coming. And if he should have information that in that region there is any nation of Indians living under an organized government like the Texas Indians, with a king, cacique, or chief whom they obey, he shall form a league and confederation with them, in order to prevent the said strangers from doing it, and he will cause them to know, by means of the religious, the things of our holy faith and the right that his Majesty has over all the western Indias, and that his royal purpose is the propagation of the holy gospel, and not to deprive them of liberty, which they will enjoy under his royal obedience. With these he will make such leagues and confederations as may seem best to him in order that they may not make other leagues and confederations with the foreigners.

He shall take great care that his soldiers shall set a good example to the said nations, forcing them to the frequent performance of acts of virtue and charity toward the said natives, without entering their houses and without molesting their women, children, or families, and conducting themselves like persons who have to be mirrors to the barbarous nations for the introduction of our holy religion, making them confess and perform other Catholic acts, and taking care that all shall treat the said natives with much courtesy, without haughtiness or any show of superiority.

Also he shall reconnoitre the port or Bay of Espíritu Santo, or any other port that they may learn that any foreign nation is settled at; he shall endeavor to obtain through spies good and reliable information concerning everything, of the fortifications that they may have made and the number of men that they appear to have where they are settled; he shall work along the above lines and in conformity with the instructions which he also carries.

toda la gente española soldados y vezinos que a ella fueren y yndios auxiliares esten a sus hordenes y obedezcan y cumplan las que las diere so las penas que les ympusiere las cuales executara en los ynobedientes a usanza de guerra que para ello les doy tan amplia comision como la que en mi reside por convenir asi al servicio de su Magestad. Y porque con los yndios auxiliares y españoles que ha de llevar haran mucho numero y es necesario que se dilaten mas de cien dias en la jornada y se necesita que vayan bastantemente proveydos de municiones bastimentos y requas de mulas que los conduzcan y sin embargo que no hay medios de efectos de paz y guerra se les proveera a mi credito de todo lo referido hasta que los dichos efectos se paguen y el dicho General Juen Fernandez de Retana tendra cuenta y razon judicial de la destribucion que hisiere en la dicha campaña para que conste en las quantas que se han de dar de dichos efectos de paz y guerra y no omitira representarme todos los que fueren necesarios para que yo lo provea por ser en cosa tan del Real servicio y de esta horden y despacho se tomara la razon a la letra como esta mandado por auto de ese dia dada firmada de mi mano sellada con el sello de mis armas y refrendada del presente escrivano en dos dias del mes de Noviembre de mil seiscientos ochenta y ocho años. Bachiller JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. Por mandado de Su Señoria. MIGUEL DE ARANDA Escrivano Real.

Concuerta este traslado con la orden y comision original de que se haze mension de a donde lo saque a que me remito que se le entrega original al dicho General Juan Fernandez de Retana para su execucion y cumplimiento va cierta y verdadera correxido y concertado y para que de ello conste de mandato del Señor Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno doy el presente en el Real y Minas de San Joseph del Parral en tres dias del mes de noviembre de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y ocho años siendo testigos el Capitan Francisco de Escarzega y Joseph de Solorzano presentes y vezinos de este Real y lo signe en testimonio de verdad. MIGUEL DE ARANDA Escrivano Real.

En quince de henero de mill seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años de mandato del Señor Governador y Capitan General de este Reino se saco testimonio de estos autos aqui.

Señor Governador y Capitan General. Tengo remitido a Vuestra Señoria los autos y mayor averiguacion de que la nacion extrangera sube a los tejas y mas arriba y que pretenden yntroducirse entre los yndios que tocan a este Reyno y estan de paz y hechas las dichas diligencias que ya Vuestra señoria habra visto a pocas jornadas de mi biaje tube

Carta del Capitan Juan de Retana.

noticia de que una rrancheria de los enemigos que ymbaden este Reyno se hallaban alojados en una sierra llamada guapagua y aunque fue fuerza el estrañar mi derota pase a la dicha sierra donde los rrompi y desbaraté con muerte de muchos por hallarse juntas las tres naciones mas perniciosas que son Cocoiones¹ y los que llaman hijos de las piedras y Gavi-

¹ Copy B has "cocotomes"; this is probably correct.

Above everything he will work as one who has the matter before him, placing on record the places, day's marches, routes, altitudes, and rivers of the districts which he may reconnoitre, and the conveniences and inconveniences that one may encounter in proceeding through the most suitable section for dislodging the said foreigners. He shall bring me an authentic account concerning everything so that with it I can report to his Majesty and to the most excellent señor viceroy of New Spain, so that whatever is best for the royal service may be provided concerning a matter which threatens such evil consequences to all these kingdoms.

In view of the integrity of the said General Juan Fernández, I have confidence that he will carry it out with the zeal which characterizes him for the greatest service of his Majesty, by which he will be made very famous, and I order Captain Antonio de Medina and any other captains who may go on the said journey, and all the Spanish people, soldiers as well as citizens, who may go on it, and the Indian auxiliaries, who are under his orders, to obey and comply with those orders which he may issue to them, under the penalties that he may impose upon them; these penalties he will execute upon the disobedient ones according to the usage of war, for which I give him as ample commission as that which resides in me, since thus it comports to the service of his Majesty.

And because there will be a large number, counting the Indian auxiliaries and the Spaniards, that he will have to take along, and because it is necessary that they spend more than a hundred days on the journey, and that they must go sufficiently provided with munitions, supplies, and herds of mules to conduct them, and notwithstanding the fact that there are no funds for the expenses of peace and war, all the above-mentioned will be furnished them, on my credit, until the said accounts are paid. The said General Juan Fernández de Retana will keep a record and accurate memorandum of the distribution that he may make in the said campaign, so that it may appear in the accounts that must be given of the said expenses of peace and war; he will not fail to inform me of all that may be necessary, so that I can provide it, since it is in an affair so greatly to the royal service.

Of this order and despatch he will take a literal copy, as is ordered by the *auto* of this day, given and signed by my hand, sealed with the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the present clerk, on the second day of November, 1688. *Bachiller* JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. By order of his lordship, MIGUEL DE ARANDA, royal clerk.

This copy agrees with the original order and commission referred to, from which I copied it and which I remit so that the original may be delivered to the said General Juan Fernández de Retana for its execution and fulfillment. The copy is exact and true, corrected, and compared. In order that it may go on record as a mandate of the señor governor and captain-general of this kingdom, I issue the present writing at the camp and mines of San Joseph del Parral, on the third day of the month of November, 1688, the witnesses being Captain Francisco de Escarzega and Joseph de Solorzano, citizens of this camp who were present. And I signed it in testimony of its truth. MIGUEL DE ARANDA, royal clerk.

lanes cuyos hechos son tan costosos y experimentados en este Reyno quites grande suma de cavallos yda^j que es la que remito para que se restituya a sus dueños cuyas señales son conocidas y así mismo la chusma y prisioneros que aprese y al cabo le dy orden para que ynformase a Vuestra Señoría como me he dicho lo ha hecho y aunque me detube algunos dias en los alcances volvi a tomar el camino para el Rio del Norte en cumplimiento del orden de Vuestra Señoría a reconocer el camino para la vahia del Espiritu Santo y ynformarme de la derrota que es la materia que tanto cuydado le da a Vuestra Señoría y con tanta razon y haviendo llegado a la Junta del Rio del Norte y de Conchos despache yndios de los mas practicos de la tierra para que reconociesen las partes y rumbos por donde habia de marchar y que fuesen mas faciles para los casos que se ofrecieren en adelante si persiste el franzes porque me ha causado cuidado el que hayan dicho a los yndios que con facilidad y con carros han de entrar al parral materia muy corruta para^k entre los yndios de todo este pays porque aseguro a Vuestra Señoría que no hay arriva de ochenta leguas de ese Real a la Junta de los Rios esto es viniendo via recta y sin discreccion^l como me sucedio. A pocos dias de haber salido estos esplotadores me trujeron noticia de que la tenian de que un Governador a quien estan sujetas estas naciones venia ya de los tejas quien me daria razon de todo y biendo que se dilatava resolvi el salir de la Junta de los Rios algunas jornadas a encontrarle porque tambien me dijeron me traia cartas y porque no se entendiese que el gran numero de naciones acobardaba nuestras armas y a cuatro jornadas encontre con el dicho Governador cuio nombre es Don Juan Xaviata que es el Capataz Principal de las naciones zivola y Jumana que se alegro mucho de ver españoles en su tierra y preguntandome el fecto a que entraba y dandole noticia de ello me dijo que los moros que así llaman a los franzeses los yndios no^m heran muertas porque las naciones inmediatas a ellos los asaltaron y consumieron y que tubiese entendido que no habia ya ninguno vibo donde residian y que bido algunos despojos de dichos franzeses y los yndios que los tenian por verificacion de su verdad le entregaron unos papeles y un nabio pintado en un pergamino escripto de mano en lengua franzeza enbuelto todo en una corbata de encajes grandes lo cual lleva a Vuestra Señoría el dicho Governador Don Juan Xaviata de quien tome particulares noticias del camino para los tejas que es cuando mucho diez y ocho marchas con carruage desde este puesto abundante de rios y aguaxes sin impedimentos de sierras por ser todo tierras llana con mucha abundancia de ganado zibolo y frutas sirbestres de todo da razon a Vuestra Señoría y lo que yo Puedo dezir es que en qualquiere tiempo se puede entrar segun parece hasta los tejas y bahia del Espiritu Santo. No solo he tomado razon de dicho Don Juan Xabiata sino de otros yndios que ban con el de que es

^j Copy B reads "de Cavallada que". This is probably correct.

^k Copy B has "Corrutapa (*sic*)".

^l Copy B has "Digresion". This probably is correct.

^m Copy B has "ya". From the context it appears that "ya" is correct.



PARCHMENT, WITH THE DRAWING OF SHIP, AND LETTERS OF LARCHEVÉQUE AND GROSLET

On January 15, 1689, by order of the señor governor and captain-general of this kingdom, a certified copy of the *autos* herein was made.

Señor governor and captain-general: I have sent to your lordship the *autos* and the principal proof that a foreign people is ascending to the

Letter of Captain Juan de Retana.

Texas Indians and beyond, and that these foreigners are attempting to establish themselves among the Indians who live on the borders of this kingdom and are at peace.

The measures having been taken of which your lordship will have already learned, I ascertained, a few days after I had begun my journey, that a rancheria of the hostiles who invade this kingdom was located on a sierra called Guapagua, and although it was necessary to turn off from my course I went to the said sierra, where I defeated and routed them, killing many, because the three most pernicious nations were there together, namely the Cocotomes and those whom they call Sons of the Stones, and Sparrow-hawks, whose acts have been so costly and expensive in this kingdom.

From these I took a large number of horses, which I am returning so that they may be restored to their owners, whose brands are well known; at the same time I am sending the rabble and the prisoners whom I captured. Finally, I gave an order that your lordship be advised, as you told me to do, of what has been done. Although I remained some days at Los Alcances, I resumed the journey toward the Río del Norte, in fulfillment of the order of your lordship to reconnoitre the road to the Bay of Espíritu Santo and to inform myself of the route, which is the matter that is giving such anxiety to your lordship, and with much reason.

Having arrived at the junction of the Río del Norte and the Conchos River, I sent some of the most experienced Indians of the country to ascertain the regions through which I had to march, and the directions which might be the easiest for events that might happen in the future if the Frenchmen persist, for the fact that they have told the Indians that easily and with carts they are going to enter El Parral, a report that is very current among the Indians of all this country, has caused me much anxiety. For I assure your lordship that there are not over eighty leagues from that camp to La Junta de los Ríos, that is, coming by a direct road without diversion, as was the case with me.

A few days after these explorers had gone out, they brought me news that they had heard that a governor to whom these nations are subject was already en route from the Texas Indians and that he would give me an account of everything. But, seeing that he delayed in coming, I resolved, because they also told me that he was bringing me letters, and in order that it might not be thought that the great number of nations terrified our forces, to go out from La Junta de los Ríos some days' journey to meet him. At four days' journey I met the said governor, whose name is Don Juan Xaviata,¹²³ and who is the principal chief of the Cibolo and Jumano nations. He was delighted to see Spaniards in his country and asked me the purpose of my entrance. When I told him of it he said that the Moors, for it is thus that the Indians call the French, were already

cierto lo que refieren pero dicennosⁿ que han quedado hasta cuatro o cinco franceses retirados entre los tejas que es nacion larga esta que debe de confinar con la florida segun discurro ya Vuestra Señoria reconocera por el tiempo el estado en que puedo hallarme de mantenimientos y asi con este puesto he determinado aguardar orden de Vuestra Señoria de lo que tengo de executar y sin^o con esta noticia le parece sera conbeniente que pase a ocupar el puesto que los franceses han perdido y me socorra con bastimento para conserbar la gente porque son muchos los yndios que saque por lo necesario que son entre naciones no conocidas que aseguro a Vuestra Señoria son numerosas de jentes pero hallome con la que traigo en disposicion de penetrar cuanto se ofreciere esto digo por el rezelo que a Vuestra Señoria se le puede ofrecer y sobre todo estoy al cumplimiento de la horden que aguarda el Reverendo Padre Fray Juan de Zumete Besa a Vuestra Señoria la Mano Guarde Dios a Vuestra Señoria muchos años como deseo Rio Salado y Marzo tres de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años. Señor Governador y Capitan General. Besa la mano de Vuestra Señoria su mas seguro servidor. JUAN DE RETANA. Señor Sarchento Mayor Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS.

En el Parral en treinta dias del mes de Marzo de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años el Señor Sargente mayor Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno y provincias de la nueba vizcaya por Su Magestad Dijo que por cuanto acaba de recibir carta del Capitan Juan De Retana en la que le noticia que viene a este Real un Governador de las naciones de yndios que llaman sibolos y jumanas y porque combiene examinarlos con particular cuydado y que sea con la mayor brebedad que sea

Auto

posible manda su Señoria que la carta se ponga con los autos en esta razon fechos y se despache horden al alferez del Presidio de San Francisco de Conchos para que con presteza remita a este Real al Dicho Governador Juan Javiata y los caciques que trujere en su compañía hasiendoles proveer de mantenimiento y cabalgaduras para la mayor brebedad de su venida que la costa que hiciere en ello se le satisfara; y asi mismo porque en este Real no hay ynterprete de las lenguas sibola y xumana mandara pasar con los contenidos a Don Nicolas Governador de la nasion Xulime y a otro que tambien los entienda y que se les haga a dicho Governador y cacique todo buen pasage y tratamiento y asi lo probeyo mando y firmo. Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. Ante mi Don LUIS DE VALDES Secretario de Govierno^p y Guerra.

Dicho día se despacho la horden contenida en este auto.

ⁿ Copy B reads "pero dicen mas que".

^o Copy B has "si". Obviously "si" is correct.

^p Copy B has "escrivano de gobernacion".

dead, for the neighboring nations attacked and killed them, and that I should know that there was not now one alive where they resided, and that he saw some spoils taken from the said Frenchmen, and that the Indians who had them as proof of the truth, gave him some papers and a ship painted on a parchment written by hand in the French language, all wrapped up in a neckcloth of wide lace, which the said governor, Don Juan Xaviata, is taking to your lordship.¹²⁴ I took detailed information from him in regard to the road to the Texas Indians which is at the most eighteen marches by wagon from this place, and it abounds with rivers and springs, without the impediment of mountains, for the entire country is level, with a great abundance of buffalo and wild fruits. Concerning everything he gives account to your lordship, and what I can say is that it is possible to enter, at any time, apparently, as far as the Texas Indians and the Bay of Espiritu Santo.

Not only have I secured information from the said Don Juan Xaviata, but also from other Indians who are travelling with him, from which it is true what they report, but they tell us further that as many as four or five Frenchmen have remained hidden among the Texas Indians, which is an extensive nation that ought in reason to border on Florida.

On account of the time [that has elapsed] your lordship will realize in what state I now am for supplies, and therefore I have determined to await the orders of your lordship at this place as to what I am to do and whether with this information it seems best to you that I shall go on to occupy the place which the Frenchmen have lost. Succor me with provisions for maintaining the people, for the Indians whom I took out are many, as was necessary among unknown nations, which, I assure your lordship, are very populous, but I am ready, with those whom I brought, to penetrate as far as may be necessary. This I say because of misgivings that may occur to your lordship, and above all I am ready to carry out the order which the reverend father, Fray Juan de Zumete, awaits.

I kiss your lordship's hand. May God preserve your lordship for many years, as I desire. Río Salado, March 3, 1689. Señor governor and captain-general, your most faithful servant kisses the hand of your lordship. JUAN DE RETANA. To the señor *sargento mayor*, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos.

At El Parral on the thirtieth day of the month of March, 1689, the señor *sargento mayor*, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, declared that inasmuch as he has just received a letter from Captain Juan de Retana in which he informs him that a governor of the nations of Indians called Cibolos and Jumanos is coming to this camp, and since it is necessary to examine them with special care and as early as possible, his lordship orders that the letter shall be placed with the *autos* made concerning this matter, that an order shall be despatched to the *alférez* of the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos for him to send quickly to this camp the said governor, Juan Xaviata, and the caciques that he may have in his company, and that he shall cause them to be provided with provi-

Auto.

En el Real del Parral en dies dias del mes de abril de mill seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años Ante el Señor Governador y Capitan General paresieron Don Juan Xabiata Governador que dijo ser de los Yndios de las naciones Sibolos y jumanas y Miguel que dixo ser Capitan de dichas naciones que son naturales del rrio del norte y otros Casiques que dixer-

Llega el governador del
rio del norte.^a

eron ser Gentiles y asistir en sus Rancherias el dicho Rio abajo los quales hicieron a su Usanza Reberencia a dicho Señor Governador dandole la obediencia y por medio de Don Nicolas Governador de la nasion Xulime que vino en su Compañia por Ynterprete que se dio a entender en lengua mexicana la qual dio a entender Joseph de Villalva español que su señoria nombro por Ynterprete de ella aviendo jurado en forma de usar fiel y lealmente dicho oficio lo aseto, dixeran dichos Yndios que por medio de algunos que han llegado a sus Rancherias que an ydo de este Real y del servicio de las haciendas del an savido el buen agasajo que los naturales tienen de dicho Señor Governador que an deseado verle y lo ubieran echo antes pero que se interpuso el tiempo de ir a la tierra adentro a sus ferias Con las naciones del Rio abajo texas, y otras muchas y que aora al venir de ellas encontraron a Un Capitan y muchos españoles a quienes dixeran su deseo y le facilitaron su pasage y que vienen con mucho gusto por que los Moros (que así en su Idioma llaman a los franceses o estrangeros) quedan consumidos de las nasiones de Yndios Gentiles de los Contornos donde estaban y que para testimonio de esta verdad traen dos ojas de papel que paresen de algun libro escrito de mano en lengua francesa al pareser, y una fragata pintada en un pergamino Con algunos anotaciones escritas lo qual entregaron a dicho Señor Governador embuelto en una corbata de encaxes finos grandes y dicho Señor Governador los abrazo y mando aloxarlos y regalarlos y los sito para el dia siguiente porque descansasen y ser ya tarde y lo mando poner por diligencia y lo firmo el ynterprete español que solo supo y así lo proveyo y mando su señoria. DON JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. JOSEPH DE VILLALVA. Ante me Don LUIS DE VALDES escrivano de gobernacion y guerra.

En el Real del Parral en once dias del mes de abril de mill seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años el señor Sargento mayor Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas Villar de francos Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General deste Reino y probincias de la nueva Viscaya por su Magestad Dixo que por quanto Don Juan Xabiata Governador de las naciones del Rio del norte A llegado a este Real Con otros tres casiques o Capitanes de las nasiones de dicho Rio y Combiene tomar Razon de dichos Yndios de la distancia del camino que ai de este Real a los texas y Puerto del espiritu Santo y la Calidad del y si tiene algunas dificultades

Auto para que se examine
el governador y Casiques del
Rio del norte.^r

^a This document, not in the Bandelier transcript of this *expediente*, is printed from the University of Texas transcript.

^r This document is printed from the University of Texas transcript of this *expediente*.

sions and horses, for the greater expedition of their coming, the cost of which will be made up to him.

Likewise, since there is no interpreter of the Cíbolo and Jumano languages in this camp, he shall order Don Nicolás, governor of the Julime nation, and one other who also understands them, to come with the aforesaid. Accordingly let the said governor and caciques be given good passage and treatment. Thus did he promulgate, order, and sign. Don JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. Before me, Don LUIS DE VALDÉS, secretary of government and war.

On the said day the order mentioned in this *auto* was despatched.

There arrived at the camp of El Parral on the tenth day of the month of April, 1689, Don Juan Xaviata, who said that he was governor of the Indians of the Cíbolos and Jumanos nations, and Miguel, who said that he was captain of the said nations that reside on the Río del Norte, and other caciques, who said that they are heathens and that they live at their

The governor arrives from the Río del Norte.

rancherías on the lower Río del Norte. These, in their usual custom, made obeisance to the said señor governor and promised to obey him.

Through Don Nicolás, governor of the Julime nation, who came with them as interpreter, and who was addressed in the Mexican language by Joseph de Villalba, a Spaniard whom his lordship appointed as interpreter of the Mexican language and who, having been duly sworn to perform faithfully and legally the duties of the said office, accepted the appointment, the said Indians stated that through some Indians who have come to their rancherías from this camp and from the labor on its hacienda, they have learned of the good opinion that the natives have of the said señor governor; that they have desired to see him; that they would have come earlier but for the fact that the time for going into the interior to the fairs which they conduct with the nations of the upper Río del Norte, the Texas, and many other Indian nations, prevented them from doing so; that recently on returning from these fairs they met a captain and many Spaniards to whom they made known their desire, and the latter facilitated their journey; that they come with great pleasure because the Moors (for thus in their Indian languages do they call the French or foreigners) have been destroyed by the nations of heathen Indians near the place where they were; and that in testimony of this truth they bring two sheets of paper which appear to be from some book printed by hand, apparently in the French language, and a frigate painted on a parchment, with some written annotations. This they turned over to the said señor governor tied up in a neckcloth of fine wide lace.¹²⁵

The said señor governor embraced the Indians and instructed that they be given lodging and refreshments, and because it was already late, and in order that they might rest, he cited them to appear before him on the following day. He ordered that this be recorded as a judicial proceeding, and the Spanish interpreter, who alone understood [what had been said], signed it. Thus did his lordship dispose and command. Don JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. JOSEPH DE VILLALBA. Before me, Don LUIS DE VALDÉS, clerk of government and war.

o los Rios para esguasarse y que nasiones y de que numeros los avitan y si an visto franzeses o otros estrangeros en las partes del dicho Rio del Norte y si saben si permanesen o no en el dicho puerto los dichos estrangeros y les han ablado a los naturales del dicho rio del norte y lo que les an dado a entender asiendoles a dichos Yndios sobre esta materia las preguntas y Repreguntas que paresieren combenientes para la aberiguasion de la verdad y probeer sobre todo lo que fuere del servicio de Su Magestad Y que hagan las dichas declarasiones al tenor de este auto y asi lo proveyo mando y firmo. Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. JOSEPH DE VILLALVA. Ante mi Don LUIS DE VALDES escrivano de governacion y guerra.

En el Parral en onse dias del mes de Abril de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años el Señor Sargento mayor Don Juan ysydro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno de la Nueva Vizcaya por su magestad hizo parecer ante si a don juan xaviata indio governador de los cibolos y

[Declarassion del governador de los sibolos.]

jumanes del rio del norte del qual su esclencia^a rescivio juramento mediante don nicolas governador de la nacion xulime y joseph de villalva español interpretes nombrados que lo hizo por dios nuestro señor y la señal de la cruz so cuió cargo prometio [de] decir verdad en lo que fuere preguntado y siendolo al tenor del auto antecedente dixo lo que sabe y pasa es que el capitan juan de retana le inbio^u un recaudo al rio del norte donde el^t governador de los cibolos y jumanes avisandole como iba a dicho rio y que le aguardase con un numero bastante de flecheros y porque habia de pasar por donde habia gentes estrangeras que vienen a engañar a los indios y que este recaudo le dio un religioso de san francisco que esta en la junta de los rios del norte y de conchos y aunque lo aguardo muchos dias tuvo razon de que habia ido a la tierra de los tobosos alzados y que como era tan asentado que por el rio del norte subian en canoas y por tierra los meses antecedentes algunos hombres de otras tierras pareciendole que los iba a buscar el dicho capitan y porque era tiempo de ir a sus ferias y resqates a los texas y a otras naciones que abitan aquellos rios se resolvio a entrar como tienen de costumbre y tambien por traer mejor razon de todo y que el rio abajo y a la otra parte de el en una rancheria de indios de su nacion allo a Miguel capitan que trae consigo el qual le dijo como asimismo le dijeron los de dicha rancheria que habia mas de tres lunas que habian llegado por alli unos hombres con jubones de fierro y que venian por el rio ariva en canoas y que traian un indio que les hablo en la lengua a los de dicho rio y les decia lo que aquellos hombres le decian y que les pregunto si estaban muy lexos los españoles y que haviendoles dado noticia de la distancia les pregunto lo que havia a donde se acava^u la plata y otras muchas preguntas que diran el dicho

^a Copy B has "su señoría".

^t Copy B has "es governador".

^u Copy B reads "a donde se sacaba".

At the camp of El Parral on the eleventh day of the month of April, 1689, the señor *sargento mayor*, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de

Auto commanding that the governor and caciques of the Río del Norte be examined.

Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and [these] provinces of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, said that inasmuch as Don Juan Xaviata, governor of the nations of the Río del Norte, has arrived at this

camp with three other caciques, or captains, of the nations on the said river, and since it is proper to ascertain from the said Indians and to place on record the length of the road which there is from this camp to the Texas Indians and to the port of Espíritu Santo, the condition of this road, whether it has some obstacles or rivers to be forded, what nations and how many live along it, whether they have seen Frenchmen or other foreigners in those regions of the Río del Norte, if they know whether or not the said foreigners are still at the said port, whether they have talked to the natives of the said Río del Norte, and what they have told them—the said Indians at the same time being questioned and questioned concerning this matter in such manner as may appear to be necessary to ascertain the truth and above everything to take such action as may be for the service of his Majesty—let them make the said declaration according to the tenor of this *auto*.

Thus did he dispose, order, and sign. JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. JOSEPH DE VILLALBA. Before me, Don LUIS DE VALDÉS, clerk of government and war.

At El Parral, on the eleventh day of the month of April, 1689, the *sargento mayor*, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, knight

Declaration of the governor of the Cíbolos.

of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, caused to appear before him Don Juan Xaviata, Indian governor of the Cíbolos and Jumanos of the Río

del Norte. His lordship administered the oath to him through Don Nicolás, governor of the Julime nation, and Joseph de Villalba, a Spaniard, who were appointed as interpreters; he made the oath by God, our Lord, and the sign of the cross, under burden of which he promised to speak the truth concerning what might be asked him.

In compliance with the preceding *auto*, he stated that what he knows is that Captain Juan de Retana sent a notice to him at the Río del Norte, where he is governor of the Cíbolos and Jumanos, informing him that he was going to the said river, and that he should await him with a sufficient number of bowmen, as he was going where there were foreign people who had come to deceive the Indians. A religious of [the Order of] Saint Francis who is at the junction of the Del Norte and Conchos rivers gave this notice to him, but, although he awaited him many days, he learned that he had gone to the country of the rebellious Tobosos, and, as it was well established that by the Río del Norte some men of other countries were, during the preceding months, approaching in canoes and

Miguel y muy en particular los otros capitanes gentiles que trae consigo a quienes se remite, fuele preguntado que cuantas leguas de la junta de los rios del norte y de conchos hubo la dicha razon que dixo por sus cuentas a su usanza que camino siete dias desde la junta de los rios a la rancheria donde tubo esta noticia y los dichos interpretes sacaron seria la distancia como de sesenta a setenta leguas, y dize que parte de esto abia oydo en la junta de los rios que otros yndios le abian dado razon de ello al padre y que con los que trae en su compaña paso asta serca de la mar y estuvo en sus rescates con las naciones de yndios que por alli havitan y que procuro saber donde asistian los extranjeros dichos y que les dijeron los yndios que ia los abian muerto a todos y que solo quedaron ocho o nueve que abian ido en aquella sazón a resqatar a los Texas donde se estaban y que vido despojos de vestido y ropa entre los yndios y de otros trastes que se mostraron asegurandoles no tuviesen miedo que ya los abian consumido y que lo abian de hazer de cuantos vinieran en casas de palo y que abiando pasado a otra rancheria distante de aquella un dia de camino allo a los yndios de ella festejando con sus bailes el aver consumido aquellas gentes y que tambien vido ropas de vestidos y una capa que le parece que era de algun rreligioso de San Francisco con que se persuadio a que le dezian la verdad y que abiendo passado a donde estan los yndios que llaman Texas vido cuatro o cinco hombres blancos entre ellos que quiza supieron que este declarante y los que yban en su compaña eran de tierra junto españoles y les hicieron agasajo y se llegaron a ellos y les dieron a entender como se querian benir con el declarante y que con efecto salieron y a la tercer jornada se arrepintieron y se bolvieron y que al venirse el declarante lo ymbiaron a alcansar los dichos hombres blancos con un yndio diciendole que ya se abian quedado llevasen a los españoles la noticia de ellos para que los fuesen a sacar. Y fueles preguntado que quien le dio las dos ojas de papel escripto en navio pintado y el lienso en que venia dixo que un yndio capitan de las rancherias de junto a los Texas y que le dio mas numero de papeles para que trujese porque en los despojos que vido abia buen bulto de papeles y que abiando hecho noche en un rancheria se ospedo el declarante y sus compaños con un yndio que hablava el castellano tambien y se llama don Tomas el cual le quito del emboltorio casi todos los papeles aquella noche que lo que sabe es que el tal yndio es le asia coaguila que asi no le dixo ^v mas de los que trae. Y siendoles preguntado los inconbenientes del camino o si tiene dificultades que benser o que allanar para llegar al puerto del espiritu santo dijo que desde la punta de los rios se van algunas jornadas por el al norte ^w avajo buen camino llano y que de alli al otro rio aunque ay sierra no se sube a ella por que tiene puertos llanos y que lo demas lo es y tierra desbastecida ^x de ganado que llaman sibolos que hay noeses y otras frutas y por su tiempo muchas uvas. Fuele preguntado que razon dieron los franzeses para haberse buuelto desde el camino dixo que le preguntaron que cuantos dias habian de caminar y si habia mucha gentilidad en el

^v Copy B has "dexo".

^w Copy B reads "por el del norte". This obviously is correct.

^x Copy B has "abastesida". From the context this obviously is correct.

by land, and he was of the opinion that the said captain was coming to look for them, and because it was time to go to their fairs with the Texas Indians and other nations that live along those rivers, he resolved to enter, as they did, according to custom, and also to bring more certain news concerning everything.

On the lower river, and on the other side of it, at a rancheria of Indians of his nation, he met Miguel, a captain who is with him, who told him, as did the others of the said rancheria, that it was more than three moons since the arrival there of some men wearing doublets of steel, and that they came up the river in canoes and brought with them an Indian who spoke to them in the language of those of the said river, and who repeated to them what these men said to him. The Indian asked them if the Spaniards were very far away, and having given them information concerning the distance, he asked them what the distance was to where silver was being mined, and many other questions which the said Miguel will relate, and especially the other heathen captains whom he brought with him, to whom he refers.

He was asked how many leagues from the junction of the Del Norte and Conchos rivers he had had this news, and he said that according to their method of reckoning he travelled seven days from La Junta de los Ríos to the rancheria where he received this news; the said interpreters estimated that this distance would be sixty-seven leagues. He says that apart from this he had heard at La Junta de los Ríos that other Indians had given information concerning it to the padre.

With those in his company he says that he went on nearly to the sea and was at the fairs held with the nations of Indians who live there. He endeavored to find out where the said foreigners were living, and the Indians told them that they had killed all of them, and that only eight or nine, who had gone at that time to trade with the Texas Indians, where they then were, had escaped. He says that he saw plunder of garments and clothing, and other articles among the Indians, which they showed them, and that they assured them that they need have no fear, for they had now destroyed them, and that they were going to do likewise with as many as might come in wooden houses.

Having gone on to another rancheria, the distance of one day's travel from there, he found its Indians celebrating with their dances the destruction of those people, and he also saw clothing and a cape which he believed to belong to some religious of [the Order of] Saint Francis,¹²⁶ by which he was convinced that they were telling him the truth. Having gone on to where the Indians called Texas are, he saw four or five white men¹²⁷ among them, who perhaps knew that this declarant and those who were in his company were from the country adjacent to the Spaniards, for they received them courteously, and, coming to them, gave them to understand that they wished to go with the declarant. They did, in fact, start out [with him] but on the third day's journey they repented and returned, and when the declarant continued on his way the said white men sent an Indian to overtake him and to tell him that since they had remained behind they should carry information of their presence to the Spaniards, so that they might go and take them out.

camino a que respondió el declarante que veinte y seis días y que todo estaba lleno de yndios y que entoces le dijeron que no se atrevían y en mal pronunciadas palabras en la lengua de los yndios le dixeron que aunque el papel que le habían dado los yndios que mataron a sus compañeros no lo había de entender sino algún vizcaino y que le hizieron a él y sus compañeros decir el nombre muchas veces para que se acordasen y no se les olvidese y que por el camino todos los días lo estudiaban y así no se les esto cuydado⁷ que al venir encontraron con muchos soldados y el Capitan que les dijeron los yndios amigos que se llamaba retana a quien le dieron razón de todo y dixeron se volviese pues ya no había la gente con quien yba a pelear y que ellos venían a dar noticia de todo al Señor Governador y que el dicho Capitan les dijo los aguardaría de buelta en aquel parage que procurasen bolber brebe que mirasen si hera verdad el que ya los franzezes se habían consumido por que de no le hera fuerza pasar y que habiendole afirmado ser verdad se resolvió a aguardar en el puesto donde le dexaron que en todo lo demás no sabe dar mas razón que los que trae consigo la daran de lo que han visto desde el tiempo que subieron por dicho Río los estrangeros y que lo que dicho tiene es la verdad y lo que sabe para el juramento que fecho tiene en que se afirmo y ratifico siendole dado a entender esta su declaracion y dijo ser de edad de mas de cinquenta años no firmo por no saber firmolo el interprete con el Señor Governador. Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDINAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. JOSE DE VILLALBA. Ante mí Don LUIS DE VALDES escribano de gobernacion y Guerra.

⁷ Copy B reads "no se les A olvidado".

He was asked who gave him the two sheets of paper with writing thereon, the picture of a ship, and the cloth¹²⁸ in which the latter came. He replied that an Indian captain of the rancherías near the Texas Indians gave it to him, and that he gave him more papers to bring, for in the plunder that he saw there was a good bundle of papers. Night having come on at a ranchería the declarant and his companions lodged there with an Indian who spoke Castilian also and who was called Don Tomás. This man took almost all of the papers out of the wrapping that night, and what he knows is that the said Indian is from near Coahuila. Thus he left with this Indian more papers than those which he has with him.

Being asked concerning the difficulties of the road, or if it has any obstacles to overcome or smooth out in order to reach the port of Espíritu Santo, he said that from La Junta de los Ríos one goes some days' journey along the lower Río del Norte by a good level road, and thence to the other river, and, although there is a sierra, one does not have to climb it, as it has level passes; the rest of the way is level. The country has an abundance of cattle called buffalo, and there are nuts and other fruits, and, in their season, many grapes.

He was asked what reason the Frenchmen gave for turning back from the road. He replied that they asked him how many days they would have to travel and if there were many wild Indians on the way, to which the declarant replied that [it was a journey of] twenty-six days and that it was all full of Indians, whereupon they told him that they would not venture to go, and in ill-pronounced words, in the language of the Indians, they told him that although the Indians who had killed their companions had given him the paper, no one but a Biscayan would understand it, and they made him and his companions repeat the name many times in order that they might remember and not forget it, and said that they should study it along the road every day, and in that way they would not forget it.

On the return they met many soldiers and the captain who, the friendly Indians told them, was called Retana, to whom they gave information concerning everything, and they told him to return, since the people with whom he was going to fight were no longer there, and that they were going to make a report of it all to the señor governor. The said captain told them to await his return at that place, where he would try to come back soon, and that they were going to see if it were true that the Frenchmen had already been destroyed, for if it were not true it was necessary to go on.

Having confirmed the truth of the story, he [the captain] resolved to wait at the place where they left him. He does not know anything more about the rest; those whom he is bringing with him will give information concerning what they have seen since the time when the foreigners ascended the said river.

What he has said is the truth and what he knows, by the oath that he has made. This, his declaration, having been explained to him, he affirmed and ratified it. He said that he is more than fifty years of age. He did not sign because he did not know how, but the interpreter signed with the señor governor. DON JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE

En el Real del Parral en onse dias del mes de Avril de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años el Señor Sargento Mayor Don Juan Ysidro de

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| Declaracion de Miguel Capitan de Sibolos. |
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Pardiñas Villar de Francos Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno y probincias de la nueva Vizcaya por su Magestad hizo parezer ante si a Miguel Yndio que dijo ser Capitan

de los de la nacion de sibolos y que hera cristiano que le bautizo el Padre Fray Agustin de Colina del horden de San Francisco que asiste en el puesto de la Junta de los Rrios de conchos y de Norte y mediante Don Nicolas yndio Governador de los Xulonies^a y Jose de Villalba Español que fueron ynterpretes les rescivio juramento al dicho Miguel que lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la Señal de la Cruz so cuió cargo prometio dezir verdad en lo que fuese preguntado y siendolo al thenor del auto de los foxas antedentes dixo. Que este declarante tiene sus rancherias y gente de la otra parte del Rrio del Norte donde hay mucho ganado mayor que llaman sibolas sobre cuya matanza suelen tener guerras con otras naciones del rio arriba y que oyo decir a algunos indios de su nacion como abia por alli cerca moros que asi llaman los yndios a los estrangeros y que no les hacian daño con lo cual y por enterarse de la verdad y por ver aquel genero de gente camino tres dias el rio abajo y que allo alli mas clara noticia por que le dixerón los yndios de aquella rancheria como abian estado en ella y echos sus amigos y que les dieron unas achas y algunos abalorios que llaman los yndios quantas y que quedaron en^a volver dentro de dos lunas que los aguardara alli el declararse^b que ya se abian pasado las lunas y que bendrian y que no asian mal ni daño que antes corrian y bailaban con ellos y que asi aguardo toda una luna y que un dia queriendose volver a sus rancherias cansado de aguardar les dio noticia un yndio como estaban en una rancheria que estaba un dia de camino mas abajo y que de alli a dos dias los vio llegar que venian por el rio arriba en una canoa que eran seis y que dentro de poco rato llegaron otros quatro por tierra y que todos fueron abrasando a los yndios que conocian y les dieron algunos casos de cobre chicos a algunos listones cuchillos y nabajas y que traian un yndio que traian un yndio que les ablava a los de la rancheria lo que le decian los estrangeros y que a este declarante y a otros que an estado en el valle de san Bartolome al tiempo de las cosechas les hicieron barias preguntas del camino y si era largo y^c corto y si habia rios grandes y que enterados de que era bueno el camino y no largo les preguntaron si habia muchos españoles en la tierra del parral donde see sacaba plata y que abiendole dado razon de todo los dichos estrangeros le dojeron^d a los naturales que los españoles no era buena gente que ellos si y que se arian hermanos de los yndios y que bendrian con bastimentos y con caros y entrarian asta el parral pues era

^a Copy B has "Xulimes". Obviously this is correct.

^a Copy B has "de".

^b Copy B has "declarante".

^c Obviously a miscopy for "o".

^d Copy B reads "les dijeron".

FRANCOS. JOSÉ DE VILLALBA. Before me, DON LUIS DE VALDÉS, clerk of government and war.

At the camp of El Parral, on the eleventh day of the month of April, 1689, the señor *sargento mayor*, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, caused to appear before him Miguel, an Indian, who said that he was captain of the nation of Cíbolos Indians, that he was a Christian, and that the padre, Fray Agustín de Colina, of the Order of Saint Francis, who lives at the post at the junction of the Conchos and Del Norte rivers, baptized him. Through Don Nicolás, Indian governor of the Julimes, and José de Villalba, a Spaniard, who served as interpreters, the oath was administered to the said Miguel, who made it by God, our Lord, and the sign of the cross, under burden of which he promised to speak the truth concerning what might be asked him.

Declaration of Miguel,
captain of the Cíbolos.

In compliance with the *auto* recorded in the preceding folio, he said that this declarant has his rancherías and people on the opposite side of the Río del Norte, where there are many large cattle called buffalo, over the killing of which they often have wars with other nations on the upper river, and that he heard some Indians of his nation say that there were Moors—for thus do the Indians call foreigners—but they were not doing them any harm. Whereupon, and in order to ascertain the truth and see what kinds of people they were, he travelled for three days' journey down the river, and there he got clearer news, for the Indians of that ranchería told him that they [the foreigners] had been there and had become their friends, that they gave them some hatchets and some glass beads, called *quentas* by the Indians, that they would return within two moons, that this declarant should await them there, that already the two moons had passed, but that they were coming and that they were not doing any evil or harm, but, on the contrary, they ran and danced with them. Accordingly he waited for them for an entire moon, when, one day, tired of waiting, and desiring to return to his ranchería, an Indian told them that they [the foreigners] were at a ranchería one day's journey below there, from where, two days later, he witnessed their arrival.

They came up the river in a canoe, and there were six of them; shortly afterwards four others came by land. All were embracing the Indians whom they knew, and they gave them some small copper ladles, and some ribbons, table-knives, and pocket-knives. They brought an Indian who said what the strangers told him to say to those of the ranchería. They asked many questions of this declarant, and of those who have been in the valley of San Bartolomé at the time of the harvests, and concerning the road—whether it was long or short, and if there were great rivers. Having learned that the road was good and not long, they asked them if there were many Spaniards in the region of El Parral, where silver was being taken out. After giving the said strangers information concerning

el camino tan bueno y que no biniesen aca que ellos les traieran de sus tierras muy buenos generos para que se bitiesen y que les dieron a los capitanes algunas camisas y dentro de tres dias se bolbieron a ir por el rio abajo abiendolos abrasado a todos con mucho gusto. Fuele preguntado que si no conocieron que eran dichos extranjeros enemigos nuestros y que los benian a engañar dixo que como los vido que en la color eran como lo de unos ^e españoles entendieron que eran unos mismos que tambien les vieron rosarios y que les desian de Dios lo mismo que los Padres y que como no les quitaban nada los tubieron por buena gente que algunos de ellos traian jubones de hierro que solo eso estrañaron. Fuele preguntado que si solo en esa ocasion vido a dichos extranjeros o si en otra llegaron a sus rancherias dijo que poco tiempo despues se vino de aquella rancheria ^f para las mas cercanas a la junta de los rios y que paso a ber a los padres y que les dixo lo que abia bisto y entonses se citaron el declarante y D. Juan Xaviata su Governador para yr al tiempo de sus resqates a donde estaban los dichos extranjeros y que llegado el tiempo entraron por el rio del norte abajo llebando en su compañía otros de los quales son los dos que se allan con ellos en este real que sabiam mas bien aquella tierra y que no se atrebian a ir derechamente a donde estaban los extranjeros porque el padre les ^g dixo a este declarante que aquellos los querian engañar y que se fueron asta los Tezas donde en una rancheria pequeña y de poca jente tubieron noticia de que los yndios de la parte de donde nace el sol abian consumido y muerto a los dichos extranjeros y que no avian quedado vivos mas que quatro o sinco y eso porque estaban entre los texas que abian ido a comprar mais conque abiendo pasado a las demas rancherias de los texas vieron en una a los sinco y que les preguntaron si era lexos la tierra de los españoles y que diciendoles que no era muy lexos trataron de benirse con ellos y que abiendose puesto en camino se arrepintieron porque supieron que abia ^h munchos yndios gentiles y de gerra en el camino y que entonses le dieron a Don Juan Xaviata unos papeles y el pergamino con el nabio pintado todo enbuelto en el paño que lo truxo conque entonses el declarante y sus compañeros trataron de pasar a sus resqates al rio abajo que entrando entre otras naciones supieron con mas claridad el que eran muertos los extranjeros porque vieron los Mitotes que asian los yndios con la ropa que les quitaron y que de alli adelante fueron reconociendo en las demas rancherias mas despojos i entre ellos vieron una capa que les parecio de religioso de san francisco y aunque el declarante y don Juan Xaviata no quisieron ir a donde fueron muertos los extranjeros pasaron tres de sus compañeros que de ellos son los dos que estan aqui los quales les dieron despues mas razon que ellos la daran de lo que vieron y que en aquel ynterin se ospedaron en una rancheria donde estaba un yndio que dijo ser de coaquila el qual les llebo todos los papales que traian y solo les dexo los que an entregado. Fue repreguntado que si los dichos papeles y lienso lo entregaron los estran-

^e Copy B reads "como los demas".

^f Copy B reads "aquellas Rancherias".

^g Copy B reads "le dixo".

^h Copy B has "abian".

everything, they told the natives that the Spaniards were not good people, but that they themselves were, and that they would be brothers to the Indians and would come with provisions and wagons and would enter as far as El Parral, since the road was so good; that they [the Indians] should not come here [to trade] for they would bring to them from their country very excellent goods with which to clothe themselves. They gave the captains some shirts, and within three days set out on their return down the river, after having embraced all with much pleasure.

He was asked whether they did not know that the said strangers were our enemies, and that they came to deceive them. He replied that as he saw that they were like other Spaniards in color, they thought that they were one and the same; furthermore he saw that they also had rosaries, and that they spoke to them of God, the same as the padres, and, since they took nothing from them [the Indians], they took them to be good people. The only thing that seemed strange to them was that some of them wore doublets of steel.

He was asked whether he only saw the strangers on this occasion or whether they came to their rancherías at some other time. He replied that a little while afterwards he came from that ranchería to those nearer La Junta de los Ríos, and that he went to see the padres and told them what he had seen, and that then the declarant and Don Juan Xaviata, their governor, were appointed to go at the time of their fairs to where the said strangers were. When the time came they proceeded by way of the lower Río del Norte, taking in their company some others, two of whom are among those with them at this camp, who were better acquainted with that country. They did not venture to go directly to the place where the foreigners were, for the padre told this declarant that they were trying to deceive them. They went as far as the Texas Indians, where, at a small ranchería, containing only a few people, they learned that the Indians of the region where the sun rises had destroyed and killed the said foreigners, and that not more than five or six had remained alive, because they were with the Texas Indians, where they had gone to buy maize.

Whereupon, having passed on to the other rancherías of the Texas Indians, they saw in one of them the five [Frenchmen], who asked them if the country of the Spaniards was far away. When they told them that it was not very far away, they agreed to come with them, but after they had begun the journey they repented, for they learned that there were many warlike heathen Indians along the way. They then gave to Don Juan Xaviata some papers and the parchment with the ship painted on it, all wrapped up in the cloth,¹²⁰ which he brought with him. Thereupon the declarant and his companions started to go on to their fairs on the lower river, and, entering among other nations, they learned more positively that the strangers were dead, for they saw the celebrations which the Indians were making with the clothing which they had taken from the foreigners. Henceforth they were constantly seeing more plunder in other rancherías, among them a cape which seemed to them to be that of a religious of [the Order of] Saint Francis. And although the declarant and Don Juan Xaviata did not wish to go to the place where the

jeros y si los vido entregar [Dijo que no los vido entregar] y que no estubo en lo que dixo o no le entendieron bien porque asta que llegaron a las rancherías que estan en una sierra no los tenian que Don Juan Xaviata dara razon donde las adquirio que le parece fue entre los que mataron a los dichos estrangeros porque alli estaban bailando muchos despojos y que habian puesto en palos banderas de tafetan que alli le darian a Don Juan Xaviata el lienzo y papeles y que cuando volvieran¹ por los texas hablaron otra vez con los estrangeros y que les dixerón que el papel no lo habian de entender los de esta tierra sino alguno cuyo nombre no se acuerda como dixerón. Fuele preguntado si es mucho el camino que hay desde la junta de los Rios a la tierra de los texas y de las naciones que consumieron a los extrangeros y si es tierra aspera y dificultosa de caminar dijo que el camino es corto que el haberse dilatado ellos tanto tiempo fue por que yban con rezelo por lo que les habia dicho el Padre de la Junta de los Rios y que asi se trasviaban por diferentes rancherías de yndios y por coxer noticias pero que les parece que caminando derecha-mente no hay ocho dias de camino que aunque hay algunas sierras no sube a ellas porque tienen entradas llanas pero empezando las aguas no es facil salir y entrar a aquella tierra por las crecientes de rios y pantanos que no dejan caminar y que este declarante y los dos gentiles sus compañeros se lo adbirdieron al Capitan Juan de Retana porque ya no es tiempo de pasar alla y que empesando a llover en aquellas partes no se puede salir hasta que entra el invierno y que esto que ha dicho es la verdad para el juramento que fecho tiene en que se afirmo y ratifico siendole dado a entender [no] lo firmo por no saber firmolo el ynterprete que supo con el Señor Governador y no supo dezir su edad el declarante es al parecer de mas de cuarenta y cinco aos. [Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. JOSEPH DE VILLALVA. Ante my Don LUIS DE VALDES escrivano de gobernacion y guerra.]

En el Parral a onse dias del mes de Abril de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años el Señor Sargento mayor Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas

Declaracion de un yndio
gentil.

Villar de Francos Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno y Provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por su Magestad hizo parescer ante si a un yndio gentil que dizo llamarse Cuis

Benive¹ de nacion sibolo y mediante los ynterpretes fue preguntado al tenor del auto que esta por cabeza de esta ynformacion y habiendo prometido de dezir verdad dixo que ha mucho y no supo dezir que tiempo que en diferentes ocasiones llegaron en canoas a las rancherías de la otra parte del Rio del norte unos hombres blancos que traian arcabuces y binieron en canoa por el Rio y que traian un yndio que les hablava en su lengua lo que ellos le desian y que hizieron amistades diziendoles que se harian parientes y que les dieron hachas y cuchillos listines y otras cosas y a las mugeres abalorios que llaman los yndios cuentas y que

¹ Copy B has "bolvieron".

² Copy B reads "que dixo llamarse cuisbimue".

strangers were killed, three of their companions, two of whom are among those here, went, and they afterwards gave them more information. They themselves will tell what they saw. In the interim they lodged at a rancheria where there was an Indian who said he was from Coahuila. He took from them all the papers that they were carrying except those that they have delivered.

On cross-question he was asked if the strangers handed over the said papers and cloth, and whether he saw them hand them over. He replied that he did not see them hand them over, and that he was not present at what he has narrated or they did not understand him well, for until they arrived at the rancherias, which are in a sierra, they did not have them. Don Juan Xaviata will give account of where he acquired them, which it seems to him was among those who killed the said strangers, for they were dancing around much plunder there and had placed banners of silk on sticks. There they gave the cloth and papers to Don Juan Xaviata, and that when they returned to the [region of] the Texas Indians they spoke again with the strangers and they told them that those of this country would not understand it except some one whose name was not remembered, as they said.

He was asked whether it is a long way from La Junta de los Ríos to the country of the Texas Indians, and the country of those Indian nations who destroyed the strangers, and whether the country is rough and difficult to travel over. He replied that the road is short, and that the reason they took such a long time was because they travelled with caution because of what the padre at La Junta de los Ríos had said to them, and also because they made side trips to the different rancherias of Indians to collect news, but that they were of the opinion that by going straight it is not more than eight days' journey, and that although there are some sierras one does not climb them, for they have level passes, but that when the rains begin it is not easy to enter or come out of that land because of the flooded rivers and marshes which do not permit passage. This declarant and his two heathen companions informed Captain Juan de Retana of this, because this is not the time to go there. After it begins to rain in those parts it is not possible to come out until winter sets in.

This which he has told is the truth, by the oath which he has made. His statement having been read to him, he affirmed and ratified it. He did not sign it because he did not know how. The interpreter, who knew how, signed it with the señor governor. The declarant did not know his age. He is, apparently, more than forty-five. DON JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. JOSEPH DE VILLALBA. Before me, DON LUIS DE VALDÉS, clerk of government and war.

At El Parral on the eleventh day of the month of April, 1689, the señor *sargento mayor*, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, caused to appear before him a heathen Indian who said he was called Cuis Benive, of the Cíbolo nation. Through the interpreters he was questioned in com-

Declaration of a heathen Indian.

comian con ellos y bailaban en sus bailes y que no les hazien mal ninguno conque quedaron contentos con ellos y que esto susedio dos veces y que este declarante se lo refirio a Miguel Capitan de los Sibolos a quien le dijo que benian cada dos lunas y que por ser ya tiempo fue con el declarante el dicho Miguel y que esta tercera vez se tardaron mas en venir pero que a tres lunas vinieron y los vido el dicho Miguel y que le preguntaron que si era de tierra de españoles porque por el nombre conocieron que hera cristiano y que le preguntaron muchas cosas y lo rodearon entre todos para hablarle que el declarante no sabe lo que le dixeron porque con otro[s] se fue a ver la canoa que despues que se fueron no volvieron mas y que al cabo de munchas lunas volvio el dicho Miguel Con Don Juan Xabiata a la rancheria del declarante y que le preguntaron que si habian buuelto y que sabiendo que no determinaron el ir a los resgates con las otras naciones y a reconocer donde habitaba aquel genero de gentes y por saberlo fueron haciendo algunos rodeos por diversas rancherias donde no les dieron noticia alguna hasta que llegaron a una rancheria de pocos yndios de nacion texas que les dixeron que ya se habian acabado aquellos hombres porque los yndios de la sierra los habian muerto que solo estaban sinco entre los texas en una rancheria [a] donde al segundo dia lleo el declarante y sus compañeros que alli les hablaron y supieron ser verdad la muerte de los demas y que quisieron venirse con ellos y salieron pero se arepintieron porque tubieron miedo; y que Don Juan Xaviata Miguel y demas compañeros pasaron adelante porque en otras ocasiones el declarante habia estado en la sierra y por todo aquello se habla una misma lengua y llegaron a las rancherias de los yndios que quitaren la vida a los extrangeros y vieron que tenian los despojos de la ropa y otras cosas de las que sacaron y papeles y que en una de estas rancherias le dieron algunos a Don Juan Xaviata enbueitos en el lienzo que los trujo y que deseando saber lo cierto el declarante se resolvió a ir a ver la parte donde estuvieron los extrangeros y que el y dos compañeros gentiles como el llegaron a ella y la hallaron despoblada y casi aruinada que vieron unos arcabuces muy grandes (genero de esplicarse estas gentes para dezir piasas de artillaria) y no vieron cosa viva mas que algunos puercos de los que tenian y que por todo aquel país no habia yndios aunque por las sierras tenian muchos vinasos^k y que luego se volvieron a alcanzar a Don Juan Xabiata y le dieron noticia de lo que habian visto que se determino a benirla a dar y que adelante del Rio del Norte encontraron con el Capitan y soldados y muchos yndios de su nacion que llebaba consigo y le dieron esta noticia y la del camino que no es largo pero que hay dos Rios grandes y que por este tiempo empieza a llober y se hacen grandes pantanos y por asi cuando van a resgates se tardan mucho porque por el frio y su rigor salen para alla cuando empiezan a retoñar los arboles y vienen cuando se les cae la hoja que ahora lo han hecho a toda diligencia porque don Juan Xaviata dijo yba a reconocer para avisar al Señor Gobernador que asi se lo dijo el Padre y que aunque entre ahora el Capitan no ha de pedir volver tan presto que a su tiempo podra hazerlo porque es muy cerca de la junta de los Rios.

^k Copy B reads "munchos Umasos"; this probably is correct.

pliance with the *auto* that stands at the head of this judicial process, and, having promised to speak the truth, he said that a long time ago—he did not know how long—on several occasions some white men, who carried harquebuses, came in canoes to the rancherías on the opposite side of the Río del Norte. They came up the river in a canoe, and they brought an Indian who told them [the Indians] in their language what they said to him.

The white men made friends with them, telling them that they would be their relatives, and they gave them axes, knives, ribbons and other things, and to the women beads, which the Indians call *cuentas*; they ate with them and danced at their dances and did them no harm at all, and for this reason they [the Indians] were very happy with them. This occurred twice, and this declarant reported it to Miguel, captain of the Cíbolos. The declarant told Miguel that they came every two moons, and, since it was already time for their return, the said Miguel accompanied the declarant. This third time, however, they were later in coming, but in three moons they came, and the said Miguel saw them. They asked him if he was from the land of the Spaniards, for they knew by his name that he was a Christian, and they asked him many things and all surrounded him in order to talk to him. The declarant does not know what they said to him because he went with another to see the canoe.

After they went away they did not return again, and at the end of many moons the said Miguel returned with Don Juan Xaviata to the ranchería of the declarant, and they asked him if they [the white men] had returned. When they learned that they had not, they resolved to go to the fairs with the other nations and to find out where those people were living.

In order to get this information they made the rounds among several rancherías, but they learned nothing until they reached a ranchería of a few people of the Texas nation, who told them that an end had been put to those men, for the Indians of the sierra¹⁸⁰ had killed them, and that there were only five on a ranchería among the Texas Indians, where the declarant and his companions arrived on the second day. There they spoke with these five and verified the death of the others, and they [the Frenchmen] wished to come with them, and, in fact, they started, but repented because they were afraid.

Don Juan Xaviata, Miguel, and the rest of their companions proceeded on their way, because on other occasions the declarant had been in the sierra and knew that in all that region the same language is spoken. They arrived at the rancherías of the Indians who took the lives of the strangers, and they saw that they had spoils of clothing, papers, and other things that they took from them, and that at one of these rancherías they gave some of the papers, wrapped up in a cloth,¹⁸¹ to Don Juan Xaviata, which he brought with him.

Desiring to know the exact truth, the declarant resolved to go and see the place where the strangers had been, and he and two companions, heathen like himself, reached it; they found it abandoned and almost in ruins. They saw some very large harquebuses (the way these people

Fuele preguntado que dias de camino hay de la Junta de los Rios a los texas y demas naciones que refiere y a la parte donde estubieron los franceses dixo que caminando desde que sale el sol hasta que se pone en doze dias se puede llegar a donde estaban los franceses y que lo que ha dicho es la verdad y lo que pasa y ha visto no supo dezir su edad es al parecer de poco mas de cuarenta años no firmo por no saber firmolo el ynterprete con su Señoria. [Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. JOSEPH DE VILLALVA. Ante mi Don LUIS DE VALDES escribano de gobernacion y guerra.]

En el Parral a onse dias del mes de Abril de mil y seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años el Señor Sargento Mayor Don Juan Ysydro de Pardiñas

Declaracion de otro yndio gentil.

Villar de Franco Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General deste Reyno y probincias de la nueva Vizcaya por su Magestad hizo parecer ante si a un yndio que dixo ser gentil y que a su usansa se llama Muygisofac¹ el cual se le previno dixese la verdad mediante los ynterpretes de lo que fuese preguntado y siendolo por el tenor del auto. Dijo que es el de la nacion de los sibolos y que asiste en una rancheria que suele tener todos los años guerra con otros yndios caribes por las matansas de los ganados que llaman sibolas que estan tiempos del año entre el Rio del Norte y el de las noeses y que por esta razon vido mucho veces llegar por el Rio y por tierra algunos hombres vestidos y con arcabuses a quienes llamaban moros porque traian cotas o petos de acero y morriones en las cabezas que alli se introdujeron muchas veces con los yndios y que les daban hachas cuchillos abalorios calderetas de cobre y algunas veces ropa y regalaban a las mugeres con listones y otras

¹ Copy B has "Muygitojac".

have of describing pieces of artillery), but they saw no living thing except some of the pigs which they had. In all that country there were no Indians, although in the sierras there were many smokes. They returned immediately to overtake Don Juan Xaviata and inform him of what they had seen, and he resolved to come and deliver this news.

Before reaching the Río del Norte they met the captain and soldiers and many Indians of their nation whom he was bringing with him, and they gave him this news and the information that the road is not long, but that there are two large rivers, and that at this time the rainy season is just beginning and great morasses are being formed. For this reason when they go to the fairs they are delayed a long time by the cold and its rigors; accordingly they set out to go to them when the trees begin to sprout, and return when the leaves are falling. This they have now done with all diligence, because Don Juan Xaviata said he was going to reconnoitre in order to inform the señor governor, for thus the said padre told him to do. Although the captain ought not to ask to return now, as soon as the time comes he can do it, for it is very near La Junta de los Ríos.

He was asked how many days' travel it is from La Junta de los Ríos to the Texas Indians and the other nations which he mentions and the region where the Frenchmen were. He replied that by travelling from sunrise to sunset it is possible to arrive in twelve days at the place where the Frenchmen were, and that what he has said is the truth and is what occurred and what he has seen. He could not tell his age. Apparently he is a little more than forty years. He did not sign because he did not know how. The interpreter signed it with his lordship. DON JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. JOSEPH DE VILLALBA. Before me, DON LUIS DE VALDÉS, clerk of government and war.

At El Parral, on the eleventh day of the month of April, 1689, the señor *sargento mayor*, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty caused to appear before him an Indian who said that he was a heathen, and that in his

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| Declaration of another heathen Indian. |
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language he was called Muygisofac.¹⁸² Through the medium of interpreters he was warned to speak the truth concerning what he might be asked and in compliance with the *auto*.

He said that he is of the nation of Cíbolos, and that he lives at a rancheria which usually has a war every year with the Caribes Indians over the killing of the cattle that they call buffalo, which are at certain times of the year between the Río del Norte and the Nueces River. For this reason he often saw some men, clothed and with harquebuses, arrive by way of the river, and by land. They called these men Moors because they brought coats or breastplates of steel, and helmets on their heads. They visited these Indians there many times and gave them axes, knives, beads, copper kettles, and sometimes clothing, and made gifts to the women of

cosillas que con eso tubieron buena amistad con ellos y que les dieron noticia de las rancherias de mas adelante a donde en otras ocasiones pasaron a verse con ellos y que al cabo de munchas lunas vino con otros a la rancheria del declarante Don Juan Xaviata Governador de los Jumanes y de los sibolos procurando noticias de los extrangeros^m y que cuando llevo a la rancheria del declarante habia ya muchas lunas que no venian a ella y lo estrañaban los yndios de aquellas rancherias con cuya razon determino Don Juan Xaviata el pasar a ver donde asistian los extrangeros y que para eso llevo consigo al declarante con los demas que traia porque dijo que ymportaba tantear el camino y que no hera gente aquella de quien se pudiesen fiar los yndios porque venian a engañar y que fueron por diversas rancherias deteniendose en las mas por adquirir la noticia y que no la davan en ninguna porque desian que habia mucho tiempo que no los vian ni sabian de ellos y que haviendo llegado a una rancheria de pocos yndios de nacion texas o techosⁿ supieron que los yndios que vienen^o en las sierras y los de las costa del mar los habian muerto a todos que solo habian escapado con vida los que habian ydo a resgatar a los texas y entonzes pasaron a una rancheria de mas numero de gente de dicha nacion texa donde supieron ser cierta la noticia porque alli bieron a uno^p de los estrangeros con los cuales hablaron y que quisieron benirse con los que iban con don Juan Xaviata y que salieron a hacerlo y se arrepintieron despues y que la causa porque se quisieron venir fue porque un capitán llamado Miguel les dixo que los traeria a tierra de cristianos españoles y que despues don Juan Xaviata les dixo a los yndios que llevaba consigo y al declarante que pasaran a informarse mas bien para abisar al [señor] governador con toda verdad y que pasaron a la orilla de cierra y rancherias que en ella ay que son de mucha gente y que vieron que en todas las rancherias aun duraban los bailes que hacian por aver muerto a los estrangeros y que alli tenian ropa y bestidos de los que abian saqueado y que en otra rancheria mas adelante le dieron a don Juan Xaviata unos papeles y un nabio pintado embuelto en un paño blanco y que alli le mando al declarante y a otro su compañero que quedo en su tierra que fuesen a ber la parte donde mataron los yndios a los tres estrangeros que ya el declarante savia donde era y que con efecto fue y bido que no habia persona alguna ni rastro de ella que solo vido vivos algunos marranos que pasian por el campo y dentro de la parte donde habitaban dichos extrangeros muchas arcas quebradas y unos arcabuses grandisimos (que asi dan a entender estas naciones las piasas de artilleria) que alli no hallaron yndio ninguno ni avien^q les diese razon de cosa alguna y asi

^m Copy B reads "de los Enemigos".

ⁿ Copy B reads "tejas o techas".

^o Copy B has "Viven".

^p Copy B reads "alli bieron Sinco". This probably is correct.

^q Copy B has "quien".

ribbons and other little things, and for this reason they had warm friendship for them. They gave them information concerning the rancherías further on, where on other occasions they [the Frenchmen] went with them to see them.

After many moons Don Juan Xaviata, governor of the Jumanos and of the Cíbolos, arrived with others at the ranchería of the declarant, in quest of information concerning the foreigners. But when he arrived at the ranchería of the declarant it had been many moons since they [the Frenchmen] had come to it, which was a surprise to the Indians of those rancherías. For this reason Don Juan Xaviata resolved to go on and see where the strangers were living, and for this he took with him the declarant along with the others whom he was taking, for he said it was important to scrutinize the road, since they were not a people whom the Indians could trust, but that they had come to deceive them.

They went by way of various rancherías, stopping in most of them to obtain information, but they received none anywhere, for they said that it had been a long time since they had seen them [the Frenchmen] or heard of them. But when they reached a ranchería of a few Indians of the Texas, or Techas, nation, they learned that the Indians who live in the sierras and those of the sea coast had killed them all, and that the only ones who had escaped with their lives were those who had gone to trade with the Texas Indians. They then went on to a ranchería of a larger number of the said Texas nation, where they learned that the news was true, for there they saw some of the strangers and talked with them. These wished to come with those that were with Don Juan Xaviata, and started out to do so, but later changed their opinion. The reason why they wished to come was because a captain called Miguel told them that he would take them to a land of Christian Spaniards.

Later Don Juan Xaviata told the Indians whom he was taking with him and the declarant that they would go on and get better information, in order to inform the señor governor with all certitude. Accordingly they went on to the sierra and the rancherías that are in it, which have many people, and they saw that in all the rancherías they were still having dances in celebration of having killed the strangers. There the Indians had clothing and suits which they had secured as spoils, while in another ranchería further on they gave to Don Juan Xaviata some papers and a painted ship wrapped up in a white cloth.¹⁸³ There he ordered the declarant and one of his companions, who remained in their land, to go and see the place where the Indians killed the three strangers, for the declarant already knew where it was. He did in fact go and he saw that there was no one there, nor a sign of any one, and the only living things that he saw were some pigs that were running around the fields. Inside the place where the strangers had lived there were many broken chests and some very large harquebuses (for it is thus that these nations describe pieces of artillery). They did not find a single Indian there nor any one who might give them any information, and, after having examined the place, the declarant and his companion turned back to overtake Don Juan Xaviata.

habiendolo[s] reconocido se bolvio el declarante y su compañero a alcanzar a Don Juan Xaviata. Fue preguntado que distancia abra de la junta de los Rios de Conchos y del Norte a los texas y a la parte donde estaban los extrangeros dijo que fueron haciendo muchos rodeos porque llebaban reselo pero que por el camino derecho en diez dias se puede llegar porque no esta lexos. Fuele preguntado si tiene dificultades de sierras o Rios muy caudalosos el camino; Dixo que de aqui al Rio del Norte y Junta ya se sabe que es muy llano y que el Padre yra al Rio^r de las Noeses ay de por medio una sierra pequeña pero que tiene puertos muy anchos y llanos por donde se pasa y que desde el dicho Rio de las noeses en adelante es camino limpio por cualquiera parte pero que empezando^s a llover son muchos los pantanos y lagunas y que asi cuando el declarante a entrado es cuando retoñan los arboles y que se estan entre aquellas naciones hasta que se les cae la hoja que ahora por la priesa que les daba Don Juan Xaviata se vinieron luego y que asi se lo dixo el declarante al Capitan y españoles que encontraron que ya a la hora de esta llovera mucho en aquellas partes y que tambien hay otro Rio muy grande que pasa alla cerca y que por tiempo del año hay en aquellos llanos muncho ganado que parecen bacas pero mayores y que no tienen el pelo como reses sino como los carneros hechos lana y pardos todos que este ganado es muchisimo porque se cubren los llanos y que se mudan en faltandoles el pasto y se ban a otras partes que lo que ha dicho es la verdad en que se afirmo siendole dado a entender no supo dezir su edad es al parezer de mas de treinta y seis años no firmo por no saber firmolo el ynterprete con el Señor Governador y Capitan General. [Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDINAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. JOSEPH DE VILLAVA. Ante mí Don LUIS DE VALDES secretario de gobernacion y guerra.]

En el Parral en dose dias del mes de Abril de mill y seiscientos y ochenta y nueve años el Sargento Mayor Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General deste Reyno de la Nueva Vizcaya por Su Magestad habiendo visto las declaraciones antecedentes y que por ellas parece que los franzeses que habian hecho pie en tierra adentro de puerto del Espiritu Santo no estan en la parte que ocupaban y que parece los consumieron los yndios barbaros de aquel pais y en atencion a que los rebeldes que imbaden esto Reino continuan muchas hostilidades en diversas partes de el a que es necesario acudir con la gente de guerra que lleva a su horden el Capitan Juan de Retana y a que segun parece al presente no ay necesidad urgente a que pase y que el tiempo le obliga a detenerse mas del que combendra. En cuya consideracion y las demas que se le ofrecieron por el servicio de su Magestad. Dixo que luego y con efecto se despache orden al dicho Capitan Juan de Retana para que el puesto en que le hallare se buelva a este Real recorriendo las naciones de indios con que a estado dexandolos amigablemente debajo la Real obediencia con hordenes de que den noticia[s] de la novedad que

^r Copy B reads "y que para yr al Rio". This obviously is correct.

^s Copy B reads "pero que en empesando".

He was asked how far it was from the junction of the Conchos and Del Norte Rivers to the Texas Indians and the place where the foreigners were. He replied that they had gone in a roundabout way, because they went with misgiving, but that by the direct road it is possible to reach there in ten days, for it is not far.

He was asked if the way is obstructed by sierras or large rivers. He replied that from here to the Río del Norte and to La Junta it is already known that the way is very level, and in order to go to Río de las Nueces, there is a small sierra in between, but it has wide and level passes through which one can pass, and that from the said Río de las Nueces it is a clear road everywhere, but that when it begins to rain many marshes and lakes are formed, and therefore when the declarant goes there he goes at the time when the trees are sprouting, and remains among those nations until the fall of the leaf. On this occasion, being urged to make haste by Don Juan Xaviata, they came quickly. Hence the declarant told the captain and Spaniards whom they met that this is the time when it will be raining very much in those parts; also that there is another large river near there; and that at certain times of the year those plains are full of cattle resembling cows, but larger, and having hair not like cows but like sheep's wool, and all brown. These cattle are very numerous, for they cover the plains, and when pasture fails in one place they move to another.

What he has said is the truth; he affirmed his statement after it was explained to him. He could not tell his age, but it is apparently more than thirty-six years. He did not sign because he did not know how. The interpreter signed it with the señor governor and captain-general. DON JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. JOSEPH DE VILLALBA. Before me, DON LUIS DE VALDÉS, secretary of government and war.

At El Parral on the twelfth day of the month of April, 1689, the *sargento mayor* Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, having noted the preceding declarations and that from them it appears that the Frenchmen who had gained a foothold within the port of Espíritu Santo are no longer in the place which they were occupying, but that it appears that they were destroyed by the barbarous Indians of that country, and in view of the fact that the rebels who are invading this kingdom are continuing many hostilities in various sections, to which it is necessary to repair with the soldiers whom Captain Juan de Retana has under his command, and since it appears that at present there is no urgent necessity for him to go on, and since the weather would compel him to delay longer than would be advisable—in consideration of which and of all the other things which occurred to him for the service of his Majesty, he declared that at once an order should be despatched to the said Captain Juan de Retana at whatever place it might overtake him, for him to return to this camp, first receiving the nations of Indians with whom he has been, and leaving them amicably under the royal obedience, with orders to give notice of any news that they may hear of the foreigners being seen in those parts in case they return. For this purpose

Auto.

sintieron de a ber extranjeros en aquellas partes en caso que buelban para lo cual agasajara con algunos dones a los capitanes y cavesas de los dichos yndios y que se entregue a Don Juan Xaviata dicha horden para que por la posta la lleve o despache dicho Capitan y que de los efectos de paz y guerra que Su Magestad tiene destinados a este Reyno se vistan y socorran dicho Don Juan Xaviata by los de su comitiva para que mas obligados continuen su cuidado y asi lo proveyo mando y firmo. [Don LUIS DE VALDES Secretario de gobernacion y guerra.]

Muy Reverendo Padre Nuestro Custodio. Biva Jesus. La gracia del Divino Amor asista a Vuestra Paternidad Muy Reverenda. Fue el

Carta de los Religiosos de los texas.

Altisimo Señor servido de que esta probincia de los techas pidiera el Santo Bautismo para lo cual dispuso su Exelencia el Señor Virrey de esta nueva España Embiar Religiosos acompañados a sien soldados^t por

temor que nos sucediera alguna cosa en los yndios que no se conozca conforme determinacion y por tema de los franceses^u (que se desia) abia por estas partes como de facto se hallaron cinco en diferentes rancherias de yndios y estos llevaron a su Exelencia llegado[s] pues a esta probincia de los techas a sido tanta la nobedad que causo a los yndios circunvezinos que los mas días (desde que estamos aqui) vinieron yndios a vernos y entre ellos nos hablo el portador desta de los soldados que estaban en el passo del nuevo mexico disiendonos que desde esta provincia de los techas al paso no hay mas que cinco días y que si quisiéramos escribir que el llevaria la carta visto pues tan buena ocasion (si es que hable verdad el yndio) determine de escribir esta para que nos conociera por sus sierbos y si en algo podemos servirle que nos avise que con todo amor y como hermanos lo haremos. Aqui estamos tres sacerdotes y un donado con tres soldados que nos dejo el Rey los sacerdotes somos el Padre Fray Francisco de Jesus Maria el Padre Fray antonio Ordoy y La nada que abajo esta firmado venimos del Colegio de la Santisima Cruz de Queretaro Nuestro Padre Comisario que nos trujo se bolvio por mandarlo asi su Exelencia y para traer mas religiosos el cual se llama Fray Damian Massanet hijo del colegio sobre dicho y lo aguardamos por todo Marzo o Abril. Agora Padre Mio Nos vino un yndio que nos dijo que de lejos hacia el Norte vendrian unos hombres blancos a vernos que segun las señas juzgamos que son franceses estos han de estar aqui por ultimos de Febrero no sabemos si querran bengarse de los españoles porque se llebaron los franceses que estaban por estas partes digo que si el camino es tan brebe y si es posible que bengan algunos soldados para ver si bienen estos franceses seria de grande estimacion para Su exelencia hasta que nosotros demos abiso de lo que hay porque si pudieramos aver si luego avisaremos^v pero no es posible por causa de los Rios que hay tan grandes

^t Copy B reads "de sien soldados".

^u Copy B reads "que no se conosia su firme determinacion y por temor de los franceses".

^v Copy B reads "porque si pudieramos avisar luego luego avisaremos". This appears to be correct.

he shall make gifts to the captains and chiefs of the said Indians. Let the said order be delivered to Don Juan Xaviata, so that he may take or send it with all speed to the said captain. From the peace-and-war budget which his Majesty has designated for this kingdom, let the said Don Juan Xaviata and those of his company be provided with clothing and supplies, so that they will the more dutifully continue their care. Thus did he provide, order, and sign. [Don LUIS DE VALDÉS, secretary of government and war.]

Very reverend father, our *custodio*:¹³⁴ May Jesus live. May the grace of the divine love be with your very reverend paternity. The Most High was pleased that this province of the Techas should ask for holy baptism, for which reason his Excellency, the viceroy of this New Spain,¹³⁵ gave orders to send religious, accompanied also by one hundred soldiers,¹³⁶

Letter from the religious
of Texas.

through fear that something might happen to us among the Indians who were not acquainted with his firm determination, and also through fear of the Frenchmen (who, it was said) were in those parts, as indeed there were five at different rancherias of Indians, whom they took to his Excellency. Since we arrived at this province of the Techas so great has been the excitement caused among the neighboring Indians that nearly every day (since we have been here) Indians have come to see us. Among them the bearer of this letter, one of the soldiers who was at El Paso in New Mexico, spoke to us, telling us that from this province of the Techas to El Paso it is no more than five days' journey,¹³⁷ and that if we wished to write he would carry the letter. Seeing such good opportunity (that is, if the Indian speaks truly), I determined to write this so that you may know that we are your servants, and that if we can serve you in anything let us know and we will do it with all brotherly love.

Here we are, three priests and one lay brother with three soldiers¹³⁸ whom the king assigned to us. The priests are Father Fray Francisco de Jesús María, Father Fray Antonio Ordoy,¹³⁹ and the unworthy one whose signature is below. We are from the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro.¹⁴⁰ Our father commissary, who brought us here, returned by order of his Excellency in order to bring more religious. He is Fray Damián Massanet,¹⁴¹ son of the aforesaid college, and we expect him at the latest in March or April.

My dear father, an Indian just came to see us and told us that from some distance to the north some white men¹⁴² would come to see us, and, judging by the descriptions, we believe that they are Frenchmen. They should be here by the latter part of February. We do not know whether or not they are coming to take vengeance upon the Spaniards for having taken away the Frenchmen who were in these regions, but I say that if the road is so short, and if it be possible for some soldiers to come and see if these Frenchmen are approaching, it would be a great assistance to his Excellency until we can give him information of what is happening, because if it were possible for us to send the information immedi-

y estar llobiendo siempre. Por donde han de venir estos franceses ay un Rio que no pueden pasar cavallos lo pasan a nado como an hecho otras veces que han venido nosotros no podemos saber lo que hay en esta tierra porque no ha mas que tres meses que estamos aqui y nos habemos detenido en aprender las lenguas destos techas; lo que bemos es que todo lo que nos han dicho a sido verdad el Altisimo Señor nos guarde y a Vuestra Paternidad y a su feliz Compañia de mis carisimos hermanos los asista y los lleve ^w de su Santo Amor deste pueblo de mi Santo Padre San Francisco de los techas Hoy cuatro de Septiembre del año de mil y seiscientos y nobenta. Beso La Mano de Vuestra Paternidad [Muy Reverenda]. La misma nada. Fray MIGUEL FONT CUBERTA.

En el Real de Minas del Parral en siete dias del mes de Julio de mil y seiscientos y nobenta y dos años el Señor Sargento Mayor Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por su Magestad. Dijo Que por cuanto hoy día de la fecha acaba de llegar a su presencia don Juan Xaviata Yndio Governador de los sibolos y Jumanes del Rio del Norte por la parte deste Reyno y que ha traydo una carta de los Religiosos que asisten en la mision de los yndios que llaman texas y que parece que es escrita a cuatro de Septiembre del año pasado de mil y seiscientos y nobenta al Reverendo Padre Custodio del nuevo Mexico y que la distincia que refiere de una a otra parte es muy corta y es necesario saverlo con el devido fundamento mandaba y mando que se examine en forma al dicho don jan xaviata sobre ello y dichas distancias y partes donde estubo y para quien le dieron los religiosos dicha carta la qual se ponga por cavesa desta declaracion y de este auto y para dicha declaracion nombraba y nombro por interprete a Mathais del hierro el cual estando presente juro por dios Nuestro Señor en forma de derecho de usar bien y fielmente a su leal saber y entender el dicho cargo de interprete por entender muy bien la lengua en que habla el dicho don juan xaviata e su señoria le discernio dicho oficio y dicho interprete lo asepto y firmo. [Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. MATHIAS DEL HIERRO. Ante mi Don LUIS DE VALDES secretario de gobernacion y guerra.]

En el parral en siete dias del mes de julio de 1692 el señor sarjento [mayor Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas Villar de francos Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General deste Reino y provincias de la nueva Vizcaya por su Magestad para lo contenido en el auto Antecedente] hizo parecer a don juan xaviata yndio governador de los sibolos y xumanos del rio del norte por la parte deste gobierno y mediante Mathais del hierro interprete nombrado le resibio juramento lo que hizo [por Dios nuestro Señor y la señal de la cruz so cargo del qual prometio desir verdad en lo que fuese preguntado y siendo de que] tiempo habia que paso a la tierra de los texas y a que efecto y que tiempo se detubo en ella y que si estubo antes

^w Copy B has "llene". This obviously is correct.

ately we would do so, but it is not possible on account of the large rivers and the never ceasing rain.

In the direction from which these Frenchmen are coming there is a river¹⁴³ which they cannot cross on horseback. They cross it by swimming, as has been done on other occasions, as when we ourselves came here. It is not possible for us to know what is happening in this land, for we have only been here for three months and our time has been taken up in learning the languages of these Techas Indians. What we see is that all that they have said to us has been the truth. May the Lord Most High guard your paternity and your happy company of my beloved brothers. May He keep them and fill them with His holy love. From this pueblo of my holy father, San Francisco de los Techas, to-day, September 4, 1690. I, the same unworthy one as ever, kiss the hand of your Paternity. Fray MIGUEL FONT CUBERTA.¹⁴⁴

At the mining camp of El Parral, on the seventh day of the month of July, 1692, the señor *sargento mayor* Don Juan de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, and governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, declared that inasmuch as to-day, the date of this writing, there has just arrived in his presence Don Juan Xaviata, Indian governor of the Cíbolos and Jumanos of the Río del Norte, in a section of this kingdom, and inasmuch as he has brought a letter from the religious who are living at the mission of the Indians called Texas, which it seems was written on the fourth of September of the year 1690, to the reverend father *custodio* of New Mexico,¹⁴⁵ and inasmuch as the distance mentioned from the one place to the other is [said to be] very short, and it is necessary to know it with proper certainty, he ordered that the said Don Juan Xaviata should be formally examined in regard to it and the said distances and places where he was, and for whom the religious gave him the said letter, which shall be placed as a heading for this declaration and this *auto*.

For the said declaration the governor named as interpreter Matías del Hierro, who, being present, swore by God, our Lord, in legal form, to exercise well and faithfully his loyal knowledge and understanding in the discharge of the said office of interpreter, for he understood very well the language which the said Don Juan Xaviata speaks. His lordship appointed him to the said office and the said interpreter accepted and signed it. DON JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. MATÍAS DEL HIERRO. Before me, Don LUIS DE VALDÉS, secretary of government and war.

At El Parral on the seventh day of the month of July, 1692, the señor *sargento mayor* Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, in accordance with the contents of the preceding *auto*, caused to appear before him Don Juan Xaviata, Indian governor of the Cíbolos and Jumanos of the Río del Norte, in a section of this jurisdiction.

o despues en el passo del nuebo mexico y que distancia hay de alli a los texas y para quien le dieran ^x la carta que ha entregado al Señor Governador y Capitan General dijo que en conformidad de la horden que su señoria le dio de que procurase saber si volbian estrangeros al puerto del Espiritu Santo y al puesto donde estubieron antes corrio noticia entre los yndios de que habia otras gentes en los texas por cuya razon fue a reconocerlo y que hallo a tres religiosos que hablaban español y que estubo con ellos y les dijo hera cristiano y que habia estado con españoles y que no estaban muy lexos y que habia Religiosos como ellos y que le diesen carta para que le creyesen y asi le dieron la que trae que no estubo en el paso del Nuevo Mexico porque salio derecho de la Junta de los Rios para los texas [y] que despues paso a ver a los españoles que habia en aquellas partes con quienes estubo y hablo diversas veces de la detencion que tubo fue porque como no hera gente sospechosa les parecio no habia necesidad de dar abiso y que asi andubo entre diversas naciones hasta ahora diez lunas que estando para venir con dicha carta tubo noticia de que los yndios Satagolillas simbles ^y y otras naciones le mataron cantidad de los suyos porque no se conjuran con ellos contra los españoles hubo de salir en busca de dichas naciones con gruesa de gentes con quines ha tenido y tiene guerras que hasta ahora duran y que no hubiera venido tan pres[t]o a este Real por dicha causa sino por llegar al pueblo de San Antonio en busca del Governador de los Julimes para que pase a la junta de los Rios y le socorra con cuatrocientos o quinientos yndios de los suios contra los dichos que son tambien de los rebeldes que ynfestan estas partes y que no ha estado en el paso del Nuevo Mexico en esta ocasion. Fuele [re]preguntado que como la carta es escrita al Padre Custodio de aquellas misiones y que dise haberles dicho el declarante a los Padres que habia cinco dias de camino de alli al dicho Paso dixo que los Padres y los ynterpretes no le debieron de entender que lo que el dixo fue que habia cinco dias de camino a la Junta de los Rios donde havia havido Padres de su habito porque de alli al paso del nuevo Mexico es necesario caminar dos lunas y por tierra de muchas naciones caribes que la carta la pidio para que lo creyera el Señor Governador como se lo prometio aunque fuera de los extrangeros que por eso le travjo ^z la dicha carta y que tenga por cierta que esta mas cerca de aqui la tierra de los texas que del paso del Nuevo Mexico fueronle hechas otras preguntas y repreguntas y a todas respondio lo que dicho tiene en que se afirmo y ratifico siendole dado a entender su declaracion no supo dezir su edad con individuacion solo dise ser de mas de cincuenta años y no firmo por no saber firmolo el ynterprete con Su Señoria. [Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. MATHAIS DEL HIERRO. Ante mi Don LUIS DE VALDES Secretario de gobernacion y guerra.]

^x Copy B has "dieron".

^y Copy B gives "Satagolillas Simblis", or "Sataqolilas Simblis".

^z Copy B has "truxo".

Through Matías del Hierro, designated interpreter, he administered to him the oath, which he made before God, our Lord, and the sign of the cross, under burden of which he promised to tell the truth concerning what he might be asked.

He was asked when it was that he went to the land of the Texas Indians, and for what purpose, how long he remained there, whether it was before or afterwards that he was in El Paso, New Mexico, how far it is from there to the Texas Indians, and for whom did they give him the letter which he has delivered to the señor governor and captain-general. He replied that in conformity with the order which his lordship gave him to try to find out whether any foreigners had returned to the port of Espíritu Santo and the place where they were before, and because the news was current among the Indians that there were some other people among the Texas—for this reason he went to investigate it.

He found three religious who spoke Spanish and he was with them and told them that he was a Christian, that he had been with Spaniards, and that the latter were not very far away, and that there were religious like them, and that they should give him a letter so that they would believe him. Accordingly they gave him the one that he brought. He was not at El Paso, New Mexico, because he went directly from La Junta de los Ríos to the Texas Indians. Afterwards he went to see the Spaniards who were in those parts, and was with them and spoke to them several times. The reason why he delayed so long was because, as they were not suspicious people, it seemed to him that there was no need to give information concerning them, and so he wandered among different nations until now, a period of ten moons. When he was ready to come with the said letter he learned that the Satapayogliglas, Sisimbles, and other Indian nations had killed a number of his people because they would not join with them against the Spaniards, and he had to go out with a body of men in search of the said nations, with whom he has had and is still having wars that have lasted until now. For the said reason he would not have come so soon to this camp if it had not been that he went to the pueblo of San Antonio in search of the governor of the Julimes, in order to ask him to go to La Junta de los Ríos and aid him with four or five hundred of his own Indians against the said nations, who are also among the rebels who infest these regions. He has not been at El Paso, New Mexico, on this occasion.

He was asked how it happened that the letter is written to the father *custodio* of those missions [at El Paso], and how it was that the letter says that the declarant had told them that it was only five days' travel¹⁴⁶ from there to the said El Paso. He replied that the fathers and interpreters could not have understood him, for what he said was that it was five days' travel to La Junta de los Ríos, where there had been padres of their habit, for from La Junta to El Paso, New Mexico, it is necessary to travel two moons, and through the land of many Caribe nations. He asked for the letter so that the señor governor would believe him, as he had promised him he would do, even though it should be in matters not concerned with the strangers. For this reason he brought the said letter, and he is certain that it is nearer from here to the land of the Texas than

En el [Real del] Parral en ocho dias del mes de Julio de mil y seiscientos y nobenta y dos años el Sargento Mayor Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos Cavallero del horden de Santiago Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno y probincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por Su Magestad habiendo visto la declaracion antecedente fecha por Don Juan Xaviata Governador de los yndios sivolos y jumanes mando se acumule a los demas autos en esta razon fechos y que de todos ellos se saquen los testimonios necesarios para su Magestad en su Real y Supremo Consejo de Yndias y que en uno se pongan originales las dos foxas escritas en la lengua franzesa que los años pasados trujo el dicho don Juan Xaviata en atencion a que en este Gobierno no hay persona que las entienda y pueda escribir con propiedad. Y que se le den gracias a dicho Don Juan Xaviata por su cuydado como lo hizo dicho Señor Governador regalandolo y vistiendolo y lo mando continuase con el zelo y cuydado que ha obrado y que con presteza de cualquier abiso de lo que fuere noticiado y asi lo probeyo y mando y firmo. Don JUAN YSIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCO. Ante mi Don LUIS DE VALDES Escrivano de Governacion y Guerra.

Auto

Concuerta este traslado con los autos originales de que se haze mencion que para este efecto me entrego el Señor Governador y Capitan General de este Reyno que quedan en poder de su Señoria de adonde lo saque a que me remito ya ynsero y verdadero Correxido y concertado y para que de ello conste de mandato verbal de Su Señoria doy el Presente en el Real y Minas de San Joseph del Parral en treinta de Marzo de mil y seiscientos y nobenta y tres años.

Testigos JOSE DE SOLORZANO y JOSE DE ARAUJO Presentes.

Y lo signe en testimonio de verdad.

MIGUEL DE ARANDA,
Escrivano Real.

from El Paso. They asked him other questions, and requestioned him, but to them all he answered what has already been said.

His declaration having been explained to him, he affirmed and ratified it. He could not give his age exactly; he only says that he is more than fifty years old. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. The interpreter signed it with his lordship. DON JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. MATÍAS DEL HIERRO. Before me, DON LUIS DE VALDÉS, secretary of government and war.

At the camp of El Parral on the eighth day of July 1692, the *sargento mayor* Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos, knight of the Order of Santiago, and governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, having seen the preceding declaration made by Don Juan Xaviata, governor of the Cibolos and Jumanos Indians, ordered that the other *autos* made on this subject should be collected and that of them all there should be made the certified copies necessary for his Majesty in his royal and supreme Council of the Indies, and, in view of the fact that there is no one in this kingdom who understands them and can write them properly, that in one of them there should be placed the originals of the two sheets written in the French language which the said Don Juan Xaviata had brought here.

Auto

He also ordered that thanks should be given to the said Don Juan Xaviata, as was, in fact, done by the said señor governor, who made him gifts and clothed him. And he ordered Don Juan Xaviata to continue with the zeal and care with which he had acted, and to bring information quickly of any news that he might hear.

Thus did he order, promulgate, and sign. DON JUAN ISIDRO DE PARDIÑAS VILLAR DE FRANCOS. Before me, DON LUIS VALDÉS, clerk of government and war.

This copy agrees with the original *autos*, to which reference has been made, which the señor governor and captain-general of this kingdom delivered to me for this purpose, and which are now in the possession of his lordship. I made the copy from them and I refer to them. The copy is accurate, corrected, and compared. In order that it may go on record, I issue, by verbal order of his lordship, the present writing at the camp and mines of San Joseph del Parral, on March 30, 1693.

Witnesses: JOSÉ DE SOLÓRZANO and JOSÉ DE ARAUJO, present.

I signed it in testimony of its truth.

MIGUEL DE ARANDA,
Royal clerk.

[*Documentos escogidos del expediente intitulado:*] *Testimonio de Los auttos hechos sobre las Providencias dadas en tiempo de Don Gabriel de el Castillo Governador de el Parral Sobre operaciones de Guerra Y otros puntos. [31 de Mayo de 1691 hasta 9 de Febrero de 1694.] Bino con carta del Virrey de 16 de abril de 1695.^a*

Excelentísimo Señor: Don Pedro Garcia de Almasan, Don Juan de Escalante, Pedro de Peralta, Joseph Romo de Vivar, y Francisco de Mendoça, Thenientes de Alcalde mayor y Capitanes a guerra de los Reales de Minas de San Juan Bautista, Nuestra Señora de el Rosario de Nacozari, San Antonio de la Natividad, el Santo Nombre de Jesus de Bacanuchi, y San Francisco Xavier de Nacatobori de la provincia de Sonora:

Carta de los Vezinos de Sonora escripta a su excelencia dando cuenta del estado en que se hallan. [San Juan Bautista, 6 de Febrero de 1693.]

Damos cuenta a Vuestra excelencia de el estado en que nos hallamos y se halla esta provincia pues el dia treinta y uno de Diciembre de el año passado de noventa y dos fue Dios servido de llevarse para si a nuestro Alcalde mayor en ocasion que estaba para celebrar una junta de Vezinos tocante a dar cuenta a Vuestra Excelencia de el miserable estado en que al presente se halla Viendo que los enemigos Revelados a la Real corona continuan muy a mano con sus Robos,^b muertes Y atrocidades, por lo qual nos parecio por la obligacion de ministros de Su Magestad, Y leales Vasallos teniendola al presente de nuestro cargo y considerando el manifesto riesgo de los Reales de ella mayormente los fronterizos nos parecio Juntamente^c para ynformar a Vuestra Excelencia no sacando ningun Vezino por no dexar las fronteras en mayor peligro y assi señor lo que passa es lo siguiente.

^a A. G. I., Guadalajara, 67-4-11. The documents as herein printed constitute only a part of the above-entitled *expediente*, which contains 202 manuscript folios, or the equivalent, according to the copy in the University of Texas Library, of 355 typewritten pages. The documents as herein printed, however, do not constitute a complete section of the entire *expediente*. For example, there are, according to the University of Texas transcript, no less than 112 documents, or closely related groups of documents, between folios 1 and 143, inclusive, and of these Mrs. Bandelier copied, either in whole or in part, only 23. These are published hereinafter in the order in which they were copied by Mrs. Bandelier, and no complete document that was omitted in the Bandelier transcript has been added from the University of Texas transcript. Documents, however, that were copied only in part by Mrs. Bandelier have been completed by adding in the text, in brackets, the words or sentences that were omitted from the Bandelier transcript. Only in the titles of the documents have additions been supplied, also in brackets, by the editor.

In order that the various omissions occurring in the Bandelier copy, as herein printed, may be apparent, the folio numbering is retained, also within brackets, as it occurs in the Bandelier transcript. The Bandelier folio numbering is frequently from one to four numbers different from the folio numbering in the University of Texas copy. Attention has been directed in a note to such differences.—C. W. H.

^b The University of Texas copy, hereinafter referred to as Copy B, reads "muy a menudo en sus Robos".

^c Copy B has "juntarnos".

[Documents selected from the expediente entitled:] *Certified copy of the autos made concerning the action taken during the administration of Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor of El Parral, with respect to military operations and other matters. [May 31, 1691, to February 9, 1694.] It came with a letter of the viceroy of April 16, 1695.*

Most Excellent Sir: Don Pedro García de Almazán, Don Juan de Escalante, Pedro de Peralta, Joseph Romo de Vivar, and Francisco de Mendoza, deputy *alcaldes mayores* and military captains for the mining camps of San Juan Bautista, Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Nacosari, San Antonio de la Natividad, El Santo Nombre de Jesús de Bacanuche, and San Francisco Xavier de Nacatobori of the province of Sonora, [greeting]:

Letter from the residents of Sonora, written to the viceroy,¹⁴⁷ giving an account of conditions existing among them. [San Juan Bautista, February 6, 1693.]

We are giving an account to your Excellency of the state in which we and this province are, for on the thirty-first day of December of the past year, 1692, God was pleased to take to himself your *alcalde mayor*, at a time when he was about to hold a junta of residents to consider rendering an account to your Excellency of the miserable conditions prevailing in this province at present, due to the hostiles, who, rebellious against the royal crown, continue to commit robberies, murders, and atrocities. For this reason, as ministers of his Majesty and loyal vassals at present in charge of the province, and considering the manifest peril of these camps, especially those on the frontier, it has seemed to us that we should jointly report to your Excellency, and that we should refrain from withdrawing any resident (from these camps), in order not to leave the frontiers in greater peril. In fact, Sir, what is occurring is as follows:

Your Excellency ordered that twenty soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa and ten from Cuencame and El Gallo should be given to Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, so that he might maintain these frontiers with them until your Excellency might take other action. After he received the soldiers he took the field, but he perceived that they were not sufficient, on account of such great numbers of the enemy as were invading and are now invading this province, nor could he hold and guard all the passes by which they enter. In view of this, having had experience in such wars, he resolved to go and place himself at the feet of your Excellency and to report what seemed to him ought to be done for its security; and although various remonstrances were made to him by the royal justice and the residents against his leaving this province in the dangerous state in which it was, we could not persuade him [to stay], for he replied that he wished to inform your Excellency, by word of mouth, of the situation as it appeared to him, and that he would not be following the dictates of his conscience unless he did so.

A few days after he left, the enemy, seeing how small the force was on account of the soldiers left in his charge having been distributed at four points of the frontiers, threw themselves upon the pueblo of Opotu,

Haviendo Vuestra Excelencia mandado que al capitan francisco Ramirez de Salazar se le entregassen Veinte soldados del Presidio de Zinaloa y diez de Cuencame, Y Gallo para que con ellos mantubiese estas fronteras Ynterin que Vuestra Excelencia daba otra proibidencia Y havien-dolos Recevido Salio a campaña Y Reconocio no eran suficientes para tanto enemigo como Ymbadian e ymbaden esta provincia ni podia asegru-rar Y guardar tantas entradas como tienen, Y en esta attencion como practico y experimentado en estas Guerras Resolvio el yr a ponerse a los pies de Vuestra Excelencia e Ynformar lo que parecia mas acertado para el seguro de ella Y aunque por la Real Juusticia Y Vecinos se le hizieron diferentes requirimientos no dejasse esta Provincia por el riesgo en que quedaba no lo pudimos conseguir porque respondia que de Voca queria Ynformar a Vuestra Excelencia todo lo que se le ofrecia y que no cum-pliria con su consciencia si asi no lo hacia y Pocos dias que salio biendo el enemigo las pocas fuerzas que havia por razon de haver dejado los sol-dados de su cargo [folio 2] divididos en quatro partes de las fronteras: se arrojó al pueblo de Opotu donde mato e hirio muchos de los Yndios cristianos llebandose vivos algunos muchachos y el ganado mayor y cavallada de aquella Mission, Y soberbio con esta Victoria, passo al Real de Nacozari y dio en las Minas que actualmente se empesaban a travajar Y tapearon a los que estavan dentro para matarlos Y a el mismo tiempo se arrojaron al Real y a diferentes cassas que estan en las Bertientes del y Siendo sentidos de los pocos Vezinos Salieron al Reparo y en esta ocasion mataron muchas personas y se llebaron toda la cavallada, mulada y ganado mayor que havia Y desde entonces estan las minas paradas por estar metidos en las sierras por donde ellos tienen sus entradas, y los mineros y comercio estar sumamente atrassados por estas ymbasiones tan repetidas y su magestad muy danificado por los Reales quintos que podia percivir si dichas minas se travajaran por ser muy considerables de ley y Unicas en esta Provincia, Ruina muy considerable para los Vassallos. Y acavado (Señor) de executar estas maldades passaron a la mission y Valle de Santa Maria Bassaraca Y en el puesto de tamichopa estancia de el dicho capitan Ramirez hizieron lo mesmo matando onze personas y entre ellas los dos Governadores de Santa Maria y san Juan Guachinera llebandosse todo quanto havia en ella Y otras maldades que cada día continuan a su salvo, Viendo que no se les aplica ningun freno, Y en medio de estas Guerras y calamidades Viviamos con el consuelo que consta yda^a del dicho capitan francisco Ramirez a la corte daria Vuestra Ex-celencia la providencia necessaria para que esta provincia bolbiesse en si Y estando alentados con estas esperanzas tenemos noticias que el dicho capitan Ramirez murio en Zacatecas de buelta para esta provincia Y que Vuestra Excelencia le havia concedido cinquenta Soldados; Cossa que nos a desconsolado como se deja considerar si bien nos queda la esperanza de que Vuestra Excelencia se servira de mandar que los dichos cinquenta soldados passen con la brevedad possible por quanto esta provincia se Va despoblando Y si no se acude con la presteza que se requiere no dude Vuestra Excelencia se acabara brebe con mucha ruina de ambas Mages-

^a Copy B reads "que con la yda". This is correct.

where they killed and wounded many of the Christian Indians, and from where some boys and the cattle and horses of that mission were carried off alive. Elated with this victory, the enemy went on to the camp of Nacosari and attacked the mines that were just beginning to be worked, and closed up those [workers] who were within, in order to kill them. At the same time they attacked the camp and various houses that are situated on the [mountain] slopes. When the few inhabitants heard the Indians, they issued forth to defend themselves. On this occasion they [the enemy] killed many persons and carried off the horses, mules, and cattle that were there. Since then, the mines have been closed, for they are situated in the passes of the sierras through which the enemy enter. Mining and commerce are greatly retarded by these repeated attacks; his Majesty suffers the loss of the royal fifths that he would receive if the said mines were being worked, for the legal fifths are considerable and the mines are the only ones in this province; and his subjects are greatly damaged.

Having committed these outrages, Sir, the hostiles went on to the mission in the valley of Santa María Basaraca,¹⁴⁸ and at Tamichopa, where is the *estancia* of the said Captain Ramírez, they continued their atrocities, killing eleven persons, among them the governor of Santa María and the governor of San Juan Guachinera. From there everything was carried away. Moreover, seeing that nothing was done to check them they continue to commit, every day, other outrages with impunity.

We lived in the midst of these hostilities and calamities in the hope that when the said Captain Francisco Ramírez should reach your court your Excellency would take the necessary measures to restore this province to its former state; but while we were supporting ourselves with these hopes, we learned that the said Captain Ramírez, to whom your Excellency had granted fifty soldiers, had died in Zacatecas while on his return to this province. This has been a great blow to us, as may be believed, but nevertheless we retain the hope that your Excellency will be pleased to order the said fifty soldiers to come on as quickly as possible, for this province is being depopulated, and if aid is not brought with requisite promptness, your Excellency may be sure that it will soon be destroyed, with great loss to both Majesties.

At the frontier mining camps and pueblos of the native Christians, we are at present hourly fearing great damage, for the enemy is very large in numbers and is growing stronger every day, for they are adding some nations that were living quietly, until the present time, in their heathen state. Seeing that these are not punished, the native Christians living among us will, in their foolish way, revolt with them, as they have tried to do at various times. (This is even now being experienced at the pueblo of Toape, mission of the Reverend Father Marcos Antonio Xapud, jurisdiction of the Real de San Joseph de Opodepe, where most of the rebellious Indians are away from the said pueblo and are in the sierra, not caring to obey the said reverend father missionary, or the deputy *alcalde mayor* of that jurisdiction, who at present is in the said sierras with some of the residents, attempting to persuade the newly revolted natives to come down peaceably. For this reason, the said deputy has not attended this

tades [folio 3] Y al pressente quedamos por oras aguardando en los Reales de minas fronterizos Y Pueblos de los naturales cristianos muchos daños por ser el numero de los enemigos muy copiosso y cada dia ba creziendo mas fuerças agregando assi algunas naciones que asta oy bibian en su gentilidad quietos, Y los cristianos que biben entre nosotros biendo que no se Castiga a estos con su fragelidad se alzarán con ellos como lo an Yntentado diferentes vezes (Y al presente se experimenta en el pueblo de Toape mision de el Reverendo Padre Marcos Antonio Xapud Jurisdiccion del Real de San Joseph de Opodepe que estan fuera del dicho pueblo los mas de los Yndios rrebelados en la sierra sin haver querido obedecer al dicho Reverendo Padre missionero ni al theniente de Alcalde mayor de aquella juridiccion quien al pressente se alla con algunos vezinos de la dicha sierra procurando atraer y bajar de paz a los naturales nuebamente Revelados por cuiá raçon dicho theniente no a concurrido a esta Junta), Y si entonces no lo consiguieron fue por hallarse esta provincia con golpe de vezinos: oy lo haran con mucha facilidad porque estan mirando lo descaecido Y despoblado de la tierra Y si esto sucede (lo que Dios no quiera) Costara mucho a su Magestad el bolberlo a restaurar Y todo se ataxara Viniendo los cincuenta soldados a cargo de perssona practica y experimentada en estas partes Y que con Zelo y cristiano mire esta provincia y Procure Recuperarla; que haviendo faltado el dicho capitán francisco Ramirez de Salazar despues de otras que ay en esta Provincia son muy a proposito para el efecto, el Capitán Andres de Resaval, el capitán francisco Pacheco Zevallos, el capitán Don Juan de Escalante perssonas que a muchos años assisten en esta provincia Y a todas las funciones de guerra que se an ofrecido arresgando sus vidas y haciendas con toda promptitud Zelo y Vijilancia; Y aunque el año passado de noventa y dos por el mes de Agosto acavado dichos enemigos de executar los daños y muertes referidos el capitán Juan Fernandez [folio 4] de la fuente Salio en su busca con los soldados de su Cargo Y los encontro en parte acomodada para castigarlos como con efecto les mato algunos y viendose los enemigos en parage yncomodo para ellos Y la chusma cerca temerossos no diessen con ella pidieron pazes a dicho capitán quien se las concedió y duraron quince a beinte dias teniendolos cercanos a su Presidio de donde empezaron a robar bolbiendose a las sierras y parages donde antes residian y se arrimaron a estas fronteras por reconocerlas muy flacas y desde luego bolbieron a combocar las naciones de Soba y Guipurú y mucha parte de los Pimas y otros y juntos por el mes de noviembre se llebaron de las fronteras de Bacanuche San Antonio de la natividad, Reales de Minas y del pueblo de chinapa todas las cavalladas y muladas que havia dejando a sus moradores, Ympossibilitados a buscar el sustento para sus familias; y ayer entraron a las siete de la mañana en el Real y Minas de Nacozari Y se llebaron las muladas de los dueños de Haziendas de sacar plata y demas vezinos y a este mismo tiempo entraron en el Valle de Theuricachi * distante de dicho Real Veinte leguas y se llebaron lo que havia en el así de españoles como de naturales haviendo cojido a Un Yndio christiano de aquel valle con quien tuvieron larga

* Copy B has "Heuricachi".

junta.) If, on previous occasions, the natives did not succeed in taking possession of this province, it was because it had many residents. But to-day the natives can very easily take possession of it for they are aware of the weakened and depopulated condition of the country. If this happens (which God forbid), it will cost his Majesty a great deal to recover it.

All this may be prevented if the fifty soldiers come in charge of some person who has had experience in these districts, and who will look after this province with Christian zeal, and try to recover it. Although the said Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar is lost to us, there are, among others in this province who are very well suited for the purpose, Captain André de Resaval, Captain Francisco Pacheco Zevallos, and Captain Don Juan de Escalante, all of whom have lived for many years in this province, and, who, risking their lives and property with all promptitude, zeal, and vigilance, have taken part in all of the military operations that have occurred in it.

In the past year, 1692, in the month of August, just after the enemy had committed the said outrages and murders, Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente went in pursuit of them with the soldiers in his charge and encountered them in a place well suited to punish them, and in fact he did kill some. But when the enemy saw themselves in an unfavorable position and their band of women and children so near, fearing to attack with them, they begged the said captain for peace, which he granted them. The peace lasted fifteen or twenty days, during which time they were kept near his presidio. There they began to rob, and finally returned to the sierras and places where they were living before. They gathered on these frontiers because they knew them to be weak, and immediately began to convoke the nations of Soba and Guipuru, a great part of the Pimas, and others, and all together, in the month of November, they carried away from the frontiers of Bacanuche, San Antonio de la Natividad, Reales de Minas, and the pueblo of Chinapa, all the horses and mules that there were, leaving the inhabitants without means of seeking sustenance for their families. Yesterday, at seven o'clock in the morning, they entered the camp and mines of Nacosari and carried off the mules of the owners of the smelters and of the inhabitants. At the same time they entered the valley of Theuricachi, twenty leagues distant from the said camp, and carried off everything in it that belonged either to Spaniards or to the natives. After a lengthy conference with a Christian Indian of that valley, whom they had captured, they did a thing which these rebels have never before been seen or heard to do—they set him free without doing him any harm. From this we infer that there may be a conspiracy between the hostile and Christian Indians to institute a general uprising against the Spaniards. This, Sir, will mean the definite loss of the province on account of the miserable state of its inhabitants, for the enemy has left them without mounts and so poor that even should they wish to unite and go out against the enemy (as they have done against all the nations), they cannot do so because they are so few in number, as we have stated and represented to your Excellency, and as the *alcalde mayor* of this province and its residents have done on divers occasions.

platica Resultando de ella el hacer Una hazdo^f Jamas Vista ni oyda de estos Rebelados que fue soltarlo sin hacerle ningun daño de donde nos queda la pressuncion de alguna conjuracion que este con los de sus pueblos y de estos a los demas cristianos puedan remober Unibersalmente contra los españoles. Y a esto Señor, a llegado a la ultima ruina por el misero estado en que los moradores de esta provincia se hallan pues unicamente los an dexado tan a pie y tan pobres que aunque quieran Unirse y salir (como lo han hecho en todas las naciones) no pueden como tambien por ser tan pocos como llebamos referido y representado [folio 5] a Vuestra Excelencia a quien en dibersas ocassiones lo tenia hecho el alcalde mayor de esta Provincia y Vecinos de ella por cuio motivo no nos alargamos a repetir mas lastimas y desdichas a Vuestra Excelencia cuia excelentissima perssona guarde nuestro señor felices y dilatados años para el amparo y remedio de esta provencia, Real de San Juan Bautista Cavezera de la provincia de Sonora y febrero Seis de mil seiscientos y noventa y tres. A los pies de Vuestra Excelencia. PEDRO GARCIA DE ALMAZAN. DON JUAN DE ESCALANTE. FRANCISCO DE MENDOÇA. JOSEPH ROMO DE VIVAR.

[Folio 5, revez.] Noticia que halle en Sombrerete de las hostilidades que de quarenta dias a esta parte han hecho los Yndios enemigos de que doy quenta al Excelentismo Señor Conde de Galve son las siguientes.^g

Noticia de Don Gabriel de
el Castillo a Su Excelencia
de Dichas Hostilidades.
[Sin fecha.]

En la Jurisdiccion de San Juan de el Rio entre Palmito y el Alamo diez y ocho leguas del presidio de Cuencame a mediado febrero deste año Una esquadra de Yndios enemigos de las rancherias de el Tecolote Viniendo por Cavos el Yndio Contrerillas y lorencillo mataron doze personas que se Componian de dos familias siete mugeres tres muchachos todos mestizos Un hombre español y Un negro libre. Doze dias despues esta misma esquadra en la hacienda de la pastoria de Joseph de castrejon en el paraxe que llaman de las cruces treze leguas de cuencame mataron Un sirviente y se llebaron Un muchacho. Dos dias despues llegaron a la estancia de Matheo Gomez seis leguas de sombreroete, Y se llebaron seis manadas de Yeguas y passaron con ellas acia su tierra. Y como dos leguas del camino por donde Yban se apartaron a la estancia que llaman de San Sevastian del General Don Antonio de la Campa Cos, Y dieron el Albaço en los pastores de sus ganados Y le mataron tres esclavos, Y dos libres Y se llebaron Un muchacho Vivo y una manada crecida de yeguas y cojieron su derrota a buscar las Rancherias de dicho Tecolote: Asi mismo se llebaron del Real de Cuencame treinta Vacas chichiguas de la Viuda Doña Michaela de Cossi y de la estancia del Br.^h Cossio se llebaron asta Veinte mulas y cavallos y en alcance de esto Ultimo salio el sargento mayor Juan Bautista Escorzo con los soldados de su Presidio, Y a doze leguas de distancia los alcanzo en el potrero de San Juan de casta Y les quito asta quarenta bestias Sin

^f This probably a miscopy for "hecha".

^g According to Copy B "siguientes" is the last word on f. 6.

^h This may be an abbreviation for "Bachiller" or "Bernardo".

For this reason we refrain from relating more sorrows and misfortunes to your Excellency, whose most excellent person may our Lord preserve for long and happy years, for the protection and improvement of this province. Real de San Juan Bautista, capital of the province of Sonora. February 6, 1693. At the feet of your Excellency. PEDRO GARCÍA DE ALMAZÁN. DON JUAN DE ESCALANTE. FRANCISCO DE MENDOZA. JOSEPH ROMO DE VIVAR.

The information which I had in Sombrerete concerning the hostilities which, for forty days, in that region have been committed by the hostile Indians, and of which I give an account to the most Excellent Señor, the Count of Galve,¹⁴⁹ is as follows:

Don Gabriel del Castillo makes a report to his Excellency concerning the said hostilities. [Undated.]

In the jurisdiction of San Juan del Río, between Palmitos and El Alamo, eighteen leagues from the presidio of Cuencame, in the middle of February of this year, a band of hostile Indians from the rancherías of El Tecolote, under the leadership of the Indians, Contre-rillas and Lorencillo, killed twelve persons, namely, two families of seven women and three boys, all half-breeds; one Spaniard; and a free negro. Twelve days later this same band, at the sheep ranch of Joseph de Castrejón, at the place called Las Cruces, three leagues from Cuencame, killed a servant and carried off a boy. Two days afterwards they arrived at the farm of Mateo Gómez, six leagues from Sombrerete, and drove off towards their own country six herds of mares. Turning aside from the road they were travelling, they went two leagues to the farm called San Sebastián, belonging to General Don Antonio de la Campa Cos, where they surprised the shepherds with their herds, killed three slaves and two free men, and carried off one boy alive and a large drove of mares. They then went on their way toward the rancherías of the said Tecolote. They also carried off from the Real de Cuencame thirty milch cows of the widow Doña Michaela de Cossi, and from the farm of Br. Cossio they took as many as twenty mules and horses. In pursuit of these last the *sargento mayor* Juan Bautista Escorza went out with soldiers of his presidio. Within a dozen leagues he caught up with them at Potrero de San Juan de Casta, where he took from them forty animals, without having been able to do any more because he had encountered them in a place where he could not do them any harm. He also took a captive from them. DON GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO.

Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor and captain-general of this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, by grace of his Majesty. Such a report has been given me concerning the murders, atrocities, and horse-thefts that the hostile Indians, in arms against the royal crown, have committed since the middle of the month of February, that one fears the total depopulation of the ranches as well as the towns which, forming the outlying districts of this kingdom, join the frontier of Nueva Galicia.

Copy of an order given to *Sargento Mayor* Juan Bautista Escorza. [Durango, April 2, 1693.]

haver podido hacer otra operacion por haverse empeñolado [folio 6] en parte adonde no les pudo hazer daño y tambien les quito un cautibo. Don GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO.

Don Gabriel de el Castillo Governador [y Capitan general de este Reino de la Nueva Vizcaya por su Magestad. Por quanto se me a dado noticia de las muertes y atrocidades y robos de cavalladas que los yndios enemigos rebelados contra la Real Corona han hecho desde mediado el mes de Febrero deste año de tal manera que se puede temer el total despueble de las haciendas del campo pastorias y pueblos de que se componen los contornos de todo el

...[Folio 14] Copia de orden dado al sargento mayor Juan Bautista Escorza. [Durango, 2 de Abril de 1693.]

reyno con la raya de la nueba Galicia y que en el tiempo presente de secas es el oportuno en que executan los yndios enemigos la continuacion de sus hostilidades y deseando aplicar el remedio conveniente con la mas prompta brevedad que ser pueda para el mayor servicio de ambos Magestades y conservacion destos Reinos y quietud de sus moradores estantes y traxinantes] por el Pressente ordeno al Sargento mayor Juan Bautista Escorza capitan de el Presidio de el Paraxe que con veinte soldados de los treinta y cinco que oy deve tener en su pressidio y otros veinte soldados que el capitan Luis de Quintana capitan del presidio del Gallo, y otros diez soldados del capitan Martin de Ugalde, capitan de Presidio de Zerro gordo le remitiran al Real Chico en Virtud de orden que les e dado para ellos y todos los Yndios amigos que pudiera sacar del dicho presidio del Paraje y Cuencame, salga con la mejor brebedad posible a campaña bien amunicionada, Armado y abastecido de Bastimentos, y de todo lo necesario a lo menos por dos¹ [folio 15] meses y desde luego recorra los paraxes siguientes, [Observando su reconocimiento segun las seguras noticias tubiere] Rio De Guanabal—Bocas de Picardia—Bocas de San Diego—Boca de Patron—Portero de San Juan de Costa—La Muerta—San Ygnacio—San Lorenzo—Guachilla—Baja—Bentananas—Sierra de Acatita Rexistrando las quatro bocas que tiene para entrar en ella. Mapimi—Boca de la Cadena—Zienaga de San Joseph—Pozo hediondo—Y si en estos [paraxes] y aguaxes no hubiere noticia de el enemigo teniendo tiempo y bastimento passara a la sierra de el diablo Y rreconocera todos los Parajes donde se suelen ranchear los Yndios enemigos como son Boca de Cerro gordo—Pelayo—San Xavier—Las Cañas—Las Batuecas—Y los demas paraxes y aguajes contiguas hasta dar con ellos siguiendoles el Rastro por todas partes, Y si acaso diere con los enemigos constando que lo son Y que han executado antezedentemente muertes y atrocidades les dara los albazos combenientes procurando passarlos a cuchillo, Y en caso de ponerse en huida les seguira Y si empeñolaren en paraje que sea regular a ponerles sitios y si fuere dable los tendra cercados Y si necesitare de socorro de gente lo pedira a la parte mas cercana en nombre de Su Magestad y mio pues la necessidad de la hambre y sed los a de rendir y en caso que lo hagan de dicho sargento mayor con buena

¹ Copy B has "para dos".

Since the present dry season is the opportune time for the Indians to continue their hostilities, and since I desire to apply an effective remedy as quickly as possible for the better service of the two majesties and the preservation of these kingdoms and the peace of the inhabitants, whether residents or transients, I, by these presents, order the *sargento mayor* Juan Bautista Escorza, captain of the presidio of El Pasaje, to take the field with twenty of the thirty-five soldiers that he ought to have now in his presidio; twenty more that Captain Luis de Quintana, captain of the presidio of El Gallo, and ten that Captain Martín de Ugalde, captain of the presidio of Cerro Gordo, should send to him at the Real Chico in virtue of an order that I have given them for these soldiers; and all the friendly Indians that he can take from the said presidio of El Pasaje and Cuencame. [Let him] take the field as soon as possible, well munitioned, armed, and supplied with provisions and everything necessary for at least two months, and, basing his reconnaissance on such definite information as he may have, let him reconnoitre the following places: Río de Guanabal, Bocas de Picardía, Bocas de San Diego, Bocas de Patrón, Potrero de San Juan de Costa, La Muerta, San Ygnacio, San Lorenzo, Guachilla, Baja, Bentanas, and Sierra de Acatita, examining the four passes by which [the sierra] may be entered, namely, Mapimi, Boca de la Cadena, Ciénaga de San Joseph, and Pozo Hediondo. In case no trace of the enemy is found at these places and water-holes, and in case he has time and sufficient provisions, he will go on to the sierra of El Diablo and will examine all the places where the hostile Indians are in the habit of camping, such as Boca de Cerro Gordo, Pelayo, San Xavier, Las Cañas, Las Batuecas, and other places and water-holes contiguous to them, until he comes up with them, following their trail everywhere. If by chance he comes upon the enemy and they prove to be the ones who have been committing the previous murders and atrocities, he will make the necessary surprise attacks upon them and endeavor to put them to the sword. In case they are put to flight he will pursue them, and if he encounters them in a place that is suitable for besieging them, and it is feasible, he will surround them; and if he should need reinforcements of men he will ask for them from the nearest place, in the name of his Majesty and mine, for hunger and thirst will cause them to surrender.

In this case the said *sargento mayor* will conduct them under a good guard to the nearest presidio, or to El Parral, if that be the nearest, and from there he will render a report to me, so that I may decide upon what is best for the service of his Majesty. He shall not, on any account, listen to any proposal for a treaty with them, unless the aggressors, with all their families and following, are ready to accept what I want them to do. Of all that may happen he will give me an account as soon as opportunity offers.

In case the said *sargento mayor* finds himself following a trail that runs towards the presidio of El Gallo or that of Cerro Gordo, he will give notice to their captains, so that they may be on the guard that their presidios require. In case the trail of the enemy runs toward El Parral or its vicinity, he will send notice as soon as possible to General Juan de Retana, so that he may go out in person, with twenty-five men from his

guardia los conducira al Pressidio mas cercano o si lo estubiere al Parral. Y de alli me dara cuenta para resolver lo que fuera mas combeniente al servicio de su Magestad Sin que por ningun acontecimiento les oyga propossizion de partido alguno, que no sea el que asi los agresores con todas sus familias y chusmas estan al que yo quisiere hazerles dandome cuenta de todo lo que fuere sucediendo haviendo oportunidad Y si el dicho Sargento mayor fuere siguiendo rastro que baya encaminado al pressidio del Gallo o de Zerro gordo dara abisso a sus capitanes para que esten con el cuidado que necessitan sus Pressidios Y si el rastro de los enemigos se encaminare aci el Parral o sus contornos dara havisso con la mayor brebedad [folio 17¹] al general Juan de Retana para que salga en perssona con veinte y cinco hombres de su pressidio y los Yndios amigos que pudiere promptamente juntar a encontrarse con ellos Y darse la mano con el dicho sargente mayor para ber si se puede lograr cojiendolos en medio passarlos a cuchillo enteramente. [Y respecto de la confianza que tengo de el dicho Sargento mayor Juan Bautista Escorza y atendiendo a su gran practicia y experiencia militar y al zelo con que siempre se a aplicado al mayor servicio de su Magestad dejo a su deliberacion el acierto de esta orden governandose como con la cossa pressente para su mejor complimiento empero se mantendra a los menos dos meses en la campaña referida procurando con su actividad subsanar las dificultades que se ofrecieren y las yncomodidades que ofreze el tiempo de seca y falta de aguajes aplicando todo el trabajo que se pudiere por ser este el tiempo en que los yndios executan los daños e ynquietudes de estas Provincias y para hacer la referida salida dejara nombrado en su Presidio cavo de su satisfacion para que con los quinze soldados que dejara en el tenga buena guardia para la costudia de sus contornos y comboy de los pasajeros y trajinantes dejandole las ordenes que le parecieren mas convenientes a la maior seguridad de todo lo que conduze a que no suceda daño ni hostilidad alguna, esperando de su grande espiritu tenga yo de que dar cuenta a su Magestad para que le premie sus servidios; fecho en la ciudad de Durango en dos de Abrill de mill y seiscientos y noventa y tres años.]

Excelentísimo Señor. Señor: Desde Sombrerete di cuenta a Vuestra Excelencia con Don Antonio Theran de quanto se ofrecia y ratificandome aora la doy a Vuestra excelencia de que el dia treinta del passado llegue a esta ciudad y el mismo thome possession de este gobierno, y a otro dia hize los despachos dando las ordenes [a los Pressidios en la misma conformidad que dije a Vuestra Excelencia y ayer las despache a toda diligencia para que esten en Campaña a lo menos dos meses recorriendolo todo por lo mucho que ympor-

[Folio 20] Carta de Don Gabriel de el Castillo escrita a su Excelencia participandole el estado en que se alla aquel Reino. [Durango, 4 de Abril hasta 2 de Mayo de 1693.]

ta a la quietud de esta Reino en que es menester me aplique lo bastante y dare cuenta a Vuestra Excelencia de las operaciones buenas verdaderamente y si fueren malas (por mis pecados) lo hare en la misma con-

¹Folio 16 in Copy B.

presidio and all the friendly Indians that he can get, to meet them quickly, join forces with the said *sargento mayor*, and see if they can catch the enemy between them and put them completely to the sword. In view of the confidence that I have in the said *sargento mayor* Juan Bautista Escorza, and considering his military skill and experience, and the zeal which he has always manifested in the service of his Majesty, I leave to his judgment the successful execution of this order; let him be governed by developments in fulfilling it. I only insist that he keep the said field for at least two months, endeavoring by his activity to remedy any difficulties that may occur, and the inconveniences which the dry season and the lack of water-holes offer; and exerting every possible effort, since this is the season in which the Indians commit their depredations in this province.

In order to carry on the said campaign, he will leave a trustworthy corporal in charge of his presidio, so that with the fifteen soldiers to be left there, he may have a good guard for protecting the vicinity and the passenger and freight convoys. He will leave to him whatever orders may seem appropriate for the prevention of any damage or hostility. I trust from his great zeal, that I may have an opportunity to give an account of him to his Majesty, so that he may reward his services. Dated at the city of Durango, the second of April, 1693.

Most Excellent Sir: From Sombrerete I sent an account to your Excellency by Don Antonio Therán of all that was occurring, and, repeating it now, I state to your Excellency that on the thirtieth of the past month I arrived at this city and the same day took possession of this government. On the following day I wrote the despatches, giving orders to the presidios in conformity with what I advised your Excellency; yesterday I sent them out with due despatch, in order that [the troops]

Letter of Don Gabriel del Castillo written to his Excellency to inform him of the state of that kingdom. [Durango, April 4 to May 2, 1693.]

may be in the field at least two months reconnoitring it all. Because of its importance for the peace of this kingdom, it is necessary that I exert myself to the utmost. I will give an account to your Excellency concerning successful operations, and in case, through my fault, they should turn out unsuccessful, I will do likewise without wearying your Excellency much.

The shipment of silver from El Parral has not yet arrived, and although they tell me it is on the road, I am not sure of it. I shall remain here in order to forward it as soon as possible. As soon as I do this, I shall go to El Parral to take the measures that are fitting there. I shall leave suitable orders here.

Since I am now engaged in so many undertakings, I shall not write a long letter, primarily because I have already written to your Excellency at length from Sombrerete. Those reports are correct and the ultimate remedy is for all of the troops of the presidio to work continuously and whenever it is necessary. With reference to their furloughs, I shall take

formidad sin cansar muchos a Vuestra Excelencia. El despacho de la plata del Parral no a llegado y aunque me dizen bien caminando no lo se fixamente y aqui la esperaré para hacerla salir quanto antes y luego que lo consiga passare al Parral a principiari la providencia que alli conenga y aqui dejare dispuesto lo que conviniere; Y aora por estar embrazado en diferentes disposiciones no me alargo en esta y lo principal por no escribir a bulto y solo me remito a lo que escrivi a Vuestra Excelencia desde Sombretete cuias noticias son fixas y que el remedio total es el que la gente de los presidios trabajen continuamente toda quando sea necesario y al respecto para que descansen en que tomare el medio que combiniere aplicandome en esto a lo que sea del servicio del Rey enteramente sin atender a conveniencias mias con soldados pero los cinquenta que estan en el nuebo Mexico respecto de lo mucho que ay que hazer aun que estubiesen todos buenos son Señor muy necessarios y oy con la epidemia general que todo el Reino la padeze se hallan muchisimos soldados enfermos y haviendo reconocido en esta ciudad si era nezessaria la asistencia de los quinze soldados en ella hallo es preciso se mantengan aqui como Vuestra Excelencia lo tiene ordenado porque es menester guardarlo todo segun e hallado ynquietos los yndios enemigos y tambien reconozco es mas que preciso sean treinta los soldados de campaña en el Parral porque con quinze no puedo hazer nada y aunque respecto de lo que comunique a Vuestra Excelencia en essa ciudad pudiera sacar los quinze que faltan de los cinco pressidios no lo executare asta que Vuestra Excelencia sea servido mandarlo por despacho que suplico a Vuestra Excelencia le mande remitir brebe y que se situe su paga en esta caxa en la misma conformidad que antes de sacarse para esta ciudad; esto hallo por conveniente y Vuestra Excelencia mandara lo mejor quedando a sus pies con toda beneracion y rogando a Dios guarde la Exelentissima persona de Vuestra Excelencia en su mayor grandeza Durango y Abrill quatro de mill seiscientos y noventa y tres. [Folio 21.]

Señor: Hasta aqui es copia de una que rremiti a Vuestra Excelencia con un cochero de los que me trajeron por no ser sujeto seguro la duplico y con la ocassion de la requa de la plata continuo mi obligacion dando quenta a Vuestra Excelencia estara ya en campaña el Sargento mayor Escorza con cinquenta soldados y veinte y quatro yndios amigos y no ha salido antes por haver sido nezessario hacer cecina y traer arina del Parral para estos yndios que todo se a hecho bien brebe y de la orden que le e dado. Remito a Vuestra Excelencia una copia, y en el estado que allo el Reyno que eternamente esta ynquieto para antes que buelba (si hubieren llegado los cinquenta soldados del nuebo Mexico) dispondre salgan a campaña por mucho tiempo tres esquadras en la conformidad de la copia de dispociones que tambien remita a Vuestra Excelencia y aseguro a Vuestra Excelencia que aunque en todo pondre mi conacto y en particular en obiar los gastos a su Magestad para estas tres esquadras sera nezessario se mantengan con ellas en campaña asta conseguir el castigo de estos yndios y asegurar con el este Reino (que espero en Dios a de ser antes de un año) cien yndios amigos y a estos es nezessario darles carne y arina y dos reales cada dia, y los seis mill pessos de paz y guerra y

measures that are fitting and shall work with zeal in whatever is to the interest of the service of the king, without considering my own arrangements for the soldiers. As regards the fifty who are in New Mexico, these, Sir, in view of how much there is to do, even if they were all in good health, are very necessary. To-day on account of the general epidemic which has been felt in the entire kingdom, many of the soldiers are ill.

In this city, I have looked into the matter to see whether the presence of fifteen soldiers is necessary, and I find it is necessary to keep them here, as your Excellency has already ordered, because it is necessary to guard everything, since I have found the Indians restless and also hostile. I realize also that it is very necessary for thirty field soldiers to be at El Parral, for I can do nothing with fifteen, and although, as I may advise your Excellency from that city, I may be able to withdraw the necessary fifteen from the five presidios, I shall not do so until your Excellency is pleased to command it by despatch. I beseech your Excellency to permit that this be sent shortly, and that the pay be deposited in this treasury just as formerly it was set aside for this city. This I find will be convenient, but your Excellency will command whatever is best. At your feet with all veneration, beseeching God to guard the person of your Excellency in greatest grandeur. Durango, April 4, 1693.

Sir. Thus far is a copy of what I sent your Excellency by one of the coachmen who brought me here. Since he was not a reliable person, I send it in duplicate, with the convoy of silver. I continue herewith my obligation to give an account to your Excellency:

The *sargento mayor* Escorza should already be in the field with fifty soldiers, and twenty-four friendly Indians. He has not gone sooner, because it was necessary to prepare salted meat and to bring flour from El Parral for these Indians, all of which has been done quickly and according to the order which I gave him. I send to your Excellency a copy. Considering the continuously restless state of the kingdom, until such time as he may return (in case the fifty soldiers may have arrived from New Mexico),¹⁵⁰ I shall order that three squads of them shall keep the field for a long time in conformity with a copy of the orders which I also remit to your Excellency.

I assure your Excellency that I shall endeavor to handle everything skillfully; particularly shall I endeavor to keep down the expenses for his Majesty for these three squads. It will be necessary that there be kept in the field with them, until these Indians are punished and the kingdom is made safe (which I hope to God will be before a year), a hundred friendly Indians; and it is necessary to give them meat and flour and two *reales* each day. The annual fund of 6000 pesos for peace and war is not enough for this, and I have been informed by royal officials that if an occasion should arise on which I should need more, they could not give it to me without an order from your Excellency. In compliance with this, I beg your Excellency that an order be sent for them to give me whatever money may be necessary for the aforementioned, and any more that may be needed in the service of his Majesty, over and above the 6000 pesos each year.

correos que se me mandan dar cada año no bastan para esto; y havien-
dome ynformado de oficiales Reales si en ocasion de gasto preciso me
darian el que hubiese menester me dizen no pueden executar lo sin man-
damiento de Vuestra Excelencia y ajustandome a ello suplico a Vuestra
Excelencia mande se me remita para que me den el dinero que ubiere men-
ester para lo referido y lo demas que ofreciere del servicio de su Mage-
stad ademas de los dichos seis mill pesos cada año pues ademas del gasto
referido se ofrecen otros muchos y puede ofrecerse tambien el que bien-
dome los yndios enemigos castigados acossados y perseguidos por todas
partes bengan por fuerza a pedirme paz que en este caso conbendra dar-
selas a mi arbitrio y disposiciones y no al suyo situandolos para poblar
en razon y con seguridad y este sera otro gasto crecido que puede llegar
de repente y no allarme sin el dinero ni orden para que me lo den ofi-
ciales reales y asi suplico a Vuestra Excelencia que considerada materia
de tanta consecuencia me remita dicho mandamiento pues le consta a
Vuestra Excelencia que haviendo de dar las quantas las dare debajo de
la ley de Dios; Y Vuestra Excelencia se servira mandar poner en el man-
damiento todas las ynterbenciones que le pareciere para que yo no gaste
[folio 22] real mal gastado pues al buen pagador no le duelen prendas
y mirare por la hazienda del rey porque me precio de su vasallo y de chris-
tiana sobre que Vuestra Excelencia mandara lo que fuere servido y si
hubiere satisfacion de mi atender a que esto esta lejos y que un correo
yente y viniente tarda mucho y podra no llegar a tiempo y cuesta dinero
dicho correo al Rey. Es muy de mi obligacion decir a Vuestra Excelen-
cia que los Capitanes de los Presidios siempre han obedecido a su Gover-
nador y que todos tienen grande espiritu grande ynteligencia y con
mucho celo grande deseo de travajar y que han celebrado mucho los
dictámenes en que bengo de que soy muy gustoso, y espero en ellos poner
este Reino en quietud continuando la forma principiada y que se redus-
gan los malos yndios a buena paz por fuerza, y el tiempo puede ser de-
muestre que ayundandome Dios e dado con el acierto pues esto esta tan
malo y tan sin la paz que por alla se decia que es menester trabajar]
pues la paz que e allado son las fatalidades que escrivi a Vuestra Ex-
celencia con Don Antonio Theran sucedidas por aca fuera Y Quando yo
entendia seria por estar contendios los Yndios en las fronteras del Parral
y que huiendose benian por aca me escriven aora de dicho Real del Parral
que abra un mes en la cuesta de san Pablo quinze leguas dentro de la
Tharaumara entre el Parral y Cosiguriachi, mataron los Yndios Un muy
onrrado Mercader llamado Andres de Jauregui y otras seis personas que
iban en su compañía y haviendo cojido Vivo al dicho Jauregui Lo ama-
rraron a Un arbol y desollaron Vivo, y executaron otras ynhumanidades
que no son para dichas y se llebaron de todos aquellos Contornos muchas
Cavalladas y haviendo dado noticia al capitan Retana (que esta nunca
sirve porque llega tarde) Salio en su busca y se bolbio sin toparlos asi
por yr tarde como por no tener gente bastante para dibidirse en dos o
tres tropas y buscarlos por distintas partes y me a echo tal fuerza que
aviendo yo dado orden dias á al Parral para que me remitiesen de aqui
a un mes a esta ciudad los quinze [folio 23 ^k] soldados de campaña para

^k Folio 22 in Copy B.

In addition to the aforesaid expenses, many others arise, and it may happen also that when the Indians see themselves pursued, overtaken, and punished everywhere, they may come, perforce, to beseech peace of me. In this case it will be necessary to grant it according to the conditions that I lay down, and not according to theirs. Placing them in pueblos with due regard to their safety, will be another big expense that may arise suddenly, and I shall be without either the money or the orders from your Excellency for the royal officials to give it to me. Therefore, I beg your Excellency, since it is a matter of such importance, that you send me the said order, for it is clear to your Excellency since I have to render an account, that I will render it according to the law of God.

Your Excellency will be pleased to include in the order all the limitations that may seem proper to prevent me from spending a penny badly, for, as they say, an honest man does not mind giving security, and I shall look out for the property of the king because I regard myself as a vassal and as a Christian. Moreover, your Excellency will command whatever pleases you, and, if you will, please consider that this place is distant, that it takes a long time for mail to come and go, that it may not arrive on time, and that the mail costs the king money.

It is also my duty to say to your Excellency that the captains of the presidios always have obeyed their governor, and that they all have great spirit, great intelligence, much zeal, and a great desire to work, and that they have always respected the decisions which I have reached, of all of which I am very proud. With their help, I hope to pacify the kingdom, carrying out the plans now in operation, and by force reduce the bad Indians to a satisfactory peace. It may be that time will show, that with God's help I have hit upon the right course, because conditions are so bad, and the country so without peace, as was said before, that it is necessary for me to work. The peace that I have found consists of those fatalities that I, with Don Antonio Therán, described to your Excellency. These occurred away from this place, and, as I understood it, because the Indians, being stopped on the frontiers of El Parral, fled in this direction.

They have just written to me from the said Real del Parral that about a month ago, on Mount San Pablo, fifteen leagues inland from Tarahumara, between El Parral and Cusiguriáchi, the Indians killed a highly respected merchant named Andrés de Jáuregui¹⁵¹ and six other persons who accompanied him. Having taken the said Jáuregui alive, they tied him to a tree and skinned him alive, and committed other inhumanities that are not to be told. They took from all those districts many horses. News of this having been sent to Captain Retana (although this did not do any good because it arrived too late), he went in pursuit of them. He returned without having encountered them, both because he started too late and because he did not have sufficient troops to divide them into two or three squads to seek the enemy in different directions. This had such a strong effect upon me that, although I had already given an order some days ago to El Parral, that they should send me within a month, to this city, the fifteen field soldiers for my convoy to that camp, I am now writing that they shall not send them, and I order that in the interval until I come, they shall be employed in conveying travellers that may go from

mi conboy asta aquel Real escrivo aora no me los embien, y ordeno que en el Ynterin que Yo llevo se empleen en comboyar los passageros que fueren de el Parral a Cosiguriache, y otras partes para su seguridad Y que si el capitan Retana Respecto de algunas ordenes que le doy los pidiesse se los den todos a su orden en el Ynterin que salen las tres esquadras biniendo los cinquenta de el nuevo Mexico que hacen Señor mucha falta pues esta esto de calidad que aun con ellos por algun tiempo es necessario no dibirtir soldado ninguno de estos presidios en otra operacion que en lo que refiero Y aun sin quitar ningun soldado de los Pressidios ni los quinze de esta ciudad era necessario fuessen quarenta los de campaña del Parral no dudando que con el favor de Dios antes de dos años o descansarian muchos ó sobrarian algunos pero aun en la mas segura paz Siempre Serian necesarios Los Pressidios pues si con ellos¹ se quitassen bolberian los Yndios a las ollas de Egipto, pues si yo Consigo segura Paz a de ser por fuerza y que los soldados anden siempre encima de ellos dejandolo todo a la gran comprehencion de Vuestra Excelencia.

[Aqui é hallado orden de Vuestra excelencia para que los quinze soldados que asisten en esta Ciudad sean pagado despues de haverles passado muestras por oficiales Reales y que despues a de zertificar el cavildo de esta Ciudad han servido enteramente y no han salido de las goteras afuera y esto Señor tiene ynconveniente pues si mi theniente de Governador y Capitan General o yo los mandare salir a tantas cosas como se pueden ofrecer y que en las salidas no se puede tomar punto fixo a sus bueltas ni ser dable se comuniquen al cavildo las operaciones a que se le embia siendo repentinas y que se deve tener satisfaccion de mi o de el Theniente de Capitan general y asi Señor suplico a Vuestra excelencia mande remitirme brebe mandamiento para que pasando la muestra los oficiales Reales que es a quien toca y como se estila en todos los exercitos sea la certificacion de [folio 23] haver servido o mia o de me theniente de Governador y Capitan general que asi Señor conviene por lo que e reconocido asegurando a Vuestra excelencia me a costado gran cuidado y que desde que llegue a Sombrerete estoy rebentando en ynformes, noticias, hordenes y dos mill dispossiciones para el mayor acierto; y espero en Dios tenerle en el tiempo de Vuestra excelencia ya que mis pecados me trajeron a este empleo que aunque no le merezco me olgara no haverle obtenido su divina Magestad ayude. En esta ocassion no doy quenta a su Magestad de nada y solo escrivio al Señor Presidente de Yndias se la doy a Vuestra excelencia de todo quanto se ofrezce que pongo en la notizia de Vuestra excelencia para que haga lo que fuere servido.]

Acabo de tener noticia de que el día treze de este mes mataron los Yndios enemigos tres hombres españoles en el paraje de los organos junto a sombrerete Y el mesmo dia sacaron de San Juan del Mezquital que esta mas de quarenta leguas de sombrerete la caballada que allaron Y al mismo tiempo dieron en Melilla Pastoria de Doña Ana Maria Niño de Cordova, donde mataron y rrobaron que por no saberse el numero no lo Yndividualizo con que reconocera Vuestra Excelencia en el mesmo hecho de los enemigos qual allo el Reino pues divididos a un tiempo en tan distintas

¹ Copy B reads "si con ella".

El Parral to Cusiguriáchi and other places, for their security; and that if Captain Retana, in virtue of any orders that I give him, asks for them, they shall all be given to him upon his order, in the interval before the three squads set out. Even with the fifty soldiers coming from New Mexico, of whom, Sir, there is great need, it will be necessary for some time not to divert a single soldier from these presidios for any other purpose than that which I am indicating. Even without taking away a single soldier from the presidios, and not including the fifteen from this city, there should be forty field soldiers at El Parral. No doubt, within two years, by the favor of God, many may either be withdrawn, or else there will be too many. But even in the most secure peace, the presidios will always be necessary, for if they should be taken away the Indians would return to the fleshpots of Egypt. Indeed, if I secure a permanent peace, it will be by force, with the soldiers constantly over them. I leave everything to the great understanding of your Excellency.

At this place I have found an order from your Excellency, that the fifteen soldiers who are in this city be paid, after they have passed inspection by the royal officials, and after the certification of the cabildo of this city that they have served the whole time and have not left the limits of this place. This, Sir, is inconvenient, for if my lieutenant governor and captain-general or I should command them to go out on such occasions as may arise, and if, when they do go out, the time of their return can not be definitely stated, it is impossible to communicate to the cabildo the operations on which they are sent, since they are sudden. It should be sufficient if either I or my lieutenant-captain-general is responsible, and so, Sir, I beg your Excellency to send me an order to the effect that, after they have passed the inspection by the royal officers to whom this duty pertains, the certification that they have served be either from me or my lieutenant governor and captain-general, since that is the custom in all armies. This, Sir, is what I have considered feasible.

I assure your Excellency that my duties have caused me great care, and that since I arrived in Sombrerete I have been overwhelmed with reports, notices, orders, and two thousand plans for the successful accomplishment of this task. I hope to God to effect it, during the administration of your Excellency. Since my sins brought me to this employment, although I do not deserve it, and I would be glad not to have obtained it, may His Divine Majesty aid me. On this occasion I am not giving an account to his Majesty of anything; I am writing only to the señor president of the Indies.¹⁶² To your Excellency I am giving an account of everything that happens and I bring it all to your Excellency's notice so that you may do what you please.

I have just had news that on the thirteenth day of this month the hostile Indians killed three Spaniards at Los Orgaños, near Sombrerete, and that on the same day they took from San Juan del Mezquital, which is more than forty leagues from Sombrerete, the horses that were there. At the same time they fell upon Melilla, the sheep ranch of Doña Ana María Niño de Cordova, where they killed and robbed; but as I do not know the number [of their victims] I do not give details. Thus your Excellency will perceive, by the very acts of the enemy, in what a state

partes para su remedio es preciso Y necessario Concurra a Un mesmo tiempo toda la gente de los presidios por las distintas partes que refiero a Vuestra Excelencia y que esto no lo puedo executar hasta que bengan los cinquenta Soldados del Nuevo Mexico [y que estando todos regulados en la forma que digo a Vuestra Excelencia no sobra ninguno y son los menos que pueden ser en el estado pressente y aun era nezessario que los quinze soldados del *Parral fueran quarenta* y hallandome Señor en esta planta y encaminandome en las disposiciones referidas tan al servicio de su Magestad y quietud de este reino (que de no se pierde) me dan aora noticia que con la Alcaldia mayor de Sonora que esta distante de los parajes que es menester andar y de el Parral a lo menos docientas leguas de la Vuestra Excelencia a Don Domingo Gironza compañía volante de cinquenta soldados sacandomelos de los pressidios de mi cargo quando era nezessario en el estado presente recutarlos; Y es cierto Señor [folio 24] que si esto estubiera en paz como se decia en Mexico fuera de gran providencia la dicha Compañia no dudando que con el tiempo remediando esto como lo espero remediando esto como lo espero remediar se podran emplear en otras operaciones algunos soldados de los pressidios, pero oy Señor no es dable sacarme ningunos, y respecto de tener por cierto que la gran providencia de Vuestra Excelencia con estas noticias berdaderas la hubiera dado levantandose los cinquenta hombres para Sonora en otra parte que no fuese en la Vizcaya y que el remedio que tiene este Reino es el que refiero porque de lo contrario buelbo a decir que se pierde baliendome de la que me toca que es representar a mi superior; si Don Domingo Gironza pressentare a su despacho antes de tener segunda orden de Vuestra Excelencia de todo lo que en esta ocassion le doy quenta se sirva Vuestra Excelencia mandarme lo que fuere servido que entonzes obedecere a Vuestra Excelencia no digo you en los cinquenta soldados pero en entregarselos todos quedandome solo sacrificando mi vida pues con eso abre cumplido quedandome el consuelo de que al ygual del deseo que tengo de el remedio destas provincias tengo oy un Señor Virrey que mirara por ellas con el afecto que ha mirado Vuestra Excelencia todos los Dominios del Rey nuestro Señor que me sirve de grande alivio en lo fatigado que allo esto.]

Ademas de lo referido pongo en la gran Consideracion de Vuestra Excelencia que si el remedio Unico que e encontrado en el estado de haver reconocido que en doscientas leguas de distancia estan divididos los Yndios executando atrocidades; es el que las tres esquadras los busquen a Un mismo tiempo en mas de trescientas leguas en sus mismas tierras para consumirlos e reducirlos sobre ser tanta maquina de naciones se bieren precissamente afligidos Y que Saben lo bastante Y se resolbiessen a juntarse que no faltara entre ellos quien los tlatolee y unido Un cuerpo formidable, dieren sobre las tres esquadras Sobre cada Uno de por si o todas juntas; que falta harian en tal casso Cinquenta Soldados apartados del corto numero de ciento y quarenta de que se an de componer dichas tres esquadras [como expresso a Vuestra excelencia en el papel de disposiciones y que los Yndios saben los soldados que ay y no ygnoran que se han [folio 25] sacado cinquenta a tan larga distancia] por que los yndios amigos que se sacan no son para pelear ni nunca han servido de eso sino

I find the kingdom, because, since they are scattered in such widely separated parts at the same time, it is necessary for its remedy that all the people of the presidios shall gather at the same time at the various places that I mention to your Excellency, and this cannot be done until the fifty soldiers arrive from New Mexico. With all these distributed in the manner that I outline to your Excellency, there will not be one too many, for they are the least we can get along with in the present condition of affairs. Besides, instead of fifteen soldiers at El Parral, there should be forty.

Finding myself, Sir, absorbed in this matter and in undertaking the above plans so necessary for the service of his Majesty and for the peace of this kingdom (may it not be lost), news has come to me from the *alcaldía mayor* of Sonora, which is far distant from the places that must be patrolled, and more than two hundred leagues from El Parral, that your Excellency has granted to Don Domingo Jironza¹⁵⁸ a flying squad of fifty soldiers to be taken from the presidios in my charge, when [in reality] it was necessary in the present state to strengthen them. It is a fact, Sir, that if this province were at peace, as was stated in Mexico, such a company would be a good thing. There is no doubt that in time, as conditions improve, as I hope to improve them, it will be possible to employ some soldiers from the presidios in other operations. But now, Sir, it is not advisable to take any from me. It is certain that had your Excellency, in your wisdom, had these true reports, you would have given him the order to raise the fifty men for Sonora in some other place than Vizcaya. The necessary remedy for this kingdom is what I have stated; otherwise, I repeat, it will be lost. In this matter, I avail myself of the right of my position to represent to my superior [the true condition of affairs]. Since Don Domingo Jironza may present your order before I have a second order from your Excellency with respect to all this which I am now relating to you, will your Excellency [at once] please command what you desire. Then I shall obey, I repeat, not alone by giving him the fifty soldiers but in handing over all of them to him, even sacrificing my life. For in this way I shall have fulfilled my duty, and I shall have the consolation that just as great as the desire that I have for helping these provinces, so great is the consideration that I have for the señor viceroy who will regard them with the concern that your Excellency has shown for all of the dominions of the king, our lord. This is a great consolation to me, in this trying period in which I find myself.

Besides the above, I present for the high consideration of your Excellency the only remedy that I have found for the conditions prevailing in this country, with the Indians scattered over two hundred leagues of it committing atrocities. This remedy is that the three squads shall pursue them simultaneously for more than three hundred leagues in their own country, in order to destroy or reduce them. Should this multitude of nations, when inevitably they find themselves harassed, and in case they know enough, resolve to unite—and there will not be lacking some one among them to conspire with them—once united in a formidable body, and falling upon the three squads, either upon each one by itself, or all together, what a great deficiency there would be, in case fifty soldiers shall

es para Vigilar^m Y reconocer los parages a pie por las sierras Y montañas como Vaquianos de ellas; Y sucedido lo referido (lo qual Dios no queria) se ariesgaba el todo de este Reino; Y asiⁿ tengo en consuelo de que Vuestra Excelencia se servira premeditar mi berdadera Yngenuidad Y que si es preciso Señor tenga la provincia de Sonora compañía volante de cinquenta soldados no me parece fuera cossa monstruossa el que por no arriesgar este Reino se leuantassen por otra parte quando en el discurso de un año [se reconoceran los efectos de lo que propongo, y que no pudiendose hacer este nuevo gasto al Rey como propongo aora por la mala postura en que esta esto si se remediare tambien con verdad dire entonces se pueden sacar algunos ramos de los Pressidios para otras partes y los dare promptamente; pues yo Señor los soldados los quiero para emplearlos solo en en servicio del Rey y remedio de estas Provincias y no para conveniencia mia alguna haciendolos trabajar continuamente y asi se lo e dicho por escrito y de palabra a todos los Capitanes de los Pressidios y no escondiendose por aca nada se vera bien practicado: Y ya vera Vuestra Excelencia en el papel de disposiciones que remito no se me pasa nada por alto pues aunque toco el Pressidio de Janos no supongo sacar de el ninguna gente y solo digo que en llegando al Parral reconocere lo que conviene hacer en ella; Y estos es encaminando a las operaciones que fueren nezzessarias en la Provincia de Sonora y crea Vuestra Excelencia le dare providencia de Sonora y crea Vuestra Excelencia le dare providencia a lo que reconociere y dare quenta de todo a Vuestra Excelencia verdaderamente porque de obrar bien y sin conveniencias ynjustas como lo acreditara el tiempo; y sino lo executare asi Vuestra Excelencia es Virrey y yo su subdito y tengo tanto deseo del remedio de estas Provincias que suplico a Vuestra Excelencia no estrañe lo mucho que me dilato en proponer los ynconvenientes que toco, que haviendo yo cumplido con este obligacion Vuestra Excelencia mandara lo que fuere servido que sera lo mejor y a mi no me quedara otra cosa que es [folio 26] obedecer a Vuestra Excelencia con gran gusto; y Señor siendo los cinquenta los soldados del Pressidio del Capitan Retana reintegrandose de los de el nuevo Mexico en el papel de disposiciones vera Vuestra Excelencia le asigno para su esquadron sesenta y diez para que se queden en su Pressidio con que le abre de dar veinte de estos otros Pressidios; sucediendo lo mismo con el Capitan Martin de Ugalde pues teniendo en su pressidio veinte y quatro soldados de dotacion abiendo de salir con quarenta en su esquadra y quedando ocho en su pressidio le abre de dar de otros veinte y quatro soldados y como hago aora esto por necesario siempre que pueda y se ofrezca dare para las fronteras de Sonora y para qualquiera otra parte todos quantos fueren menester. Esperando esta requa de la plata para que llebe esta carta a algunos dias que la esto escribiendo y cada dia se ofrezze que añadir pues aora me avisan que a quatro y sinco leguas del Parral se han llevado los yndios muchas cavalladas y se hallan los dueños de las haziendas asi de labores de campo como de minas tan desesperados y amedrentados quanto lo demuestran los efectos de sus riesgos; Y en el

^m Copy B has "vigiar".

ⁿ Copy B has "casi".

have been taken from the minimum number of one hundred and forty soldiers with which the three squads must be composed. I say to your Excellency in the written proposals, the Indians know how many soldiers there are, and will not be ignorant of the fact that fifty have been taken away to such a great distance, for the friendly Indians that are enlisted are not fighting, nor have they ever been used for this. They have only been used as guides to watch and to explore on foot the places in the sierras and mountains. If the above should happen (which God forbid), this whole kingdom would be in danger. I hold it as a consolation that your Excellency will be pleased to believe me to be frank and honest. But if it is necessary, Sir, for the province of Sonora to have a flying company of fifty soldiers, this does seem to me to be an unreasonable thing, provided, in order not to endanger this kingdom, they may be raised in some other part.

When, in the course of a year, the results which I propose are realized, and when it will be unnecessary to call on the king for the extra expense which I am now proposing on account of the bad conditions prevailing here, if, indeed, the situation is remedied, then I shall in truth say that some troops from these presidios may be transferred to other places, and I shall give them promptly. For, Sir, I wish only to employ the soldiers in the service of the king and in the remedying of this problem, and not for any personal advantage. To accomplish this, I am making them work continually, and I have ordered, by letters, and verbally, all the captains of the presidios to do likewise, and, since nothing there is done under cover, this order will be put into effect, and your Excellency will see in the plans that I remit that nothing escapes me. For, although the order applies to the presidio of Janos, I do not intend to take any troops from it, and I only say that as soon as I arrive in El Parral, I shall see what is necessary to be done there.

This brings us to the operations that will be necessary in the province of Sonora. Believe me, your Excellency, I shall take measures to meet the situation, and I shall give a true account of everything to your Excellency. I shall work well and without personal interest, as time will tell; if I do not, your Excellency is the viceroy and I am your subject. I have such a desire to improve conditions in this province that I beg your Excellency not to be surprised at the length of my reports setting forth the disadvantages of the situation. Having complied with my obligation, your Excellency may command as you see fit, which will be for the best. As for me there is nothing to do but to obey your Excellency cheerfully.

Sir, in case the fifty soldiers of the garrison of Captain Retana are reinforced by those from New Mexico,¹⁶⁴ your Excellency will see in my outline of plans that I have assigned him sixty for his squad, and ten to remain in his garrison. For this reason I shall have to give him twenty from the other presidios. The same is true with respect to Captain Martín de Ugalde, who has now a detachment of twenty-four in his garrison; and since he has to go out with forty and has to leave eight in his garrison, I shall have to give him twenty-four soldiers from other presidios. As I now do this from necessity, so shall I always do when the occasion presents itself, either on the frontiers of Sonora or in any other district.

Mazapil an executado bastantes robos y atrocidades que por no saber a punto fixo lo sucedido no lo yndividualizo y aviendo llegado antes de ayer Don Joseph Marin me dize que en el Rio de Medina se le fueron a guarezer huyendo unos arrieros el uno medio muerto y que el mismo Marin bido la polboreda de la mucha cavallada que lleaban los yndios que quiza por este embarazo no dieron sobre Marin y sobre los demas con que vera Vuestra Excelencia es muy nezzessario executar lo referido y que no me falte ningun medio para ello y buelbo a decir a Vuestra Excelencia que en el Parral son muy precisos quarenta soldados de campaña asi para el castigo de estos yndios como para guardar aquellos minerales y los de Cosiguriache, y Urique que son muy ricos y que se travajen con seguridad y que se conboyen los pasajeros de aquellos caminos y que de estos puede resultar ademas de la seguridad y quietud de un Reino tan rico como este el que se pueble mucho y que a su Magestad se le sigan en el creze de sus quintos muy considerables porciones de plata y para que estos quarenta soldados se cumpliesen con solo el creze del sueldo de veinte bastaba si Vuestra Excelencia lo manda disponer pues para consuelo desto bastan aqui diez y passandose cinco al Parral con los [folio 27] quinze que hay oy y los veinte añadidos hazen el numero de quarenta y aseguro a Vuestra Excelencia que se havia de experimentar lo que refiero sobre que en todo lo demas mandara Vuestra Excelencia lo que fuere servido pues a mi no me toca mas que representar aunque reconozco que esta a mi cuidado esto; Dios me saque bien de todo; de aqui a tres dias espero al Señor Obispo y en ablando con su Excelentissima despacio passare al Parral. A Don Joseph Marin (que quando llego aqui traia bastantes noticias de la forma en que esta el Reyno) e comunicado todos mis dictámenes y enseñado todos los escriptos que hago a Vuestra Excelencia y haviendole dicho que con yngenuidad me diga su sentir en todo o en parte no tan solamente no ha tenido que reparar pero como tan celoso del servicio del Rey me a dado muchos abrazos, Dios deje lograr mi intencion que aseguro a Vuestra Excelencia es encaminada solo al servicio de Dios y del Rey sin otro fin. Esta requa de plata con quarenta y quatro mill marcos llego abra seis dias y haviendose trabajado lo bastante para su despacho sale oy y a Joseph Cardoso dueño de ella le e ponderado lo mucho que ymporta la brevedad de su viaje y que Vuestra Excelencia le dara muchas gracias por lo que le adelantare; quedo a los pies de Vuestra Excelencia cuiá perssona guarde Dios muchos años en su mayor grandeza Durango dos de Maio de Mill seiscientos y noventa y tres años. Excelentismo Señor. Señor Besso los pies de Vuestra Excelencia su rendido esclavo. Don GABRIEL DE EL CASTILLO. Excelentismo Señor. Conde de Galve mi Señor.

While waiting for the convoy of silver to take this letter, which I have been writing for several days, each day something has developed to be added. Now, they advise me that at four or five leagues from El Parral the Indians have carried off many droves of horses, and the owners of the ranches, as well as the farm hands and mine laborers, are desperate and discouraged, and are demoralized as a result of their peril. At Mazapil they have committed a number of robberies and atrocities about which, not knowing exactly what happened, I do not go into details. Don Joseph Marín having arrived the day before yesterday, tells me that on the Medina River some muleteers went flying to him for protection, one half dead, and that he, Marín, saw the dust raised by the number of droves of horses that the Indians were driving off. Perhaps because they were driving them off, they did not attack Marín and the others.

From this your Excellency will see that it is very necessary to proceed as outlined above, and may I lack no means to do so. I again say to your Excellency that at El Parral a flying squad of forty soldiers is needed for the punishment of these Indians as well as to guard the mines, especially those of Cusiguriáchi and Urique, which are very rich, in order that they may be worked with safety and that the passengers along those roads may be convoyed. From this may result, in addition to the security and peace of a kingdom so rich as this is, an increased population, and his Majesty's fifths may continue to increase considerably from the silver. In order that these forty soldiers may be secured with only the increase of the salary of twenty, it will be sufficient for your Excellency to merely command this. For the peace of this place, ten will suffice; five being sent to El Parral, together with the fifteen that are already there, and the twenty that will be added, make the number of forty. I assure your Excellency that it will be necessary to carry out what I have outlined; as regards everything else, your Excellency may command as you please. Although it is my duty in this matter only to inform you, I realize that this province is in my charge. May God guide me well through it all.

Three days from now I expect the bishop, and as soon as I have a talk with his Reverence, I will proceed to El Parral.

I have communicated all my intentions to Don Joseph Marín (who, when he arrived here, brought sufficient account of the condition of the kingdom), and have shown him all my writings to your Excellency. Having told him with frankness that he should tell me his sentiments, in whole or in part, not only did he have no improvement to suggest, but he has given me many embraces as one zealous in the service of the king. God permit me to carry out my plan, for I assure your Excellency that its object is solely for the service of God and the king, and that I have no other motive.

The shipment of silver, valued at 4000 marks, arrived six days ago. Urgent preparations having been made for its despatch, it goes out to-day, and I have impressed Joseph Cardoso, master of it, with the importance of rapid transit, and that your Excellency will thank him for hastening it for him.

I remain at the feet of your Excellency, whose person may God preserve many years in greatest honor. Durango, May 2, 1693. Most Ex-

Carta del Alcalde Mayor
Don Manuel de Agramontt
y Arce al Señor Virrey.
Sinaloa, 22 de Abril de 1693.

Excelentismo Señor: Haunque ha poco tiempo que por mano de el señor Presidente de Guadalaxara Remiti a Vuestra Excelencia Un pliego con el Ynforme que por despacho de ocho de enero del año pasado me tenia pedido Vuestra Excelencia hallando esta ocasion de escribir y dar parte a Vuestra excelencia del Recivo de el despacho de Azogues que llego a mis manos en una de mi hermano adjunto con otro despacho de Su Magestad en que Vuestra Excelencia es servido de mandarme se hagan las oficinas para el ensayador y que ynforme el estado que tienen estos Reales y otro para que los cavos questan en fronteras no pasen al castigo de ningunos Yndios apressados en guerra sin que primero se les haya hecho causa y siendo sentenciados por azesor, Despues de rendir a Vuestra Excelencia repetidas gracias por la merced de la administracion que a sido servido [folio 34 °] de poner a mi cuidado passo a poner en la noticia de Vuestra Excelencia que luego le remiti las ordenes al cavo questa en fronteras para que execute segun Vuestra Excelencia manda aunque no tiene al pressente ynterbencion alguna pues solo hacen los que estan alli de mi cargo lo que les ordena el alcalde mayor del Real de San Juan y theniente de Nacosari teniendo su morada en Coradeguachi a la guarda de aquella frontera de donde tube cartas ayer y a largo tiempo segun me escriben que los Yndios no hacen otro daño que llebarse algunos cavallos desmandados siendo una partida de treinta la de mas consecuencia que seguidos de quatro soldados les quitaron la mitad; en esta provincia esta al pressente la epidemia ó Sarampion en su mayor fuerza siendo en los naturales la mortalidad grandisima por cuiu caussa los Reales estan Parados sin que se de Un baretazo al mesmo tiempo por la falta de aguas haviendo havido muy corta cosecha se a seguido hambre la qual a sido caussa de diberrsos efectos al principio comenzaron tlatoles de que el Dios de los españoles estava enojado con los naturales Y comenzaron a escapar para pueblos y Rancherias los Padres tienen arto que hacer en amonestarlos Curarlos y administrarlos, haviendo Yo venido del Rio mayo y passado a esta Villa de Sinaloa a los contornos de Guadalupe y entre Tegueco Y los Alamos se manifestaron algunos Yndios con sus Arcos y flechas Robando; Alborrotosse un poco la tierra con esta novedad Y con la gente que se pudo que fueron solo diez combalecientes Ymbie promptamente al cavo a que los corriese por estar yo a la saçon con calenturas, y quedo procurando recojer algunos para salir si bien no ay mas nobedad ni a sido cossa de ningun cuidado Solo lo participo a Vuestra Excelencia para que si tubiere alguna noticia por alla no se le cause pues a sido cossa de muy corto fundamento si bien es bastante para dar a entender quanto Ymporta el que el pressidio este siempre en accion Y que ba esto amenazando [folio 34] maiores Ruinas pero Gracias a Dios lo beo todo reducido si bien quedan todabia algunas rochelas por desnidar, al presente es casso ympossible el proseguir porque estos Yelos y faltas de aguas acarreo otro epidemia a los animales con que los que han quedado no estan para moverlos a mucha travajo espero que

cellent Sir. Sir, I kiss the feet of your Excellency. Your humble servant, Don GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO. To the Count of Galve, my lord.

Most Excellent Sir: Although it is but a little while since I sent to your Excellency, by the hand of the señor president of Guadalajara, a parcel of papers, with the report which, in a despatch of the eighth of January last, your Excellency had requested, I now take this opportunity of writing and advising your Excellency of the receipt [of the memorandum] of the consignment of quicksilver which came to my hands in a letter from my

Letter of the *alcalde mayor* Don Manuel de Agramont y Arce, to the señor viceroy. Sinaloa, April 22, 1693.

brother, enclosed with another despatch from his Majesty. In your despatch your Excellency is pleased to order me to have the offices built for the assayer and to report upon the condition of these camps; in another, you order that the heads of the forces that are on the frontiers henceforth shall not punish any Indians taken in battle without first giving them a trial and having sentence passed upon them by a legal adviser.

After rendering to your Excellency profuse thanks for the favor of the office which you have been pleased to put in my care, I wish to bring to the knowledge of your Excellency that I immediately transmitted the orders to the chief who is on the frontiers, so that he might do as your Excellency commands. At present he has no authority, for those of my charge on that frontier do only what the *alcalde mayor* of the Real de San Juan, and deputy of Nacosari, whose residence is in Corodéguaichi for the guarding of that frontier, tells them to do. I had letters from there yesterday. According to what they write me, the Indians have done no harm for a long time, except to carry off some stray horses, a band of thirty being the largest that they took. Four soldiers followed them and brought back half of these.

In this province there is now an epidemic of measles in its worst form. The mortality among the natives is very great, as a result of which the camps are at a standstill, without so much as the stroke of a pick. At the same time, through lack of rain, the crops have been very short, from which hunger has resulted. This has been the cause of the various troubles. At first they began to hold powwows and to say that the God of the Spaniards was angry with the natives. Then they began to run away to the pueblos and rancherias. The fathers are having a great deal of trouble in advising, curing, and administering them.

After I had come from the River Mayo and had reached this town of Sinaloa, some Indians with bows and arrows appeared in the vicinity of Guadalupe between Tegueco and Los Alamos and began to rob. The country was a little upset by this news, and I, at the time being ill with fever, promptly sent the ranking officer with all the people that he could get, that being at that time only ten convalescents, to drive them off. I am now trying to collect some people in order to go out, although there is no further news, nor has anything happened to cause anxiety. I only inform your Excellency of it, so that in case you should hear of it you need not

Vuestra excelencia estara Ynformado de que no se omite ninguno, Y solo siento en el Alma la detencion de siete hombres que al pressente estan en Sonora que con la enfermedad casi locos se bolbieron tres y estan tales ellos Y los que estan aqui que no e podido emplaçarlos ademas que como alli no ay, cavo todos estan desperdigados Y no Sirben de nada alla y aca hacen bastante falta pues por Ultimo se compone el Presidio de quarenta y tres hombres con el Armero los quales estan en accion continua por lo menos desde que puse los pies en la provincia, Y todo es menester y aun algo mas en cuia consideracion no puedo dejar de suplicar a Vuestra excelencia con todo rendimiento; Si es possible me mande retirar los que estan en Sonora pues reconosco evidentemente que de faltar o disminuir este Presidio Si cave disminucion en Una cossa tan corta se pone a evidente peligro de perderse la tierra Yaqui y Sonora Y que en esta provincia en Una necesidad aunque se quiera reclutar es Ynpossible el conseguirlo ni de dos hombres porque su Principal Pueblo es de mercaderes que ban y bienen Y los estancieros son pocos y tales que antes de exponerse a nada dejaran mil vezes la tierra y de qualquiera alboroto que Ubiere en particular en las costas se a de recrecer al Real haver otros costos como los passados de que la Recluta de Guadalaxara se recrecieron y con tan poco fruto Como mostro la experiencia Y la raçon de estado que en estas materias a siempre militado, es que para uno ora que aya menester, su Magestad, los soldados los sustenta toda una vida y de no se arriesga todo. [La cantidad de azogues que an entregado en las Caxas de Guadalajara y que estoy esperando por oras es de ciento y dos quintales dizen tienen hecho [folio 35] repartimiento a los mineros de estos Reales que acudieron luego de noventa y ocho quintales como lo obran participado ya a Vuestra excelencia. El ensayador ni su Theniente no han bendido aun, y para hacerle la fundicion se espera porque elixa el paraje que allare mas conveniente; el ynforme del estado desta mineria y de lo que se necesita ymbiare a Vuestra excelencia luego que la gente se recobre algo porque al pressente todo esta ymposibilitado es quanto se me ofrezce poner en la noticia de Vuestra excelencia cui vida guarde Dios los muy felizes años que puede deseo y e menester de] Sinaloa a Veinte y dos de abril de mil seiscientos y noventa y tres. [Excelentissimo Señor. A los pies de Vuestra Excelencia.] Don MANUEL DE AGRAMONTT Y ARCE. [Excelentissimo Señor Conde de Galve.]

be troubled, for it has been a matter of very small importance, although it is enough to show how necessary it is that the presidio shall be always in action. This attack threatens greater disaster, yet, thanks to God, I see that particular danger removed, although there still remain some thickets to be cleared out. At present it is almost impossible to go on, for frosts and the lack of rain have caused another epidemic among the animals, and those that survive are in no condition to be put to much work. However, I hope that your Excellency will believe that nothing is neglected.

I deeply regret in my soul the detention of the seven men who are now in Sonora, three of whom went almost insane from illness. They and those who are here are in such a state that I have not been able to summon them. Besides, as there is no chief there, they are all scattered. They serve no purpose there, while here there is great need of them, for the presidio is composed of only forty-three men, counting the armorer, who are constantly in action—at least they have been ever since I set foot in the province—and all are needed, and even more. In view of this, I cannot avoid beseeching your Excellency with all humility to order, if it be possible, that those who are in Sonora return to me, for I see clearly that if this presidio be diminished, that is, if a thing so small can be diminished, it will surely put the Yaqui and Sonora country in danger of being lost. If, in time of necessity, any attempt should be made to recruit, in this province, it would be impossible to accomplish it, even to the extent of two men, for its principal pueblo is made up of merchants who come and go, and the farmers are few and of such a sort that rather than expose themselves to anything they would a thousand times rather leave the country. If there should be any disturbance, especially on the coasts, the royal expenses will have to be increased, just as they were increased in the past, in the recruiting at Guadalajara, and with small results, as experience proved. The state reason that has always militated against these affairs is that for the one hour that his Majesty may have need of the soldiers, he has to sustain them for all their lives; yet, if he does not do so, all is endangered.

The amount of quicksilver that has been delivered to the treasury of Guadalajara, and that I am hourly expecting, is 102 hundredweights. They say they have distributed to the miners of these camps about 98 hundredweights, as they have already advised you. Neither the assayer nor his assistant has yet come, and the location of the smelter awaits his arrival so that he may choose the most advantageous place. The report of the status of this mine and of that which is needed, I will send to your Excellency just as soon as the people are somewhat recovered, but at present all this is impossible.

This is all that I need to call to the attention of your Excellency, whose life, I hope and trust, God may spare for the greatest possible number of happy years. Sinaloa, April 22, 1693. Most Excellent Sir, at the feet of your Excellency, DON MANUEL DE AGRAMONT Y ARCE. To the Most Excellent Señor, the Count of Galve.

Excelentísimo Señor. Señor: Despues que hize el despacho del Parral determine passar a esta ciudad por haverme escripto mi theniente se queria yr a essa, a currarsse de algunos achaques que le aquejan; Y es cierto, Señor que no puedo dexar de representa a Vuestra Excelencia que no puedo tener theniente en esta caxa dandole la mitad de mi salario como le e hecho asta aqui no mandando Vuestra Excelencia a los mineros del Parral

[Folio 37^p] Carta de Don Joseph de Ursua official Real de Durango al Señor Virrey. Durango, 12 de mayo de 1693.

paguen lo que daban al administrador Don Augustin herbant del Camino que no mandando Vuestra excelencia lo que pido es ympossible Señor poder assistir en dicho Real por lo que llebo referido de lo que se le da al theniente y con la otra mitad no puedo passar; Vuestra Excelencia mandara lo que fuera Servido que sera lo mejor en el servicio de su Magestad [la divina guarde a Vuestra excelencia en los puestos que su grandeza mereze y este su criado le desea] Durango y mayo doze de mill seiscientos y noventa y tres. [Excelentísimo Señor. Beso los pies de Vuestra excelencia su menor criado.] Don JOSÉ DE URSUA.

Excelentísimo Señor: El fiscal de su Magestad a bisto esta Carta de Don Joseph de Ursua ofizial Real rresidente en el Parral; y dize que la pretencion de que los Mineros del Parral le acudan con lo mismo que a Don Augustin herbant del Camino por no tener bastante con el salario que goza por nezessitar de theniente a quien paga la mitad no puede tener lugar Respecto de no allarse prebenido en su titulo antes vien por el excluydo haviendose relebado de esta [folio 38^a] contribucion a los dichos mineros y cargandosse el salario al Valor de los Azogues con que de qualquiera novedad en contrario se alterar esta disposicion que pende de la Real Voluntud a quien esta parte recurrira con la Representacion que hace a Vuestra excelencia que sobre todo mandara lo que mas convenga Y lo mejor. Mexico, Junio 10 de 1693.^r Don JUAN DE ESCALANTE Y MENDOÇA.

Respuesta del Fiscal.
Mexico, 10 de junio de 1693.

Señor Governador y Capitan-General: Desde el Puesto de Sain escrivi a Vuestra Señoria la ultima en raçon de la expedicion de mi cargo, Y como Vajaba al parage de San Juan de Costa a esperar la resulta de los enemigos que havian entrado en las fronteras de la Galicia Y haviendo esperado ocho dias y no teniendo Raçon despache cinco Yndios al Pressidio por tenerla Y bolbieron Con la de haver Vuestra Señoria salido del y carta que fue servido dejarme escripta el dia de su partida, Y que de Yndios no havia Resultado en las fronteras novedad ninguna con que hize el animo de bus-

[Folio 47.] Copia de [una] carta de el Sargento mayor Juan Bautista de Escorza para remitir a Su Excelencia.^a [Don Gabriel del Castillo.] Zerro Gordo, 13 de julio de 1693.

^p Folio 36 in Copy B.

^a Folio 37 in Copy B.

^r Copy B reads "Mexico y Junio diez y ocho de mill seiscientos y noventa y tres".

^s This is doubtless a miscopy for "Señoria".

Most Excellent Sir: Sir: After I sent the despatch from El Parral, I determined to come on to this city, because my deputy had written to me that he wished to come to this place to seek a cure for some ailments of which he was complaining. It is a fact, Sir, which I cannot fail to call to the attention of your Excellency, that I cannot keep a deputy in this treasury, even by giving him half of my salary, as I have done hitherto, unless your Excellency shall order the miners of El Parral to pay him what they were giving the administrator, Don Agustín Herbante del Camino. If your Excellency does not order what I ask, it will be impossible, Sir, for me to remain at the said camp and give the above-mentioned amount to the deputy, for I cannot live on the other half. Your Excellency will order, as you see fit, which will be the best for the service of his Majesty. May divine grace guard your Excellency in the station which your nobleness merits, and as this, your servant, desires for you. Durango, May 12, 1693. Most excellent Sir, I kiss the feet of your Excellency, your most humble servant, Don JOSÉ DE URSUA.

Letter of Don Joseph de Ursua, royal official of Durango, to the señor viceroy. [Durango, May 12, 1693.]

Most Excellent Sir: The fiscal of his Majesty has read this letter from Don Joseph de Ursua, royal official in El Parral, and says that his recommendation that the miners of El Parral shall pay him what they paid Don Agustín Herbante del Camino, because he has not enough with the salary that he enjoys, since he is compelled to pay half of it to a deputy, cannot be honored, for the reason that it is not provided for in his appointment, but on the contrary is refused, the said miners having been relieved of this tax, and the salary charged to the income from the quicksilver sales. Any change that may be made in this measure depends upon the royal will, to whom this party may apply with the statements which he makes to your Excellency, who will decide what is most advantageous and best. Mexico, June 10, 1693. Don JUAN DE ESCALANTE Y MENDOZA.

Reply of the fiscal. Mexico, June 10, 1693.

Señor Governor and Captain-General: From the post of Sain I made my last report to your lordship, regarding the expedition in my charge, telling you how I went down to San Juan de Costa to await the outcome of the advance of the enemy upon the frontiers of La Galicia. After waiting eight days without hearing anything, I despatched five Indians to the presidio to get orders. They returned with the news that your lordship had left it, and brought me a letter that you were good enough to write me on the day of your departure. [They also brought] the news that nothing further had been heard from the Indians on the frontier.

Copy of a letter from the *sargento mayor* Juan Bautista de Escorza, to be sent to his lordship Don Gabriel del Castillo. Cerro Gordo, July 13, 1693.

carlos acia Mapimi quando al dia siguiente que fue Diez y siete de el passado Recibi con dos Yndios un papel de mi theniente con otro de el Alcalde maior de Nueces^t en que me dizen que los enemigos Sacaban cantidad de Cavallada Robada Y que pretendia salir tras ellos el dicho alcalde mayor y rrogaba saliesen del Pressidio los soldados que hubiese al passo de Guanabal Y me dize mi theniente que Yba alla con doze hombres pero que se consideraba Salian los yndios por acia el Alamo Ynmediato al Parral,^u con que dando al Real orden que marchasse por el Rio abajo me adelante con dos esquadras hasta un puertto por donde havia de salir el enemigo y haviendo esperado y no pareciendo ymbie espías asta Santa Ana y el Alamo Ynmediato al Parral^v Y no allaron rastro alguno con que consideramos haverles quitado la cavallada Y por esto bolbi a buscar mi Real Y luego despache al pressidio Diez soldados a saber el sucesso los quales a puestas del sol del dia Veinte en la Cañada de San Diego se encontraron con los enemigos que se pusieron en fuga Y los corrieron hasta las oraciones Sin poder lograr Cojer ni matar ninguno de dichos enemigos; dichos soldados me trujeron la noticia de haver alcanzado la cavallada el alcalde mayor de Nicues^w en la derecera que los estube Yo esperando Con esta raçon passe por el Rio abajo y a Veinte y siete del passado llegue al Pueblo de San Lorenço Ynmediato a la laguna y el dia Veinte y ocho andubimos recorriendo aquellas Malezas y espezu-ras y hallamos que quando les di en las rancherías estaba otra Una legua mas abajo dos Vezes [folio 48] mas numerosa que juntas las que bimos Y que ya los enemigos se havian desalojado de aquel Rio por diferentes rumbos Ympossibles a seguirlos,^x Y menos quando, el tiempo estaba tan escaso de aguas: en fin a treinta sali de aquel Rio para Mapimi dejando en los bosques perdidos ocho cavallos Y a las quatro leguas hube de hacer alto, porque la mitad de la cavallada Se me quedaba canssada Con que a otro dia despues de medio dia llegue a Mapimi Con arto trabajo Y no allando Rastro ni señal de enemigos pase a la Cadena desde donde embie al pressidio de el Gallo la cavallada mas cansada Y tambien eche espías a Santo Thomas Y otros parajes que descurrimos que tendrian agua ni tampoco hubo en ellos Rastro de enemigos, desde alli passe a Pelayo y embie espías a Poso ediondo, Tinaja Sierra de Ontiveros Y Voca de el Zerro Gordo Con orden que me salieran a encontrar el Arroyo abajo de Patos; Yo marche al de Cruzes, Y haviendo llegado a nuebe de el corriente a dicho Arroyo de Patos a esperar la raçon de los espías Y haviendose quedado diez soldados tres leguas antes del Parage a matar Una Res que estaba alli; Y biniendo Con ella a Yncorporarse con el campo entrando por el Puerto de la Sierra de Ramuz desde la punta de dicha Sierra les dieron Un alarido los enemigos Sin querer bajar a pelear Con ellos aunque les probocaron Con palabras de que me abisaron con un soldado y haviendo ydo y hecho Una esquadra por la falda de la Sierra Y subiendo

^t Copy B has "nieves". This apparently is correct.

^u Copy B has "Parras". This apparently is correct.

^v See note u.

^w Copy B has "nieves". This is correct.

^x Copy B reads "de seguirlos".

Thereupon I made up my mind to go in the direction of Mapimi, in search of them, but, on the following day, the seventeenth of last month, I received by two Indians a paper from my lieutenant, and another from the *alcalde mayor* of Nieves,¹⁶⁸ in which they told me that the enemy were making off with a number of stolen horses, and that the said *alcalde mayor* was thinking of going after them, and begged that whatever soldiers might be at Guanabal Pass should set out from the presidio. My lieutenant told me that he was going there with twelve men, but that he believed the Indians were going toward El Alamo, near Parras. Having given him the royal order to march down the river, I went ahead with two squads as far as a pass by which the enemy would have to come out. After waiting there for some time, without seeing anything of them, I sent spies to Santa Ana and El Alamo, near Parras, but they found no trace of them. We decided they must have taken the horses from them, and for this reason I returned to my camp and immediately despatched ten soldiers to the presidio to find out what had happened.

At sunset on the twentieth, in the Cañada de San Diego, they encountered the enemy, who took to flight, and they chased them until twilight without being able to catch or kill a single one of the said enemy. The said soldiers brought me the news, in the narrow pass where I was waiting for them, that the said *alcalde mayor* of Nieves had recovered the horses. For this reason, I went on down the river, and on the twenty-seventh of last month I arrived at the pueblo of San Lorenzo, near La Laguna, and on the twenty-eighth we went about exploring those thickets and woods. When we came upon the rancherías we found that there was another one a league further down, twice as populous as all of those put together that we had seen. But the enemy had abandoned that river and gone off in different directions where it was impossible to follow them, especially as the weather was so extremely dry. Finally, on the thirtieth, I left that river for Mapimi, leaving eight horses lost in the woods. At four leagues I had to halt, as half of my horses were worn out.

On the next day in the afternoon, after a great deal of trouble, I reached Mapimi, but finding no trace or sign of the enemy, I went on to La Cadena, whence I sent to the presidio of El Gallo the horses that were most tired. I also sent spies to Santo Tomás and other places where we thought there might be water, but they did not find there any trace of the enemy. From there I went on to Pelayo and sent spies to Poso Hediondo, Tinaja, Sierra de Ontiveros, and Boca del Cerro Gordo, with orders to come and meet me at the lower Arroyo de Patos. I marched to the Arroyo de Cruces, and arrived on the ninth of the present month at the said Arroyo de Patos to await news from the spies. Ten soldiers had remained three leagues from the place to kill a beef that was there, and when they were coming to the camp with it, while they were entering by the pass of La Sierra de Ramuz, the enemy gave a war-whoop from the summit of the said sierra, but were not willing to come down and fight with them, although they used words to provoke them. They informed me of this by a soldier.

Yo con la otra por encima de ella se fueron retirando asta donde se parte la sierra Y hube de bajar Y la esquadra que Yba por la falda Subio tras ellos la segunda parte de la sierra quedandose los mas de ellos con las bestias cansadas no obstante hasta seis soldados se empeñaron en subir por amparar tres yndios amigos que iban mas delanteros Con que los enemigos biendo Y pareciendo que podian lograr algo Rebolbieron de tropel pero no consiguieron mas que el que Un Yndicuelo de los amigos le echo⁷ a Uno de ellos por la barriga que lo llebaron arast- [folio 49] trando Y acometiendo yo promptamente a subir la segunda sierra como con efecto la subi asta aquel Paraje se fueron huyendo por dicha sierra por donde por entonces no los podimos seguir con que bolbi al Real ya tarde donde alle las espias azoradas diziendome que desde el dia antes benian tras el rastro de mucha gente de a pie y solo dos a cavallo Y que benian Ynmediatos por delante desde los Picachos del Pozo ediondo de la parte de el Oriente Y que salian los Rastros de mas atras de dichos Picachos con que parece que aquella mañana havia llegado esta gente a la sierra de Ramuz traiendo premeditada alguna faccion considerable pues eran quarenta Yndios antes mas que menos y todos a pie Gente pareja Y bien armada. A otro dia por la mañana que fue diez de el corriente bolbi Con dos esquadras Y echando la Una con los Yndios amigos por la sima de la segunda sierra y Yo por la falda con otra esquadra la andubimos asta el fin Y rreconocimos haverse salido aquella noche para la misma parte de donde binieron bien apresuradamente, con que biendo la poca esperanza que havia de ello en seguirlos el no haver agua en pozo ediondo por aquellas partes Y lo canssado de mi Cavallada trate de salir a este presidio donde llegue ayer, y juntamente enpezo a llober el cielo que a andado riguroso ogaño Y nos a afligio arto; esta es por mayor la raçon de lo Sucedido de que por menor le dara el portador y no puedo dejar de darla a Vuestra Señoria de que emos experimentado haver mucha gente [nueba] entre los enemigos pues la quarta parte de ellos aun no es la de los enemigos tobossos Y como escrivia Vuestra Excelencia⁸ andan entre ellos naciones de acia el Rio de el Norte e por aquellas partes de coaguila de quienes han conocido algunos los Yndios amigos quienes tambien estan espantados de ber tanta gente nueba Y esto es menester prebenir en su origen Y que el capitan de Coaguila Sepa las naciones que son y le conste juridicamente para que haga la diligencia pues estan en son de paz con el, y Agustin el Yndio Declaraba ante mi lo que vio Y conocio que no fue mucho el que alla dijese que no havia conocido ninguno haviendole preguntado si havia [folio 50] Conocido algun Yndio de Coaguila Siendo el y los que tengo en mi pressidio de Coaguila que yo Ynsignue a Vuestra Señoria entendiendo explicarme mejor con el termino de acia Coaguila siendo que los tales enemigos que son como diez o doze naciones son y estan a la parte de el Norte de Coaguila desde, el puesto llamado Santa Rosa asta el Rio Turbio [o] de el Norte distancia de sessenta leguas los mas cercanos. No puedo dejar de poner en la conssideracion de Vuestra Señoria conforme la obligacion que tengo el estado en que (siento con la

⁷ Copy B has "le flecho".

⁸ This is doubtless a miscopy for "Señoria".

While one squad went along the slope of the sierra and I went with the other to its summit, they retreated as far as the place where the sierra divides. There I had to go down, and the squadron that was going along the slope went after them up to the second part of the sierra. Notwithstanding that most of their horses were very tired, six of the soldiers undertook to climb up to assist three friendly Indians who were going ahead. The enemy seeing this, and believing that they could accomplish something, came rushing back, but nothing was accomplished, except that a young Indian ally shot in the belly one of them whom they dragged away. Coming up, I promptly undertook to ascend the second sierra, as I in fact did, as far as that place; thereupon they fled through the said sierra, where we could not at that time follow them.

As it was already late, I then returned to the camp, where I found the spies in great alarm. They told me that since the previous day they had been following the trail of many people on foot, with two only on horseback, and that they were approaching in front of the peaks of Pozo Hediondo from the direction of the east. The tracks of others came out behind the said peaks, by which it appears that that morning these people had reached the Sierra de Ramuz, bringing with them a well-prepared and considerable party, for there were forty Indians—more rather than less—all on foot and the people well equipped and armed. The next day in the morning, which was the tenth of the present month, I returned with two squads, and while one went with the friendly Indians to the top of the second sierra, I went along the slope with the other. We went all over it up to the end, and perceived that they had gone out that night by the same place where they had come in with such a rush. Seeing from this how small the hope was of following them, and that there was no water in or around Pozo Hediondo, and that my horses were very tired, I decided to leave for this presidio, where I arrived yesterday. At the same time it began to rain. This has been a bad year, and has afflicted us greatly. This is, in the main, the report of what has occurred, of which the bearer will give you the details.

I cannot omit reporting to your lordship that we have found that there are many new people among the enemy, for the hostile Tobosos do not make up even the fourth part of them, and, as I wrote to your lordship, there are among them nations from the region of the Río del Norte and those parts of Coahuila, some of whom have been known to the friendly Indians, who are also alarmed at seeing so many new people among them. It is necessary to guard against this situation at its very beginning, and the captain of Coahuila should find out what nations are among them and should make an exact report of it to you, so that you may take the necessary measures, for they are apparently at peace with him. Agustín, the Indian, declared before me what he saw and knew. It is not surprising that when asked if he had known any Indian from Coahuila he should have said that he had never known any, for he and those whom I have in my presidio are from Coahuila. I touch lightly upon the subject to your lordship, believing that I express myself better with the words "towards Coahuila", although the said enemy, who number some ten or twelve nations, belong in the northern part of Coahuila, from the place called

verdad que professo Y acostumbro) Coje Vuestra Señoria a estas partes del Reino por lo que toca a los enemigos que la destruyen, para que Vuestra Señoria haga toda la aprehension que deve para el Remedio Y es el que por estas partes estan las cossas de peor calidad Y consecuencias que han estado nunca que doy por raçon dos fundamentos evidentes; lo Uno es el que los enemigos antiguos que debajo de el nombre de Tobosos en tantos años han Ynbadido a estos Reinos oy la misma neccessidad Y Su mal natural les hace apretar en los daños, pues aviendo Consumido tantos millones ^a de Ganados y Cavalladas que handaban por estos Campos no tienen donde ocurrir Si no a lo que crían en sus cassas los españoles Repitiendo los daños que antes no Repitian tanto; lo otro es que siendo ellos Como eran en numero crecido no solo no tenían nezesidad de balerse de otros Yndios de mas adentro Sino que antes les Ympedian la entrada pero oy que los a consumido el tiempo y la Guerra y Se ben pocos no solo no ympiden a los Yndios estraños sino que antes los Solicitan y combidan Subordinandose a ellos como lo acabamos de ber en esta jornada ni lo podra negar ninguno que tubiere experiencia, Y noticias Y pues Yo las tengo de que quando Vuestra Señoria empezando a caminar desde la Puebla a la Posession de este Gobierno, fueron Un Luquillas arto peor que el tecolote Y otros, a traer a los Terocodames Y otras naciones de aquellas partes Y entiendo Segun el numero que emos experimentado que a no prebenirles Vuestra Señoria con mi salida se hubieran experimentado lastimosos Daños que se les a evitado; yo [folio 51] quedo en este Presidio esperando la orden que Vuestra Señoria fuere servido de darme Sin despedir soldado ninguno en tanto salbo el Armero ^b que a conducido el bastimento de los Yndios por no gastar Ynutilmente el flete de lo que no carga Y asimismo premisa la Lizencia de Vuestra Señoria Y conforme lo presente por el demasiado deseo que reconosco en los Yndios amigos de bolber a su cassa los dexo tambien que bayan Y en lo demas quedo esperando lo que Vuestra Señoria fuere servido de mandarme para executar lo con el gusto y obligacion que devo que es quanto se le ofreze [y que guarde nuestro señor a Vuestra Señoria muchos años para bien deste Reino como lo espero en su Divina Magestad.] Pressidio de zerro gordo Y jullio treze de mill Y seiscientos y noventa y tres. [Señor Governador y Capitan General. Besso la mano de Vuestra Señoria su mas afecto servidor] JUAN BAUPTISTA ESCORZA.

^a This is most likely a miscopy for "millares".

^b Copy B has "arriero".

Santa Rosa to the Turbio, or Río del Norte, the nearest of these tribes being at a distance of sixty leagues.

I cannot omit bringing before the consideration of your lordship, in accordance with my obligation, the state in which, with the honesty that I profess and am accustomed to practise, I regret to say that your lordship will find these parts of the kingdom, at least as concerns the enemies who are destroying it, [which I do] in order that your lordship may take every measure that you ought to take for the remedy.

The truth is, that in these parts affairs are in a worse state and the consequences are worse than they have ever been, and I give as a reason two evident causes. One is, that the ancient enemies, who under the name of Tobosos have invaded these kingdoms for many years, are now driven by necessity itself and their own bad disposition to increase the ravages, for, having consumed the thousands of cattle and horses that roamed through these lands, they now have no recourse except to seize those raised by the Spaniards on their estates, committing frequent outrages that they did not formerly commit so often. The other cause is that formerly they [the local Indians] were so numerous that they not only had no need to make use of other Indians from the country further in the interior, but on the contrary they could prevent them from coming in. But now, as they have been consumed by time and war until there are but few of them left, not only do they not prevent the strange Indians from coming in, but rather they solicit them and invite them, subordinating themselves to them, as we have just seen on this expedition. This cannot be denied by anyone who has experience or knowledge, and I have both, for when your lordship started on your journey from Puebla to take possession of this government, one Luquillas, a much worse man than El Tecolote, and others went to conduct the Terocodames and other nations from those parts. And I believe, in view of the number that we observed, that if your lordship had not taken steps to prevent it with my sortie, we should have experienced disastrous injury; but I have prevented them from doing it.

I remain at this presidio awaiting the orders that your lordship may be pleased to give me, without granting leave, in the interim, to a single soldier except the armorer who brought the provisions for the Indians in order not to uselessly burden the freight with what is not its duty, and as the license of your lordship so authorizes. In conformity with the extreme desire that I perceive at present in the friendly Indians to return to their homes, I am permitting them to go, and in all else I am awaiting what your lordship may be pleased to command me, in order to do it with the pleasure and duty that I owe.

This is all that occurs to me. May God guard your lordship many years, for the good of this kingdom, as I hope from His Divine Majesty. Presidio of Cerro Gordo, July 13, 1693. Señor governor and captain-general, I kiss the hand of your lordship. Your most humble servant, JUAN BAUPTISTA ESCORZA.

Amigo y Señor Mio: Recibido sus dos Cartas de Vuestra merced de treze Y a su Contexto Respondiera luego^o a no allarsse mi Secretario Sangrado dos bezes (aunque no de Cuidado)

Respuesta del Governador
Don Gabriel del Castillo.
Parral 15 de Julio de 1693.

Y tambien porque nos beremos brebe; y solo digo a Vuestra merced sea muy bien llegado a este presidio de buelta de su Campaña en la cual reconosco a cunplido Vuestra merced enteramente Con sus grandes obligaciones y de las operaciones de ella le doy en nombre de Su Magestad muchas Gracias aprobando todo lo executado por Vuestra merced en ella Y aseguro a Vuestra merced que despues del servicio de Dios (que es lo Principal) solo apetezco operaciones grandes por dar quenta al Rey de las prendas que asisten a Vuestra merced para su servicio pero espero que el tiempo me a de dar muchos ocasiones para poderlo hacer a sido^a Vuestra merced como de los demas capitanes en quienes tengo librado la restauracion de este Reino que hallo perdido. Luego que Vuestra merced bea esta Remitira al pressidio del Gallo los Veinte, Soldados que Vuestra merced tiene de el con orden al Theniente para que los Pertreche Y asta el numero de quarenta y dos que han de salir a campaña a lo mas tarde en todo este mes Y los dies deste Pressidio se quedaran en el para que se execute lo mismo Y esten prebenidos como el amigo Hualde a quien Ya tengo Remitidas quinze cargas de arina para quatro me- [folio 52] ses de los Yndios amigos que a de sacar; Y A su presidio de Vuestra merced tengo remitidas otras quinze cargas para el mismo efecto al qual remitira Vuestra merced los soldados que le pareciere para que se bayan haviando para que Vuestra merced Salga quando refiero: Y rrespecto de andar por los montes tantas naciones Y que se puede temer que en el Yntermedio de estar Vuestra merced retirado procuren Salir a robar despachara Vuestra merced desde ay^o Soldados de Cordillera a los contornos de Nieves San Juan de el Rio y demas partes que a Vuestra merced parescan Convenientes con orden de mi parte para que bayan en gran bijilancia asta que las esquadras salgan a campaña por que no nos suced algun azar y se perturbe en alguna parte el gran fruto y beneficio de su salida de Vuestra merced executada con tanto acierto que aunque dejen de conocerlo las Vezindades (que esto dudo) lo mira Dios por quien se haze Y por el mayor Servicio del Rey que es lo principal; executando lo referido Se bendra Vuestra merced aqui luego con algunos soldados [y le dare un abrazo y ablaremos para que Vuestra merced se buelba a travajar y porque la vissita quede hecha en quanto a Vuestra Merced y que no aia de venir de campaña a ella despachara Vuestra merced a toda diligencia por el pie de lista de su gente para presentarla aqui ante Marin y que quede Vuestra merced por lo que mira a si despachado que lo mismo a escripto Marin a Vuestra merced y a Hualde comunicando conmigo porque no quiero se atarse nada de mis disposiciones porque son muy necesarias para remedio de este Reino. Y deijo la demas para la vista y en otras cosas me remito a Hualde a

^o Copy B has "largo".

^a Copy B reads "hacer asi de ", etc.

^e This probably a miscopy for "oy".

My dear Sir and Friend: The two letters of your grace were received on the thirteenth, and I would have replied to their contents at once, if it had not been that my secretary had to be bled twice (though not so as to cause anxiety), and also because we shall soon see each other. I only say to you that I congratulate your grace on reaching that presidio on the return from your campaign, in which I understand that you have entirely fulfilled your great obligations. For the operations carried out on it, I give you in the name of his Majesty many thanks, approving everything that you have done. I assure your grace that after the service of God (which is the principal thing), I only desire great operations in order to give an account to the king of the qualities which your grace possesses for his service. I hope that time will give me many occasions to do this for your grace as well as for the other captains to whom I have entrusted the restoration of this kingdom which I found so ruined.

Reply of Governor Gabriel del Castillo. Parral, July 15, 1693.

As soon as your grace reads this you will please despatch to the presidio of El Gallo the twenty soldiers whom you have from it, with an order to the lieutenant to arm and provision them and enough others to make up the number of forty-two, who will have to take the field at the latest by the end of this month. Let the ten of that presidio remain there, so that the same thing may be done and they may be provisioned by our friend Ugalde, to whom I have sent fifteen loads of flour, for four months' supply for the friendly Indians who are to be taken out. To your grace's presidio I have sent another fifteen loads for the same purpose, which you will give to the soldiers that you think ought to go, so that they may continue getting ready, and in order that your grace may go out when I direct.

In view of the presence in the mountains of so many nations, and the possible danger that in the interval while your grace is away they may attempt to come out and rob, you will despatch scouts at once to the vicinity of Nieves, San Juan del Río, and other places that may seem suitable to you, with orders from me to maintain great vigilance until the squads take the field, so that no disaster shall happen to us, or, any disturbance to the great fruit and benefit of your grace's sortie, executed with such skill.

Even though the inhabitants do not appreciate it (which I doubt), it is observed by God, for whom it was done, and for the best service of the king, which is the principal thing. In carrying out the above, your grace will be here soon with some soldiers, and I will embrace you and we will confer so that your grace may be able to work [more expeditiously]. In order that the visit may be made, in so far as your grace is concerned, and in order that your grace may not have to come in from the field for it, your grace will send at once a roll of your people to lay before Marín here.

[I hope] that your grace will carry out, as far as you are concerned, the orders which Marín has sent to you and also to Ugalde, keeping me in touch with your acts, for I do not wish any of my plans to be interfered with, as they are very necessary for the welfare of this province. Other matters I leave until I see you; further instructions I will send to

quien dara Vuestra merced mis afectos de corazon y tambien a menester benir aqui. Esto esta tan falto de gente que teniendo orden del Señor Virrey para levantar veinte soldados mas de campaña, no e podido a la ora desta alistar mas que tres plazas y asi encargo a Vuestra merced que si por alla hubiere alguna gente buena y segura que este medio haviada me la encamine para sentarles plaza y que sirvuan desde luego por lo mucho que deseo operar por muchas partes para el mayor y mas brebe remedio de [folio 53] estos perros enemigos guarde Dios a Vuestra merced muchos años como deseo y lo pido.] Parral y Jullio 15 de 1693. Don GABRIEL DE EL CASTILLO.^f

En el dicho puesto de las Posalmes en diez y nueve dicho haviendo buuelto el governador Don Nicolas trujo en su compañía el capitan de la nacion Suninoligla Gentil con dos pilguanes suios a quien recevi con amor y benebolencia dandole a entender lo bien le estava a el y a su gente el Vivir debajo de la obediencia de su Magestad Y como a vassallos suios serian amparados y defendidos de sus enemigos a que respondio que el tenia mucho gusto de Vivir quietto y agregado a los amigos de este puesto y que avia dias se avia apartado [folio 74^h] de los enemigos y el no haberlo hecho antes y agregadose a este puesto; havia sido la caussa el estar rebueltas algunas Yndias de las suyas Con los enemigos y tambien las de estos Con los Yndios de este y que actualmente havia algunas Yndias de las suias con los enemigos chichittames y que estava prompto a ir en mi compañía a la parte donde se hallavan tres rancherias de enemigos tres jornadas de este puesta Componiendose de Chichittames Guasapagoliglas Y sisimbles¹ y que seria bien no dar parte de mi venida a su gente hasta haver dado a los enemigos por la duda que pudiera haver de que algun Moseetton O Yndia diessen parte a los enemigos y que muchos de estos avian salido a distintas partes Unos a dar a los soldados de Cuaguila que sabian que harian entrada y otros a la parte del valle y tierra dentro por cavalladas y muertes que acostumbra que visto por mi dicho capitan lo declarado por el Yndio Suninoligla Y conferido con el governador Don Nicolas y demas cappitanes y Governadores que vienen conmigo fueron de sentir se excuttasse Como lo dezia el capitan suninoligla en cui virtud Volvio con dicho don Nicolas para que volviesse con el y la demas gente amiga de Rio abaxo para la dicha entrada y en esta attencion le di bastimento de viscocho Secina y tabaco Con otras Cossas de que fue gustosso y para que assi conste lo firme [con los testigos de mis asistencia que los fueron Joseph de Porras y Ambrosio Saez presentes. JUAN DE RETANA. Testigo AMBROSIO SAEZ. Testigo JOSEPH DE PORRAS. Ante mi ESTEVAN DE QUINTANA escrivano de Guerra.]

^f F. R. B., Sevilla, Dec. 22, 1914.

^g The first of the separate *autos* in this closely related group of documents recorded by General Retana begins, according to Copy B, at folio 70 of this *expediente*.

^h Folio 73 in Copy B.

¹ Copy B has "Sisinibles".

Ugalde, to whom your grace will extend my regards. He also must come here. This place is so short of people that in spite of an order from the viceroy to enlist twenty soldiers more for the campaign, I have been able to secure but three. I charge your grace, if there are any good dependable men there, to send them here that I may enroll them and that they may enter the service at once, as I greatly desire to operate in various places to the end that I may make an end of these dog enemies.

That God may guard your grace many years is my desire and prayer. El Parral, June 15, 1693. DON GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO.

When Governor Don Nicolás¹⁵⁶ returned to the post of Las Posalmes on the nineteenth of the said [month] he brought in his company the captain of the heathen Sunigugliglas nation, with two of his *pilguanes*. I received him with affection and kindness and told him what a good thing it was for him and his people to live under the rule of his Majesty, and how as his vassals they would be protected and defended from their enemies. To this he replied that he was [would be] much pleased to live quietly with his friends near this post, that it had been some days since he had separated from the hostiles, and that the reason that they had not done this and assembled at this post sooner was that some of their Indian women who were with the enemy and some of the women of the enemy who were with them were to be returned. Furthermore some of their Indian women at present are with the Chichitames hostiles. [He said] that he was ready to go in my company to the place three days' trip from this post where there are three rancherías of hostiles, composed of Chichitames, Guazapayogliglas, and Sisimbles; but that it would be better not to give information of my coming to his people until the enemy was attacked, lest some young man or Indian woman should betray [the plan] to the enemy, many of whom had scattered in different directions, some to fall upon the soldiers of Coahuila, who they knew were about to advance, and others to the part of the valley and interior country where they are accustomed to steal horses and commit murders. The statement of the Sunigugligla Indian having been considered by me, the said captain, and having been discussed with Governor Don Nicolás and the other captains and governors who came with me, they were of the opinion that the plan of the Sunigugligla captain should be followed. In virtue of this the latter went with the said Don Nicolás in order to return with him and the rest of the friendly people of the lower river for the said expedition. In view of this I gave him supplies of biscuit, jerked beef, tobacco, and other things, with which he was much pleased. And in order that it may so appear I signed it, with the witnesses who were present and assisting me, namely, Joseph de Porras and Ambrosio Saez. JUAN DE RETANA. AMBROSIO SAEZ, witness. JOSEPH DE PORRAS, witness. Before me, ESTÉVAN DE QUINTANA, clerk of war.

Autos made by General
Juan de Retana. [July 19 to
July 30, 1693.]

. . . [Folio 76¹] En veintte y ocho del Corriente Yo dicho Capitan Juan de Rettana haviendo buuelto Las espias que fueron tres Indios Sivolos dixeron estar los enemigos en la Ladera de un peñol en mala tierra y que por lo que reconocieron avia canttidad de gente en cuia attencion haviendo hecho alto hize llamar a Don Nicolas Governador de las Naciones del Norte y Capittanes [folio 77^k] que con el vienen y a Don Bartolome de Estrada Yndio Chizo que traigo conmigo para que hallandose Enterados del Puesto donde los enemigos se hallan Confieran Y discurran el modo y forma de que puedan entrar las Esquadras de Gente amiga para coxer la retirada a los enemigos y haviendolo hecho asi en presencia de mi dicho Capitan Resolvieron el que Cien Yndios amigos ganassen lo alto de el Peñon y los otros Ciento se pussiessen enboscados en la boca de la sierra que haze inmediato y que el resto de la gente amiga fuese en mi compañía guiandome por la parte adonde avia de entrar a dar el Santiago En cuia conformidad Sali Y proseguí Caminando para dar dicho Alvazo y para que assi Conste lo firme [con los testigos de mi asistencia que lo fueron Juan Estevan de Ochoa y Joseph Maldonado presentes. JUAN DE RETANA. Testigo JUAN ESTEVAN DE OCHOA. Testigo JOSEPH MALDONADO. Ante mi ESTEVAN DE QUINTANA, escrivano de Guerra.]

En el Peñon de Santa Martta en Veinte y nueve del Corriente yo dicho Capitan Juan de Retana haviendo dado el Alvazo a los Enemigos Chizos de la Rancheria de Don Santiago oy Miercoles Veinte y nueve del Corriente al Romper el dia Luego inmediatamente tiraron a ganar el Peñol como lo Consiguieron por la aspereza de la Peñasqueria y lo inmediato que tenian dicha subida a el peñon en atencion a no haverse puesto amigos algunos En el como se havia dispuesto por haverse Ydo todos en Un cuerpo a la boca del Arroyo que haze para la otra Sierra que Visto por mi Luego inmediatamente habiendo desviados¹ algunos en la carga que se les dio al subir Zerque dicho Peñol a el rededor assi de soldados Como de Yndios Amigos y hecho esto procure asaltar dicho Peñon por tres ó quatro veces peleando hasta las quatro de la tarde lo qual no se pudo conseguir por la espereza de la mucha peñasqueria a pie ni a cavallo haviendo salido a estas horas quatro soldados heridos con diez Yndios amigos y uno muertto Y en este estado vino el Yndio chizo Don Bartholome de Estrada diziendome querian baxar a hablarme aunque los ahorcara que Visto por mi y que declinava el dia quedandoles la noche por guia para la fuga sin poderlo impedir los de el Cerco por lo dilatado de el Peñol Y estar la gente amiga travajada Con las dos marchas de noche y pelea dize^m a dicho Don Bartholome de Estrada podian baxar todos Juntos Con sus chusmas a Verme que los Oiria y a la Repuesta Pidio Don Santtiago fuesse a la Ladera del Cerro el Muy Reverendo Padre Predicador fray Gabriel de Montesdeoca para venir en su compañía Como lo hizo y haviendole dicho al dicho Don Santiago lo que se

¹ Folio 75 in Copy B.

^k Folio 76 in Copy B.

¹ Copy B has "derrivados".

^m Copy B has "dixe".

On the twenty-eighth day of the current [month], I, the said captain, Juan de Retana, say that after the three Cíbolos Indian spies returned they said that the enemy was on the slope of a *peñol*, in bad land, and, as far as they could observe, they had a considerable number of people. In view of this, and having called a halt, I caused to be summoned Don Nicolás, the governor of the nations of the north, the captains who came with him, and Don Bartolomé de Estrada, a Chizo Indian whom I am taking with me, so that, being now informed of the location of the enemy, they might confer and discuss the manner, in which the squads of the friendly Indians might advance in order to intercept the retreat of the enemy. Having done this in the presence of me, the said captain, they decided that one hundred friendly Indians should gain the top of the *peñol*; another hundred should place themselves in ambushade at the mouth of the adjacent sierra; while the rest of the friendly Indians should go in my company, guiding me to the place where it was necessary to enter to give the war-whoop. In conformity with this I set out and proceeded on the road in order to make the early morning attack. And in order that it may so appear I signed it with the witnesses who were present and assisting me, namely, Juan Estéban de Ochoa and Joseph Maldonado. JUAN DE RETANA. JUAN ESTÉBAN DE OCHOA, witness. JOSEPH MALDONADO, witness. Before me, ESTÉBAN DE QUINTANA, clerk of war.

At the *peñon* of Santa Marta, on the twenty-ninth of the present month, I, the said captain, Juan de Retana, having made the early morning attack upon the Chizos enemy of the rancheria of Don Santiago, to-day, Wednesday, the twenty-ninth of the present month, at the break of day, they immediately turned to gain the rock again. This they were able to do because of the roughness of the stony ground and their nearness to the said slope of the *peñon*. In view of the fact that none of the friendly Indians had been stationed on it, as had been arranged, since they had all gone in a body to the mouth of the arroyo leading from the other sierra, when I saw that some of them had turned aside from the duty that had been assigned to them of ascending it, I immediately surrounded the said rock with soldiers and friendly Indians. This done I attempted three or four times to carry the said rock by assault, fighting until four o'clock in the afternoon, but on account of the rough stony ground, this could not be done either on foot or on horseback. During these hours four soldiers and ten friendly Indians were wounded and one Indian was killed.

While things were in this state a Chizo Indian, Don Bartolomé de Estrada, came to tell me that they wished to come down and speak with me, even though they should be hanged. In view of this, and observing that the day was drawing to a close, thereby giving them the advantage of darkness for their flight, without any possibility that those who were surrounding them could prevent it, on account of the *peñol* being so extensive and the friendly Indians worn out with the two night marches and the fight, I told the said Don Bartolomé de Estrada that all could come down, together with their following, to see me, and that I would listen to them. By way of reply Don Santiago asked that the very reverend

me ofrecia lo despache a que baxara la gente con Don Bartolome lo cual executo a la [folio 78 ^a] Oracion Poniendose en el aguaje a la boca de la sierra haviendo faltado a lo que le ordene que era el venirse todos Juntos a el Real y dentro de media hora Vino Don Bartholo quien me dixo estuviera Con Cuidado por haverles Venido correo mientras Santiago estovo hablando conmigo Y despues que se bajaron de que les Venia socorro de gente y que ponía duda Viniese la jente por lo que reconocio y para que assi conste lo firme [con los testigos de mi asistencia presentes. JUAN DE RETANA. Testigo JUAN ESTEVAN DE OCHOA. Testigo JOSEPH MALDONADO Ante mi ESTEVAN DE QUINTANA escrivano de guerra.]

En dicho Peñol de Santa Marta en treintta del corriente [Yo dicho capitan como al romper el dia llame a Don Bartholo de Estrada a quien ordene fuese a ver a Don Santiago y a los suios y les dixese de mi parte como los esperaba y el que iria a traerlos y que con la razon que le dixesen bolbiesen luego.] Luego assimismo despache Cantidad de Yndios amigos a el Peñol y sus Laderas a que reconociessen y contassen los enemigos que havia muerttos y haviendolo executado hallaron a ver Visto hasta Veinte y dos Yndios muerttos y ocho mugeres Y rastro de mucha sangre por donde los enemigos tiraron no haviendo quedado en el aguaje ni sus contornos Yndios ni chusma alguna de los enemigos [y para que assi conste lo firme con los testigos de mi asistencia que lo fueron Juan Estevan de Ochoa y Joseph Maldonado presentes. JUAN DE RETANA. Textigo JUAN ESTEVAN DE OCHOA. JOSEPH DE MALDONADO. Ante mi ESTEVAN DE QUINTANA escrivano de Guerra.]

En dicho dia y dicho Puesto haviendo reconocido el Pillaje que los Yndios amigos Coxieron en la Rancheria Se Vido y Reconocio aver algunas alaxas de Yglesia como es un Misal, Estola y Manipulo Campanilla y hostiario y Alba despedazada Con otras Carttas Y papeles que segun parece Son de alguna Mission de Cuaguila Con Un titulo de Governador en Don Diego de Valdez dado por el Excelentisimo Señor Conde de Galve Virrey de la Nueva España Y tambien unas cartas y Patentes del Ministro de la Mission que parece asolaron los enemigos Como assimismo La silla despedazada Con la Montera y otras cossas del difunto Andres de Jauregui que fue muertto ° con otros por dichos Enemigos en la Cuesta de Don Pablo Y haviendo sido coxidos Un muchacho y muchacha de dichos enemigos al tiempo que subian al Peñol y Un Cauttivo que se hallo escondido, Lobillo de Edad de doze años que fue apresado al tiempo que mataron a Juan Barela su amo se le fue preguntado de donde y como truxeron los enemigos aquellas alaxas a que respondio que havia ocho dias havian Ydo los Chizos con otras naciones sus aliadas a Una mission a dar Alvaso de donde truxeron dichas alaxas con Una Española Viva que luego que llegaron La mataron Las Viejas Y se la comieron, y que dixerón los Yndios haver muerto hasta [folio 79 ^p] diez personas

^a Folio 77 in Copy B.

° Copy B reads "que fue con otros".

^p Folio 78 in Copy B.

father preacher, Fray Gabriel de Montes de Oca, should go to the slope of the hill, in order that he might accompany him. He did this, and after I had told the said Don Santiago what occurred to me, I sent him with Don Bartolomé to bring down the people. This he did at twilight, locating them at the spring at the mouth of the sierra, thereby having failed to do what I had ordered him to do, which was that all should come together to the camp. Within half an hour Don Bartolo came and told me to be careful, since a courier had come to them while Santiago was speaking to me, and after they had come down, to inform them that people were coming to their aid, although he doubted from what he had learned that the people would come. In order that it may so appear I signed it with the witnesses who were present and assisting me. JUAN DE RETANA. JUAN ESTÉBAN DE OCHOA, witness. JOSEPH MALDONADO, witness. Before me, ESTÉBAN DE QUINTANA, clerk of war.

At the said *peñol* of Santa Marta on the thirtieth of the present month, I, the said captain, about daybreak called Don Bartolo de Estrada, whom I ordered to go to see Don Santiago and his followers and to tell them, in my behalf, that I was awaiting them. I further ordered him to conduct them to me, or at least with whatever answer they might make to return at once. Also I immediately despatched a number of friendly Indians to the *peñol* and to its slopes to reconnoitre and to count the hostiles who had been killed. Upon doing this they found that there were dead, in sight, as many as twenty-two Indian men and eight women, and that there was a very bloody trail where the hostiles had retreated, for none of the Indians nor any of the following of the enemy had remained at the spring or in its vicinity. And in order that it may so appear I signed it with the witnesses who were present and assisting me, namely, Juan Estéban de Ochoa and Joseph Maldonado. JUAN DE RETANA. JUAN ESTÉBAN DE OCHOA. JOSEPH DE MALDONADO. Before me, ESTÉBAN DE QUINTANA, clerk of war.

On the said day and at the said place, when the pillage that the friendly Indians had collected at the rancharia was examined, it was found that there were some church ornaments, namely, a missal, a stole, a maniple, a hand-bell, a wafer-box, and an alb torn to pieces, together with some letters and papers which, it seems, are from some mission in Coahuila, and a governor's commission given to Don Diego de Valdés by the most excellent señor, the Count of Galve, viceroy of New Spain, also some letters and patents of the minister of the mission which it appears was destroyed by the hostiles, also the saddle, torn to pieces, and the cap and other things of the defunct Andrés de Jáuregui,¹⁵⁷ who was killed with others by the said hostiles on San Pablo hill.

Also, since a boy and a girl belonging to the said hostiles had been captured at the time when they ascended the rock and a captive who was found hidden, a little chap of the age of twelve years, who was captured at the time when they killed Juan Barela, his master, the latter was questioned as to where and how the enemy had obtained those ornaments. To this he replied that eight days earlier the Chizos had gone with other of

Con Un Governador y fiscal y que tambien dixeron haver muertto Españoles a la parte de Cuaguila O Parras Y que el Padre no estava en la mission quando dieron el Alvazo y que quien los guió para esto fueron dos Yndias Viejas que se havian huido haviendo Sido cojidas de los Españoles de Cuaguila Y que de este puesto a dicha Mission dixeron haver quatro Jornadas Y preguntado Si tenian Cavallada los enemigos dixo no los tenian ninguna en attencion a haverles dado Alvazo pocos dias havia los Yndios Suninoliglas quienes les llevaron toda la Cavallada haviendo muerto Cinco de los enemigos Y algunas mujeres—fuela preguntado que jente O naciones havia en la Rancheria de Don Santiago al tiempo que les dimos a que dixo haverlos del dicho Don Santiago Chichitames Y sisimble haviendo dos dias que se havia apartado de ellas otra rancheria de mucho gente que lo que dichos Yndios tratan y dizen y^a que poco a poco han de ir matando todos los Españoles Y Visto por mi dicho Capitan Ser la Una del dia y que el Yndio Don Bartholo no ha buelto con la Raçon que fue embiado y faltarme Bastimento para la gente amiga Resolvi el Salirme retirando a la Junta de los Rios al asiento de la nacion Suninoligla. Y para qua assi conste [lo firme con los testigos de mi asistencia que lo fueron Juan Estevan de Ochoa y Joseph Maldonado presentes. JUAN DE RETTANA. Testigo JUAN ESTEVAN DE OCHOA. Testigo JOSEPH MALDONADO. Ante mi ESTEVAN DE QUINTANA escrivano de Guerra.]^r

[. . . Don Gaspar de Sandoval Zerda Silva y Mendoza Conde de Galve Gentil hombre de la Camara de su Magestad Comendador de Salamea y Zeclavin en la orden de Alcantara Virrey Governador y Capitan General de esta nueva España y Presidente de la Real Audiencia de ella, Por quanto ante mi se presento un pedimiento del thenor siguiente: Excelentissimo [folio 84] Señor Cristobal Vicente de Rivera] por Don Diego de Valdez Yndio Governador de los Naturales

Pedimento presentado al Governador Conde de Galve el Excelentissimo Señor por Cristobal Vicente de Rivera. [Mexico, 31 de Mayo de 1691.]

de el Pueblo de Cuaguila de la Nacion nombrada los Nadadores por si y por lo que toca a dichos Naturales como mas aya lugar digo que dichos naturales se hallan oprimidos de algunos Españoles y por esta razon se hallan retirados algunos Y entre ellos el dicho Don Diego del dicho su Pueblo de que resulto el perdersele sus bueies Rexas y demas aperos y assimismo el Capitan Alonzo de Leon passo a quitarle al dicho Don Diego de Valdez el baston de Governador de dicha Nacion Conque le havia honrrado el Excelentissimo Señor Conde de la Monclova demonstracion que lo tiene en sumo desconsuelo y de que se puede temer Tibieza en el susodicho Viendo malogrado el honor y premio que gozava de mano de

^a Copy B has "es". Obviously this is correct.

^r According to Copy B, there are ten additional *autos* of General Retana.

their allied nations to make a daybreak attack upon a mission, from which they had brought the said ornaments, and also a little Spanish girl, who, as soon as they arrived, was killed and eaten by the old women. The Indians said that they had killed as many as ten persons, including a governor and a fiscal. They also said they had killed Spaniards in the district of Coahuila or Parras; that the father was not at the mission when they made the early morning attack; and that their guides for this were two old Indian women who had escaped after having been captured by the Spaniards of Coahuila. [He said] that it was a four days' journey from this place to the mission.

On being asked if the enemy had any horses he said they had none, for the Sunigugliglas Indians had made an early morning attack upon them some days before and had carried off all their horses, after having killed five of the hostiles and some women. On being asked what people or nations there were in the rancheria of Don Santiago at the time when we attacked them he said there were those of the said Don Santiago, the Chichitames, and the Sisimbles; another rancheria of many people left them two days before the attack. [He said] that what the said Indians talk of and say is that they must little by little kill all the Spaniards. As I, the said captain, noted that it was one o'clock of the day and that the Indian Bartolo had not returned with the information for which he was sent and that provisions were lacking to me for the friendly people, I resolved to set out and retire to the district of the Sunigugligla nation at La Junta de los Ríos.

And in order that it may so appear I signed it with the witnesses who were present and assisting me, namely, Juan Estéban de Ochoa and Joseph Maldonado. JUAN DE RETANA. JUAN ESTÉBAN DE OCHOA, witness. JOSEPH MALDONADO. Before me, ESTÉBAN DE QUINTANA, clerk of war.

Don Gaspar de Sandoval Zerda Silva y Mendoza, the Count of Galve, gentleman-in-waiting to his Majesty, knight commander of Salamea and Zeclavin in the Order of Alcántara, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of New Spain and president of its audiencia. A petition has been presented to me, the tenor of which is as follows:

Petition presented to the governor, the Most Excellent Señor the Count of Galve,¹⁵⁸ by Cristóbal Vicente de Rivera. [Mexico, May 31, 1691.]

Most Excellent Sir: I, Cristóbal Vicente de Rivera, in behalf of Don Diego de Valdés, Indian governor of the natives of the pueblo of Coahuila, of the nation called Los Nadadores, for myself and in behalf of the said natives, and in so far as the occasion permits, say that the said natives are oppressed by some Spaniards. For this reason some of them have withdrawn from their pueblo, among them the said Don Diego, as a result of which they have lost their oxen, cows, and farm implements. Also Captain Alonzo de León¹⁵⁹ went to take from the said Don Diego de Valdés his staff as governor of the said nation, with which he was honored by the most excellent señor the Count of Monclova,¹⁶⁰ an act which fills him with the greatest grief, and from which may be feared a

su Excelencia en renumeracion de tan honrrados Servicios y Lealtad del dicho Don Diego Como lo demuestra el testimonio que presento con la solemnidad necesaria de las Zertificaciones que le han dado los Capitanes y Cavos militares de aquellos Presidios y fronteras que ha tenido el Dicho Don Diego en diferentes funciones de guerra que se han expedido en aquellas partes Contra las naciones enemigas y para que se ocurra Con el Remedio a semejantes excesos, A Vuestra Excelencia Pido y Suplico Se sirva de mandar despachar a mis partes Mandamientto Cometida su execucion a el Sargento Maior Juan Bautista de Escorza para que ampare y mantenga a mis partes en la posecion quieta del dicho su Pueblo Ymponiendo graves peñas a los Españoles y personas de quienes se queja no sean a molestarles y Ynquietarles en Continuacion de la honrra que el dicho Don Diego de Valdez recivio con el baston de Governador [de dicha nacion que le dio el dicho Excelentissimo Señor Conde de la Monclova se la confiera de nuevo Vuestra Excelencia bolbiendole a dar dicho baston cuio bien y merced espera recibir de su grandeza con justicia, et cetra. Don PEDRO DE RECAVARREN. CRISTOBAL VICENTE DE RIVERA.

De que mande dar vista al señor fiscal de su Magestad con las cartas del Capitan de el Presidio de Cuencame que con su vista me dio la respuesta siguiente.

Excelentissimo Señor Conforme a este pedimiento Don Diego de Valdes yndio ha sido Governador por el Excelentissimo Señor Virrey y Conde de la Monclova que le dio el baston para ello sobre la nacion de los Nadadores del Pueblo de Cuaguila de que le despojo el Capitan Alonso de Leon Ynsolencia muy atrevida pues lo que da un Señor Virrey no lo puede quitar un ynferior sin consulta presenta este yndio diferentes Zertificaciones de aver servido en estos alsamientos contra los enemigos de la Corona con mucho Zelo del Real servicio y assi merece el que Vuestra Excelencia le buelva a reintegrar en el baston conque fue honrrado] y mandar se le buelven todas las cossas que le huvieren quitado asi a el como a otros Yndios Españoles de mala consciencia para lo qual Vuestra Excelencia se ha de servir de nombrar por Protector a Juan Baptista de Escorsa para que libre a los Yndios de las Vexaciones que recibieron de los Españoles y darle Comission amplia [para que conosca de los agravios que se hizieron a este yndio Governador [folio 85] como a los demas] y les haga restituir lo que les huvieren quitatado y satisfacer el perjuicio e interes de sus demandas y que lo execute asi pena de quinientos pesos aplicados al arvitrio de Vuestra Excelencia y que ningun Juez español le ponga el menor embarazo pena de otros quinientos pesos en que desde

lukewarmness [in the loyalty] of the above-mentioned [Don Diego] when he sees himself deprived of the honor and reward which he enjoyed at the hand of his Excellency in appreciation of honorable services and loyalty. The loyalty of the said Don Diego is shown by the certified copy, which I present, with due formality, of the certifications which the captains and military chiefs of those presidios and frontiers have given him concerning the part that the said Don Diego has had in the various military expeditions that have been undertaken in those parts against the enemy nations. In order that a remedy may be applied to these outrages I beg and pray that your Excellency will be pleased to order that a mandate shall be sent to my clients, its execution to be committed to the *sargento mayor* Juan Bautista de Escorza, so that he may protect and maintain my clients in the peaceful possession of their said pueblo, and that you will impose severe penalties upon the Spaniards and other persons of whom they complain so that they will not molest or disturb them in the continuance of the honor that the said Don Diego de Valdés received with the staff as governor of the said nation which the most excellent señor the Count of Monclova gave him. Your Excellency, let him be reinvested with authority, and return to him the said staff which kindness and favor he justly expects to receive from your highness. DON PEDRO DE RECAVARREN. CRISTÓBAL VICENTE DE RIVERA.

I therefore ordered the fiscal of his Majesty to take under advisement the above petition and also the letters from the captain of the presidio of Cuenca. Having done this, the reply which the fiscal gave me is as follows:

Most Excellent Sir: According to this petition the Indian, Don Diego de Valdés, has been governor by appointment of the most excellent viceroy the Count of Monclova, who gave him the staff as governor of the Los Nadadores nation, a pueblo of Coahuila, which staff Captain Alonso de León deprived him of. This is a very shameless effrontery, for what a viceroy gives an inferior cannot take away without consultation. This Indian presents various certifications to the effect that he has served the royal service with much zeal in campaigns against the rebellious enemies of the crown. Hence, it behooves your Excellency to reappoint him and to reinvest him with the staff with which he was honored and to order that everything be returned both to him and to the other Indians that Spaniards of bad character have taken. To effect this your Excellency will please nominate as protector Juan Bautista de Escorza, so that he may free the Indians from the vexations which they receive at the hands of the Spaniards. Also you will please give Escorza ample authority in order that he may acquaint himself with the offenses which were committed against this Indian governor and also against the other Indians.

Let him cause restitution to be made of what may have been taken from the Indians and let him make reparation according to the damages done to them and in the light of their demands. Let him do this under a penalty of a fine of 500 pesos, collectable at the discretion of your Excellency. Allow no Spanish judge, under penalty of a fine of 500 pesos, to place the slightest obstacle in his way; on the other hand let them promptly

luego se den por yncursos el que dicho Capitan Juan Bautista los saque y execute y de quentta de toda a Vuestra Excelencia y ningun Capitan debajo de la misma pena pueda quitar a persona alguna oficio proviedo por el Gobierno Superior sin consulta pues lo demas es proceder atrevidamente y digno de que se experimente la severidad de Vuestra Excelencia pues estas ynjusticias y agravios causan las perturbaciones y tantos gastos como se hacen en tierras tan distantes de los ojos de Vuestra Excelencia que en todo proveera como siempre lo mas conveniente Mexico y Maio veinte y seis de mill y seiscientos y noventa y un años Doctor Don BENITO DE NOVOA SALGADO.

Y por mi visto conformandome con dicha respuesta por el presente nombre por protector a el dicho Don Diego de Valdes yndio Governador del Pueblo de Cuaguila y de sus naturales que llaman de la nacion nadadora al Capitan Juan Bautista de Escorza para que libre a dichos naturales de las vejaciones que reciben de los Españoles y de las demas que les pretendieren hazer para lo qual y que conozca de los agravios que hizieren al dicho yndio Governador como a los demas le doy comision y facultad tan amplia como de derecho se requiere y en su virtud se mando al dicho Capitan Escorza restituia con el baston con que lo honrro el Excelentissimo Senor Conde de la Monclova mi antesor al dicho Don Diego de Valdes haziendo se le buelvan todas las cosas que le huvieren quitado assi a el como a otros yndios por españoles de mala consiencia y que se le satisfaga el perjuicio e interez de sus demandas y mando a todos los Juezes y Justicias de su Magestad no les pongan el menor embarazo en lo referido so la pena de quinientos pesos en que desde luego se den por yncursos sacandolos el dicho Juan Baptista de Escorza a los que contravinieren y dandome cuenta de ello y debaxo de la misma pena ningun Capitan pueda quitar a persona alguna oficio proviedo por este Superior Gobierno sin consulta pues lo demas es proceder atrevidamente y son causa de las perturbaciones que entre dicho yndios se ocasionan con los gastos tan cresidos que se han visto de la Real hazienda todo lo qual guarde cumpla y execute el dicho Capitan Juan Baptista de Escorza so la misma pena de quinientos pesos que se les sacaran yrremisiblemente aplicados a mi distribucion Mexico y Maio treinta y uno de mill seiscientos y noventa y un años—EL CONDE DE GALVE—por mandado de su Excelencia—Don JOSEPH DE LA ZERDA MORAN.

En la Mision que se intitula Santa Rosa de los Nadadores de la Provincia de Cuaguila en nueve dias del mes de Junio de 1692 ante mi el

Presentacion. [Santa Rosa de los Nadadores, 9 de Junio de 1692.]

General Ygnacio de Anaya en quien el Excelentissimo Señor Conde de Galve [Virrey y Capitan General de la Nueva España] Subrrogo la Comission que fue servido despachar al Capitan Juan Baptista de Escorza asi para este mandamiento Como para el que asimismo Mando despachar

issue bills of indictment allowing the said Captain Juan Bautista to file them and execute them, and to give an account of everything to your Excellency. Let no captain under penalty of the same punishment be able to deprive, without consultation, any person of an office to be filled by the superior government, for to do otherwise is to proceed with boldness and deserves to be punished with the severest penalties of your Excellency, since these injustices and aggravations cause the disturbances and such heavy expenses as are common to regions so distant from the eyes of your Excellency. In every way your Excellency will, as usual, provide what is most suitable. Mexico, May 26, 1691. Dr. Don BENITO DE NOVOA SALGADO.

Having seen, and complying with, the said opinion, I hereby nominate Captain Juan Bautista de Escorza as protector of the said Don Diego de Valdés, Indian governor of a pueblo of Coahuila and of its natives called the Nadadora nation, in order that he may free the said natives from the vexations which they receive at the hands of the Spaniards and from other things which the Spaniards may endeavor to do to them. Therefore, and in order that he may acquaint himself with the character of abuses which they may heap upon the said Indian governor as well as upon the others, I give him commission and authority as full as lawfully may be required. In virtue of this the said Captain Escorza is ordered to restore the staff of authority with which the most excellent señor the Count of Monclova, my predecessor, honored the said Don Diego de Valdés. At the same time let Escorza cause to be restored to him everything that may have been taken, either from him or from the other Indians, by Spaniards of bad character. Furthermore let reparation be made in the light of their demands for the damages done them. I further order all the judges and justices of his Majesty not to place any embarrassment in the way of the afore-mentioned, under penalty of a fine of 500 pesos; instead let them promptly issue bills of indictment, the said Juan Bautista filing them against whoever may oppose him and giving me account thereof. Under an equal penalty, let no captain, without consultation, remove any person from an office filled by this superior government, for doing otherwise is to proceed boldly, which is the cause of the disturbances occasioned among the Indians, with mounting costs, as has been seen, to the *real hacienda*.

All of the above let the said Captain Juan Bautista de Escorza guard, comply with, and execute, under penalty of an irremissible fine of 500 pesos, to be collected and to be applied at my discretion. Mexico, May 31, 1691. The COUNT OF GALVE. By order of his Excellency. Don JOSEPH DE LA ZERDA MORAN.

At the mission called Santa Rosa de los Nadadores, province of Coahuila, on the ninth day of the month of June, 1692, before me, General

Presentation. [Santa Rosa de los Nadadores, June 9, 1692.]

Ignacio de Anaya—to whom the most excellent señor the Count of Galve, viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, transferred the commission that he saw fit to issue to Captain Juan Bautista de Escorza, for

this mandate, as well as for the one that he ordered to be issued at the

a favor del Pueblo de San Francisco de Cuaguila a que me refiero Don Diego de Valdez Governador de este Pueblo hizo presentacion de este dicho mandamiento hallandose presente el Capitan Diego Ramon, Governador y Capitan del Presidio [folio 87 ^a] de esta dicha Provincia que se le hizo notorio.

Que por mi Visto e yn obedecimiento ^t mando se guarde y Cumpla Como en el se contiene y estoy presto a darles a los Yndios de este Pueblo y al dicho Governador todo el favor que su Excelencia manda y defenderlos de todas las Vexaciones que se les hizieron y por lo que toca al baston que su excelencia mando se les restituya no puede tener cumplimiento por ser fallecido el Governador Alonso de Leon y no haver noticia en cuyo poder para y mande a todos los Yndios de este Pueblo ayan y tengan al dicho Capitan Don Diego por tal su Governador Como su Excelencia lo manda [y lo firme con el dicho Capitan Diego Ramon y dos testigos de mi asistencia por no aver en esta provincia escrivano Publico ni Real. YGNACIO DE ANAYA. DIEGO RAMON. Testigo JUAN BAPTISTA CHAPA. Testigo JUAN DE MINCHACA.]

. . . [Folio 86] Ha sido para mi de muchisimo gusto y contento las noticias que me das de tu salud, y particularmente la [de] que fundas

Carta de Don Juan Francisco Ruiz de Birbiesca a su hijo Don Diego de Valdez. San Lorenzo, 18 de Mayo de 1692.

Una Mission de Yndios nuevos lo qual te ha de pagar Dios como lo veras y asimismo me hallo muy gozoso de que te lleves y Sirvas a los Padres Ministros de esse Pueblo lo cual te supplico mucho lo hagas assi siempre pues estos son verdaderos Sacerdotes de Cristiano y a quienes devemos toda

reverencia y por quienes nos da Dios los buenos suxessos y assi me alegre en el alma de que estes a gusto Con todos Su divina Magestad te conserve en dicha quietud y te la premie. Remitote de muy buena gana Con tu hijo para el Capote que me pides Y asimismo te embio con el un Yuajito ^u de Agua ardiente rica yo me olgara tener muchos regalos que embiarte tambien di a los portadores para Cotonos y de Comer y bastimento para el Camino. Yo he menester Veinte y cinco Yndios los quales han de ser como de tu mano y han de traer su Capitan que los Saque todas las mañanas al travaxo y este Capitan sea bueno y que les diga lo que han de hazer en quanto su travaxo y los Tlatoles con juicio porque si no se trabajara bien. Tu hijo te dira como no se elaron los trigos en esta hacienda en Parras se elaron no mas que las Viñas la mia no gracias a Dios por todo—para primero de Junio aguardo por aca la gente porque este dia hecho a segar y asi hijo no me hagas falta y a Dios que te guarde muchos años en toda Salud, Paz y Phelicidad San Lorenzo Maio diez y ocho de 1692. quien mas te estima y desea Verte. Don JUAN FRANCISCO RUIZ DE BIRBIESCA—hijo Don Diego de Valdez.

^a Folio 86 in Copy B.

^t Copy B reads "por mi visto en su obedecimiento".

^u Copy B has "juajito".

same time in favor of the pueblo of San Francisco de Coahuila, to which I refer. Don Diego de Valdés, governor of this pueblo, presented the said mandate, the governor and captain of the presidio of this said province, Captain Diego Ramón,¹⁶¹ being present, to whom it was made known.

The mandate having been read by me, I order, in obedience to it, that what is contained therein shall be observed and fulfilled. I am ready to give to the Indians of this pueblo and the said governor all the favor that his Excellency orders and to defend them against whatever annoyances may be caused them. As to the staff which his Excellency orders to be restored to him, it is impossible to fulfill that order because Governor Alonso de León is dead¹⁶² and no one knows in whose possession it was left, but I ordered all the Indians of this pueblo to have and to hold the said Captain Don Diego as their governor, as his Excellency commands. I signed this with the said Captain Diego Ramón and two witnesses only, who are assisting me, since there is no royal or public notary in this province. IGNACIO DE ANAYA. DIEGO RAMÓN. JUAN BAUTISTA CHAPA, witness. JUAN DE MINCHACA, witness.

It has given me much pleasure and joy to receive the information that you send me concerning your health, and in particular, that you are founding a mission of New Indians [neophytes], for which God will repay you, as you will see. I am also very happy to know that you are waiting on and serving the father ministers of that pueblo. I greatly supplicate you to do so always for they are true Christian priests, to whom we owe all reverence and

Letter from Don Juan Francisco Ruiz de Birbiesca to his son [ward], Don Diego de Valdés. San Lorenzo, May 18, 1692.

through whom God gives us good fortune. Hence I rejoice in my soul that you are on good terms with all. May His Divine Majesty keep you in the said peace and reward you.

I am sending to you with pleasure by your son [the money] for the cloak which you ask me for, also I am sending to you by him a calabash full of rich brandy. I would be glad if I had many presents to send you. Also I gave to the carriers [money] for jackets, food, and provisions for the journey. I have need of twenty-five Indians, who must be capable like you. They must bring their captain, who will take them out every morning to work. This captain must be good, and must tell them what they have to do as regards their work and their powwows, and must treat them judiciously, otherwise they will not work well. Your son will tell you that the wheat was not frozen on this hacienda. In Parras only the grapevines were frozen, but not mine, thanks to God for everything.

I shall expect the laborers here by the first of June, for that is the day I have set to reap, and so, my son, do not fail me. May God keep you many years in all health, peace, and happiness. San Lorenzo, May 18, 1692. From the one who loves you most and desires to see you. Don JUAN FRANCISCO RUIZ DE BIRBIESCA. To his son, Don Diego de Valdés.

Amigo Don Diego tu hijo Joseph me ha dado recaudos de tu parte y estimo mucho las memorias que de mi hazes y me alegro gozes de buena salud yo quedo bueno gracias a Dios y la Señora y los niños y te embian muchos recaudos. Tu hijo me entrego dos gamusas que estimo tu agasajo y agora te ruego me busques Una piedra Bezal buena y grande y me traeras o me embiaras con la gente que embieras para la siega del Trigo de mi compadre Don Juan [folio 88 ^v] Te embio con tu hijo Joseph un corte de enaguas de Bayeta azul para tu muger y a tu hijo le he dado Una fresada para el Ten mucho cuidado con las gentes porque las muertes de Cristianos que hazen los Yndios en los Caminos dicen que no son Thobozos Sino es otra gente no se ofrezse mas Sino que te guarde Dios muchos años. Parras y Maio 18 de 1692. Tu amigo que te estima. SIMON DE ECHAVARRIA. Don Diego Cuechale.

Carta de Simon de Echavarría a Don Diego Cuechale. Parras, 18 de Mayo de 1692.

[En dicho Presidio en cinco del corriente yo dicho Capitan Juan de Retana] mande comparecer ante mi al Yndio Don Bartholome de Estrada y demas Cavezas que en su Compañia vienen como son Don Santiago Joseph Anton Bermejo y un Gentil de Nacion Sisimbles para efecto de tomarles sus declaraciones para saber en que partes y puestos se hallan los enemigos reveldes de Nacion Cociomies hijos de la tierra y demas sus aliados y la forma y moda de entrar a dar a dichos enemigos [assi lo provei mande y firme. JUAN DE RETANA ante mi ESTEVAN DE QUINTANA escrivano de Guerra.]

Auto. [San Francisco de Conchos, 5 de Septiembre de 1693.]

. . . [Folio 89 ^w] En dicho dia yo dicho Capitan Juan de Retana haviendo Venido a mi presencia los Yndios mencionadas en el Autto de arriba pase a tomarles su declaracion en forma [haziendo la señal de la Cruz y jurando por Dios nuestro Señor] de dezir Verdad en todo quanto supieren y les fuere preguntado por medio del Ynterprete Don Francisco so cargo de lo qual prometieron de hazerlo hassi fueles preguntado digan y declaren en que parajes y puestos se hallan los enemigos reveldes y que naciones y responden, que tres jornadas de adonde les di el alvazo se halla rancheado Don Juan Cola de Coiote y otras de Cavezas que traembaston que el Uno se llama Alarcon Las naciones Hijos de la tierra de las Piedras y Acodames ^x y que estan en Un aguaje que haze junto a unos Picachos donde tienen Sembrado y que desde dicho puesto a la Sierra de Xacus y Las ensinillas es su ordinaria havitacion y que a estos declarantes Sabiendo que Venian a dar la obediencia trataron de

Declaracion del Capitan Juan de Retana, 5 de Septiembre de 1693.

^v Folio 87 in Copy B.

^w Folio 88 in Copy B.

^x Copy B has "Acoclames".

Friend Don Diego: Your son Joseph has presented me your compliments. I greatly appreciate your remembrance of me and am glad to learn that you are enjoying good health. I am well, thanks to God, as are the wife and children, who send you their regards. Your son delivered to me the two buckskins, and I appreciate your present very much. Now I beg you to hunt for a good large *bezal*

Letter from Simón de Echavarria to Don Diego Cuechale. Parras, May 18, 1692.

stone for me and bring it to me or send it to me by the people whom you will be sending to reap the wheat of my friend Don Juan.¹⁶⁸ I am sending you by your son Joseph a blue baize skirt pattern for your wife, and to your son I have given a blanket for himself. Take great care with the people, for they say that the murders of Christians committed by Indians on the roads are not done by Tobosos but by other people. Nothing else occurs to say except may God keep you for many years. Parras, May 18, 1692. Your friend who esteems you. SIMÓN DE ECHAVARRIA. To Don Diego Cuechale.

At the said presidio on the fifth of the present month, I, the said Captain Juan de Retana, ordered to appear before me the Indian Don Bartolomé de Estrada and other chiefs who came in his company, namely, Don Santiago, Joseph Antón Bermejo, and a heathen of the Sisimbles nation, for the purpose of taking their depositions, in order to ascertain in what localities and places are the rebels of the Cocioimes nation, the [so-called] Hijos de la Tierra [Sons of the Earth], and other of their allies, and also the form and mode of entering in order to attack the said hostiles. Thus did I provide, order, and sign. JUAN DE RETANA. Before me, ESTÉBAN DE QUINTANA, clerk of war.

Auto. San Francisco de Conchos, September 5, 1693.

On the said day I, the said captain, Juan de Retana, after the Indians mentioned in the above *auto* had come before me, proceeded to take their depositions in legal form—making the sign of the cross and swearing before God, our Lord, to tell the truth concerning everything that they might know and which might be asked them by the interpreter, Don Francisco Socarpo, under burden of which oath they promised to do so.

Declaration of Captain Juan de Retana. September 5, 1693.

They were asked to say and declare in what localities and places are the rebellious hostiles and of what nations are they. They replied that three days' journey from where I made the surprise attack upon them Don Juan Cola de Coiote was encamped, and also two other chiefs who carry the staff; that one of these is called Alarcón; that the nations are Hijos de la Tierra [Sons of the Earth], Las Piedras [the Stones], and Acoclames; that they were at a water-hole which adjoins certain peaks, where they had planted their crops; that from the said place to the Sierra de Xacus and Las Encinillas is their usual habitation; and that, knowing that the deponents were coming to submit, they tried to prevent them

impedirles Su Venida diziendoles los haviamos de ahorcas y bisto que no los convencian Les dixeron despachavan Luego esquadras por tres o quatro partes a rrovar y matar para que a estos les hecharan la culpa y fueran Castigados y que no Obstante no quizieron hazer caso de sus proposiciones—fueles preguntado Digan y declaren en que partes y puestos se hallan los Reveldes cocoioimes Sus cabezas con Don francisco el Tecolote y responden—que Don Francisco el Tecolote con algunos de los suios asiste en la Sierra de Xacue y que Lorencillo Contreras y los demas asisten desde Acatita la grande hasta Guapague y que estos tienen bastante gente—fueles preguntado digan [folio 90^v] y declaren por que partes y Puestos Se les puede entrar a darles Alvazos de manera que no seamos sentidos—y responden que para que se logre el darles es necesario entrar por la parte por donde fui a dar a estos declarantes por cojerles las espaldas y no tener espias por aquellas partes Siendo assi que por los puertos ordinarios y agujajes Las estan hechando de continuo y que para asegurarlo mejor seria bien que la gente Parientes de estos que estan en el Puesto de San Pedro Se estuvieron² quietos á la mira de los enemigos para asegurarles mejor y que yo dicho Capitan Salga deste Presidio quando me paraciere que estan promptos a ir en mi Compania y que llegado que sea cerca del Paraje de San Pedro se juntaran Conmigo Los que estan en dicho Puesto quienes daran noticia de los enemigos, y sus movimientos, y que esto es la verdad [de lo que sienten y alcanzan so cargo del juramento que llevan fecho en que se afirmaron y ratificaron.] Fueles preguntado Digan y declaren que cantidad de Yndios de arco y flecha son los que se componen de las quatro naciones y responden—que de la nacion Osatayoliglas son quarenta y dos—de la nacion Guayapayoligla treinta y ocho de los Chichitames treinta—y de la nacion Sisimbles como cinquenta y todas las chusmas de las naciones referidas menos los que se hallan oy en este Presidio y que esto es la Verdad [y para que assi conste lo firme con los testigos de mi asistenci que lo fueron el Alferez Joseph de Yturrao y Anttonio de Amibiscar presentes. JUAN DE RETANA. Testigo JOSEPH DE YTURRAO. Testigo ANTONIO DE AMABISCAR. Ante mi ESTEVAN DE QUINTANA escrivano de Guerra.]

Horden dada al Capitan Juan Fernandez de Retana para salir a campaña.

...[Folio 96^a] Orden que da Don Gabriel del Castillo al Capitan Juan de Retana. [San Joseph del Parral, 10 de Noviembre de 1693.]

Don Gabriel del Castillo, Governador [y Capitan General de este Reino de la Nueva Vizcaya por su Magestad.] Por quanto en el Estado que halle el Reino en la Continuation de Robos y atrocidades que los Yndios revelados a la Real Corona Executan Sin Que tenga otro remedio que el perseguirlos y buscarlos en sus mismas tierras, y que la

suavidad y conmiseracion que se ha tenido con ellos antecedentemente para

¹ Folio 89 in Copy B.

² Copy B has "estuviesen".

³ Folio 95 in Copy B.

from doing so, telling them that we were going to hang them. Seeing that they did not persuade them, they told them that they were going to despatch squads immediately to three or four places to rob and kill, so that the blame would be placed upon them [the declarants] and they would be punished. In spite of this they did not wish to accept their proposals.

They were asked to state and declare in what localities and places the rebellious Cociomes and their chiefs, including Don Francisco el Tecolote [Chief Owl] were. They replied that Don Francisco el Tecolote was with some of his people in the Sierra de Xacue, that Lorencillo, Contreras, and the others were living [in the region] from Acatita la Grande as far as Guapague, and that they had a great many people. They were asked to state and declare through what localities and places it might be possible to enter in order to make an early morning attack upon them in such a way that we should not be observed. They replied that in order to succeed in doing this it was necessary to enter the place where I went to attack these declarants, since this would take them in the rear and there were no spies in those parts, while at the regular passes and springs spies are constantly stationed. In order to make it more certain it would be better for the people related to them, who were at the post of San Pedro, to remain quiet and in sight of the enemy, so that they would be the better reassured, and that I, the said captain, should sally forth from this presidio when I should think best. They said that they were ready to go in my company, and that when I should reach a point near the post of San Pedro those who were at the said post would join me and give me information concerning the enemy and their movements. They said that this is the truth concerning what they know and understand under burden of the oath which they have made. They affirmed and ratified their statement.

They were asked to state and declare how many bow and arrow men are there in the four nations. They replied that in the Osatayogliglas nation there are forty-two, in the Guazapayogligla nation there are thirty-eight, in the Chichitames nation there are thirty, and in the Sisimbles nation there are about fifty, in addition to all the following of women and children of the nations mentioned, less those who are now at this presidio. They said that this is the truth. And in order that it may so appear I signed it with the witnesses who were present assisting me, namely, Alférez Joseph de Yturrao and Antonio de Amibiscar. JUAN DE RETANA. JOSEPH DE YTURRAO, witness. ANTONIO DE AMIBISCAR, witness. Before me, ESTÉBAN DE QUINTANA, clerk of war.

Order given to Captain Juan Fernández de Retana to take the field.

Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya for his Majesty, says: Considering the condition in which the kingdom is as a result of the continued robberies and atrocities which the Indians rebelling against the royal crown commit, considering that there is no other remedy than to pursue them and seek them in their own country, considering that

Order which Don Gabriel del Castillo gives to Captain Juan de Retana. [San Joseph del Parral, November 10, 1693.]

the suavity and compassion with which they have been treated heretofore

su reduccion antes les a servido de mayor avilantes para no perdonar su ferocidad a ninguna persona cristiana de ambos sexos y que el ultimo medio es hazerles la guerra a Sangre y fuego assi porque lo tienen merecido como porque este Reino se iba aniquilando Con los Robos de Cavalladas y muertes de mucha gente de el y que habiendo yo dado cuenta al Excelentissimo Señor Conde de Galve Virrey de la nueva españa assi en cartas como en Un papel de disposiciones de la referida forma de hazer la guerra y que su Excelencia en junta general que tuvo en Mexico Se sirve aprobarlo y me manda lo continúe por despacho de Cinco de Junio de este presente año por el presente ordeno al general Juan Fernandez de Retana, Capitan del presidio de San Francisco de Conchos que respecto de tenerle prevenido dias ha Salga luego incontinentemente a campaña con ochenta soldados bien armados y prevenidos para mantenerse en ella quatro meses Los quales dichos soldados se compondrán quarenta de los cinquenta que deve tener en su Presidio y Veinte que del Presidio del Gallo se le han remitido de mi orden y otros veinte que de la Compañía de Campaña de este Real Le he remitido Con su capitan Antonio de Medina Tambien sacara Cinquenta Yndios de paga que han de ser assi de los que antiguamente estavan en el Pueblo de Conchos como de las quatro naciones de Chizos que se han rendido nuevamente y se han de Unir a estos hasta docientos y cinquenta Yndios de los que nuevamente se hallan a la Obediencia que a estos que son de los que estan Poblados en la Junta de los Rios se les ha de dar solo el bastimento y algunas ayudas de Costa a su buelta segun obraren; para toda la cual referida gente llevara bastimentos para el tiempo que refiero y en el se mantendra buscando a los enemigos desde la Sierra de Conula y Papagua registrando quando les pareciere La que llaman del Diablo no perdonando Lo mas interior del Rio del Norte donde pueda encontrarlos y reconocera todas las Sierras y aguajes que les sirven de amparo y defensa [folio 97^b] Y haviendo de obrar con Reglas de milicia, y como con la cosa presente dejó a su disposicion La indibiduacion de parajes buscando a dichos enemigos hasta dar con ellos, y con los que diere Constando que lo son y que han executado antecedentemente muertes y atrocidades Les dara los Alvazos convenientes procurando pasarlos a cuchillo enteramente siguiendo a dichos enemigos hasta que la necesidad de la hambre y sed los rinda [y en caso de conseguirlo los que dexare de pasar a cuchillo con buena guardia los

^b Folio 96 in Copy B.

for their reduction has only served to encourage them not to spare from their ferocity any Christian person of either sex, considering that the only method left is to make war upon them with blood and fire, not only because they deserve it but because this kingdom is being annihilated with the thefts of horses and the murders therein of many people, considering that when I had reported to the most excellent señor the Count of Galve, viceroy of New Spain, in letters as well as by manuscript recommendations, concerning the proper way for making war, his Excellency, in a *junta general*, held in Mexico, was pleased to approve it and to order me in a despatch of the fifth of June of this present year to continue it—considering all this, I hereby order General Juan Fernández de Retana, captain of the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, as I arranged with him some days ago, to take the field instantly with eighty soldiers, well armed and sufficiently provisioned to maintain themselves in the field for four months.

Let the said body of soldiers be made up of forty from the fifty men whom he ought to have at his presidio, twenty from the presidio of El Gallo, who will have been sent to him by my order, and another twenty from the field company of this camp, whom I have sent to him with their captain, Antonio de Medina. He will also take fifty paid Indians, who must be from those who were formerly at the pueblo of Conchos, as well as from the four Chizos nations who have recently surrendered. There must be added to these as many as 250 Indians from those who have recently submitted, and to those who are among those settled at La Junta de los Ríos there should be given only food and some assistance in expenses upon their return, in accordance with the way they conduct themselves.

For all of the above-mentioned people he will take provisions for the time that I state, and during it he will remain there, seeking for the enemy from the Sierra de Conula and Papagua, examining when it seems best to him the sierra called El Diablo, and not neglecting the interior of the Río del Norte region, where they may be found. He will explore all the sierras and water-holes that may serve them as protection and defense. Since he must work under military rules, I will leave to his decision in the present undertaking the selection of the places where he will seek for the said enemy until he attacks them. In case it appears that those whom he encounters are the ones who have heretofore been committing the murders and atrocities, he will, at his convenience, make surprise attacks upon them, endeavoring to put them completely to the sword and pursuing the said enemy until the necessity of hunger and thirst forces them to surrender. In this contingency he will conduct those who may be spared, under heavy guard, to the most desirable place and will report to me so that I may decide what may be best for the service of his Majesty. Under no circumstances is he to listen to any proposed agreement which does not stipulate that the aggressors as well as their families and following must submit to whatever I desire. He will at his opportunity give me an account of everything that may be occurring.

In case the said General Juan de Retana should follow a trail that takes him to any of the three distant presidios or to his own, he will endeavor

conduzira a la parte mas conveniente y me dara quenta para resolver lo que fuere mas del servicio de su Magestad sin que por ningun acontecimiento les oiga proposicion de partido alguno que no sea el que assi los agresores como todas sus familias y chusmas esten al que yo quisiere hazerles dandome quenta de todo lo que fuere susediendo haviendo oportunidad y si el dicho general Juan de Retana fuere siguiendo rastro que vaya encaminado a alguno de los tres presidios de afuera o al suio procurara darles aviso para que esten con el cuidado que necesita la poca gente con que los dexo advirtiendole que al mismo tiempo estan en campaña otras dos esquadras a cargo de los Capitanes Juan Baptista Escorza y Martin de Hualde a executar las mismas operaciones por los parajes que no ignora lo qual tendra presente assi para socorros como para los avisos que convinieren y respecto de que Don Francisco el Tecolote, el yndio Contrerillas, Lorensillo, Luquillas cola de Coiote, y Maimara Gentil son los Cavos principales de mucho tiempo a esta parte que con sus tlatoles y engaños han convocado gente y executado las atrosidades que son publicas y que conviene para le maior quietud de este Reino extinguirlos dira de mi parte a todos los yndios que lleva consigo que en nombre de su Magestad les ofresco cien pesos en reales por qualquiera de las cavesas que refiero y respecto de la confianza que tengo del dicho General Juan de Retana y atendiendo a su gran practica y experiencia Militar y al zelo con que siempre se ha aplicado al maior servicio de su Magestad dexo a su deliberacion el acierto de esta orden governandose como con la cosa presente y para hazer la referida salida dexara nombrado en su Presidio Cavo de su satisfacion para que con los diez soldados que le quedan tenga buena guardia de el y sus contornos y gran cuidado en reconocer el modo de portarse las quatro naciones de yndios chizos y si faltan algunos para que me dee quenta de qualquier movimiento esperando de su grande espiritu tenga yo de que dar quenta a su Magestad y al Excelentissimo Señor Virrey para que le premien sus servicios al tamaño de los que executare fecho en San Joseph del Parral a diez de Noviembre de mill seiscientos y noventa y tres años.]

[*Excelentissimo Señor. Señor:*] Despues de haver escripto a Vuestra Excelencia quanto se ofrece Como Vuestra Excelencia Vera y estando para salir a Campaña el Capitan Retana Con la esquadra de que doy quenta a Vuestra Excelencia he tenido noticias Sigilosas con algunas Circunstancias de Cuidado de que el Rendimiento de las Quatro naciones de Chizos que he poblado en San francisco de

...[Folio 103 °] Otra carta de dicho Governador Gabriel del Castillo. Parral, 20 de Noviembre de 1693.

Conchos no es verdadero y que tienen Urdido con los Cocoliomes y otras naciones el dexar salir a Campaña a dicho Retana y Luego que salga en el primer dia de fiesta respecto de no quedar en su Presidio mas que Diez hombres estando en Missa passar a Cuchillo a dichos diez Soldados, y a todas las mugeres de el y al mismo tiempo Salir a Unirse con dichos Cocoliomes, y otras naciones y hazer lo mesmo Con Retana a toda Costa

to advise them so that they may take the precaution that the small number left at the presidios requires them to take, and he will advise them that at the same time there are in the field two other squads, in charge of Captains Juan Bautista Escorza and Martín de Hualde, that are carrying on similar operations in the places of which he is ignorant. He will bear this in mind both as regards aid and advices that may be necessary.

Since Don Francisco el Tecolote, the Indian Contrerillas, Lorencillo, Luguillas, Cola de Coiote, and Maimara, the heathen, have been for a long time the principal chiefs in those regions and have by their pow-wows and falsehoods convoked their people and have committed the atrocities that are well known, and since it is fitting, for the greater quietude of this kingdom, to exterminate them, he will say for me to all the Indians whom he carries with him that in the name of his Majesty he offers them a reward of one hundred pesos in reales for either of the above-mentioned chiefs.

In view of the confidence which I have in the said General Juan de Retana and considering his great practice and military experience and the great zeal with which he has always applied himself to the greater service of his Majesty I leave to his judgment the execution of this order. Let him be governed by present conditions.

In order to make the above campaign he should leave at his presidio a designated chief in whom he has confidence, so that with the ten soldiers left with him he may guard well the presidio and its environs, may exercise good judgment in studying the method of moving the four Chizos nations, and, in case anything goes wrong, may give me an account of developments. I trust that as a result of your great enthusiasm I may be able to give to his Majesty and to the most excellent señor viceroy such an account that they may reward your services according to the magnitude of those which you may perform. Dated at San Joseph del Parral, November 10, 1693.

Most Excellent Sir. Sir: After I had written to your Excellency concerning everything that had occurred, as your Excellency will see, and just as Captain Retana was ready to take the field with his squad, of which I am giving an account to your Excellency, I had secret information, with some disquieting details, that the surrender of the four Chizos nations which I had settled at San Francisco de Conchos was not sincere, that they had schemed with the Cociomes and other nations to permit the said Retana to take the field, and, as soon as he was gone, on the first feast day, as there would be left at this presidio only ten men, to put the said ten soldiers to the sword while they were at mass, as well as all the women there, and at the same time to go out and unite with the said Cociomes and other nations and at all costs to do the same to Retana. Since he is taking with him seventy of these Chizos, if the above be true, they could succeed in doing it.

Another letter from the said Governor Gabriel del Castillo. Parral, November 20, 1693.

I therefore give thanks to God for the information, for with it Retana goes secure against any such accident happening to him. Notwithstanding

Respecto de llevar consigo Setenta de estos chizos que si fuese cierto lo referido lo lograran con que debo dar gracias a Dios por la noticia pues con ella Va seguro Retana de que le suceda Contra tiempo tal no se dexa de hazer la Campaña y se asegura no logren tanpoco el de el Presidio porque he dispuesto con tal secreto que ni en este Real lo sabe alguno ni lo podran traslucir los Chizos lo siguiente:—he despachado por mano de Retana a la Junta de los Rios para que el Governador Don Nicolas salga a Recevirle con la gente que le ha de ayudar en dicha Campaña Veinte leguas de dicho Presidio para llevar las fuerças Unidas y al mismo tiempo he despachado orden secreta al Capitan Martin de Hualde para que a toda diligencia marche con toda su esquadra y haga alto ocho leguas de dicho Presidio de Conchos y avise a Retana Con El mismo secreto y que se vean Juntos y Comunicado lo Conveniente Salga a hazer Su viage Retana con toda la escuadra dispuesta sin añadir ni quitar y que a los dos dias de su salida y sin que aya fiesta de por medio Se aparesca Hualde con la suya en dicho Presidio con el motivo que le pareciere y con el orden mia imbestigando mañosamente y con toda Cautela lo que pudiere de esta maldad y que Retana haga lo mesmo por alla y que si dicho Retana la comprobare no quedandole escrupulo passe a cuchillo a los settenta que lleva consigo y que al mesmo tiempo avise a Hualde para que de repente encierre a los demas Chizos y chusmas y me lo participe para executar lo mesmo con los Yndios que ençerrare y despachar a esta Ciudad Las mugeres y chiquillos de que doy quenta a Vuestra Excelencia Sin zerteza entera aunque tengo circunstancias para pensar sea Verdad y no siendolo se ha executado lo que parece conviene y reconoceran estos malvados se Vive con cuidado y Retana y Hualde estan bien prevenidos de mi para no errarlo y son buenos Capitanes y con bastante experiencia y sobre Dios que aseguro a Vuestra Excelencia es contra razon no pasarlos a todos a cuchillo pues sobre ser mala gente es muy dificultoso averiguar Sus malos designios y muy facil el que logren qualquier traicion Sin que la alcancemos y me parece fuera muy del Servicio del Rey se ampliarian las ordenes para Con qualquiera noticia Con alguna evidencia se tomasen resoluciones Violentas pues la experiencia de algunas havia de contener enteramente a todos los demas por la que^d el Reino [folio 104^e] Es muy dilatado que los Soldados^t aunque ay oy mas que nunca son pocos assi por las distancias como por lo enseñados que estan los Yndios a executar atrocidades que contenidas con solo el darles algunos Albazos lo remediaran con el Retiro lexos a los muchas montañas impenetrables que ay en el Reino y de ellas haran sus Convocaciones para lograrla quando menos pensemos por la dificultad de las noticias sobre que Vuestra Excelencia Se servira discurrir y mandar lo que fuere servido que esto precisa a mi Zelo y obligacion y quedo [pidiendo a Dios guarde la Excelentissima persona de Vuestra Excelencia muchos años en su maior grandeza] Parral y Noviembre 20 de 1693. [Excelentissimo Señor. Señor Besa los pies de Vuestra Excelencia su rendido esclavo. DON GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO. Excelentissimo Señor Conde de Galve mi Señor.]

^d Copy B reads "a todos los demas porque", etc.

^e Folio 100 in Copy B.

^t Copy B reads "y los soldados".

this information the campaign will not be abandoned, and it is assured that the conspiracy will not develop at that presidio, for I have made arrangements with such secrecy that even in this camp no one knows anything about it, nor can the Chizos conjecture the following: I have sent by the hand of Retana an order to Governor Don Nicolás at La Junta de los Ríos for him, with the people who are to aid him on the said campaign, to go out to meet Retana twenty leagues from the said presidio, in order to unite their forces. At the same time I have sent a secret order to Captain Martín de Ugalde to march with all haste with all his squad and halt eight leagues from the said presidio of Conchos, to inform Retana of this with all secrecy, and, after they have [secretly] met and conferred, for Retana to proceed with all his squad, without adding or taking away any. Two days after his departure, without waiting for a feast as a pretext, Hualde shall appear with his men at the said presidio, with any excuse that may seem best to him, and with my order he shall investigate craftily and with all caution as far as he can into this evil. Retana shall do likewise where he is and if the said Retana discovers it to be true he shall without further scruple put to the sword the seventy whom he is taking with him. He shall at the same time inform Hualde, so that he may suddenly surround the rest of the Chizos and their following and inform me, so that the same may be done with the Indian men whom he surrounds, the women and children being sent to this city.

I am giving account of this to your Excellency without entire certainty, although I have grounds for believing it to be true. Even though it is not true, the steps have been taken that appear necessary and these rascals will perceive that we are on guard. Retana and Ugalde have been carefully cautioned by me not to make any mistake. They are good captains and of sufficient experience.

Before God I assure your Excellency that it is contrary to reason not to put the Indians to the sword, for, in addition to being a bad people, it is very difficult to prove their evil designs, and very easy for them to succeed in carrying out any treason without our discovering it. It seems to me that it would be very much in the service of the king to amplify the instructions, so that with any information, with any evidence, forcible decisions could be made, for the experience of some would entirely restrain all the others. Because the kingdom is very extensive, and despite the fact that the soldiers to-day are more numerous, they are still too few, partly because of the distances, and partly because the Indians are so experienced in committing atrocities that if they are restrained by merely making some attacks upon them they can escape by retiring far into the many impenetrable mountains that there are in the kingdom, where, because of the difficulty of getting information, they can hold their convocations, and can decide to fall upon us when we are least expecting it. In regard to this your Excellency will be pleased to take thought and to order whatever pleases you. This is required by my zeal and obligation. I ask God to guard the most excellent person of your Excellency many years in greatest honor. Parral, November 20, 1693. Most Excellent Sir. Sir, your most humble slave kisses the feet of your Excellency. Don

Excelentísimo Señor [Señor]: En carta de Veinte y Uno de Agosto di cuenta a Vuestra Excelencia aver despachado en este Real al Capitan

Otra Carta del Gobernador Gabriel del Castillo al Señor Virrey. Parral, 23 de Noviembre de 1693.

Juan Fernandez de la Fuente dandole las ordenes de lo que havia de executar para la quietud de la Provincia de Sonora y escrivi con dicho fuente a Don Manuel de Agramont Remitiendole la Carta horden de Vuestra Excelencia para que estuviese a la mia y

dandosela para que socorriese a dicho fuente con los mas de los Soldados de Sinaloa [Siempre que los huviese menester pare lo referido y que el mismo auxilio hallaria en el dicho Capitan Fuente que fue lo que por entonces y el estado de las Provincias pude disponer.]

El dia tres de Septiembre llegaron a este Real Cartas de Sonora de algunos Vezinos y del dicho Capitan Juan fernandez de la fuente que se hallava en Cusiguriachi de passo para su presidio en que me dezian haverse alborotado la nacion Pima Y ejecutado algunas atrocidades y que si no se dava remedio quedava en puntos de perderse toda la Provincia y habiendo abierto y leido dichas Cartas mi Secretario Reconocido que las que los Vezinos Remitian escriptos de algunos Padres de la Compañia desde los parajes a donde dezian ser los alborotos para acreditarlos no manifestavan el peligro que ellos dezian y que quando fuera cierto no me quedava a mi ninguna Orden que dar mas que las que havia llevado dicho fuente y que este escrivia salia al instante de Cusiguriachi para su Presidio y havia despachado Correo a Don Manuel de Agramont pidiendo Veinte y cinco Soldados, y que qualquiera otro socorro si se les pudiera dar estava aun mas distante que el de Sinaloa y porque en la ocasion que llegaron las cartas me hallava yo muy agravado y peligroso de mi enfermedad no me dio noticia de ellas persuadiendose recibiria yo mucho pesar y seis dias despues Sali de este Real para el Presidio de Conchos adonde estuve ignorante de la novedad de Sonora hasta el dia diez y siete que reconocido en mi alguna mejoría me leyo las cartas y aunque me peso mucho no huviese llegado antes a mi noticia escrivi al instante a el dicho Capitan Juan fernandez de la fuente dandole orden para que en caso de no haver llegado el socorro de Sinaloa Saliesse Con todos los Soldados de su Presidio excepto los precisos para guardarle y los Vezinos de el Real de San Buena Ventura y demas Juridiciones a oponerse a los enemigos avisando a los Vezinos de la Provincia de Sonora se mantubiesen Con los quinze Sol-[folio 105^g]dados que en ella estavan hasta que el llegase y que dejase Providencia en su presidio para que llegados los Soldados de Sinaloa pudiesen yr a parte Señalada a incorporarse con el este fue el Unico medio que pude aplicar para atajar Las hostilidades y riesgo que me representavan aun quando fuese cierto y ahora acavo de recibir Carta de dicho Capitan Juan fernandez de la fuente con aviso Como vera Vuestra Excelencia por la copia que remito de haver sido falsas las noticias de sublevacion y porque en ella me dice se le despachó Un correo que solo sirvió de hazer el gasto a el Rey lo qual no sucedio con el que yo despache con otras ordenes que las mias me ha parecido dar a Vuestra Excelencia esta

GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO. To the most excellent señor the Count of Galve, my lord.

Most Excellent Sir. Sir: In a letter of the twenty-first of August I notified your Excellency of having despatched from this camp Captain

Another letter from Governor Gabriel del Castillo to the señor viceroy. Parral, November 23, 1693.

Juan Fernández de la Fuente, with instructions as to what he was to do for the peace of the province of Sonora. I wrote a letter to Don Manuel Agramont¹⁶⁴ and sent it by the said Fuente. I also transmitted to him the letter from your Excellency in order that

it might accompany mine, orders having been given to him to assist the said Fuente with as many of the soldiers of Sinaloa as possible, provided that this was necessary for the aforesaid. He was advised that he would receive reciprocal aid from the said Captain Fuente. This was all that I could then do with reference to the state of the provinces.

On the third day of September letters from Sonora reached this camp, from some of the residents and from the said Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, who was at Cusiguriáchi en route to his presidio. They advised me that the Pima nation had revolted and had committed some atrocities, and that if a remedy were not applied the whole province was on the verge of being lost. Upon opening and reading the said letters, my secretary perceived that those sent by the residents, which were written by some fathers of the Company [of Jesus] from the places where they said the uprisings were happening, did not give clear proof in them of the danger that they spoke of, and that, even if it were true, I had no authority to issue orders to Fuente other than those which he already carried. Since Fuente wrote that he was at that moment leaving Cusiguriáchi for his presidio and had despatched a courier to Don Manuel de Agramont asking him for twenty-five soldiers, and since any other succor that might be given them was even more distant than that of Sinaloa, and since at the time when the letters arrived I was dangerously ill, he [my secretary] did not inform me of them, fearing that I would be greatly disturbed by them.

Six days afterwards I left this camp for the presidio of Conchos, where I remained in ignorance of the news from Sonora until the seventeenth, at which time, noting some improvement in my health, my secretary read the letters to me. Although it afflicted me much that I had not heard of it sooner, I immediately wrote to the said Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, giving him orders that in case the succor had not arrived from Sinaloa he should set out with all the soldiers of his presidio, except those necessary to guard it, together with the citizens of the Real de San Buenaventura and the other districts, to oppose the enemy, sending word to the residents of the province of Sonora to maintain themselves with the fifteen soldiers that were there until he should arrive, and that he should leave directions at his presidio that when the soldiers should arrive from Sinaloa they should go to the place assigned to unite with him. This was the only measure that I could take to check the hostilities and danger that were represented to me, assuming that they were true.

noticia para que salga de Cuidado si huieren puesto en el a Vuestra Excelencia y que me prevenga y ordene lo que he de executar si llegase otra semejante ocasion si por mi desgracia no hize lo mas acertado en las ordenes que di aunque devo decir a Vuestra Excelencia que mis deseos son encaminados Verdaderamente al maior asierto y assi espero lo aprobara Vuestra Excelencia como se ha servido hazer en todo lo demas pues me acompaño el mismo Zelo y con el y las grandes Providencias y Ordenes que me ha dado Vuestra Excelencia Vivo asegurado de que he de lograr el bien y quietud del Reino [que es a lo que abiendo procurando no apartarme de la razon que es la mejor y mas segura experiencia].

Tengo tambien carta de Don Manuel de Agramont en que me representa gran necesidad de toda la gente de su Presidio en aquella Provincia y no obstante embiar los Soldados que me dize fuente para socorrer a Sonora.

Escriveme tambien el Justicia que yo avia nombrado para en interim llegava Jironza asistira y los demas Vezinos a todo quanto sea del Servicio del Rei y defensa de la Provincia con que ahora Solo se puede esperar algun buen suseso que logre Juan Fernandez de la fuente Con su esquadra por el mucho Zelo que le acompaña y haver ydo muy encargado de mi para que lo solicite Com Empeño y de lo que resultare dare aviso a Vuestra Excelencia con la misma Verdad que hasta aqui [nuestro Señor guarde la Excelentissima persona de Vuestra Excelentissima muchos años en su maior grandeza]. Parral, Noviembre Veinte y tres de 1693. [Excelentissimo Señor. Señor Besa los pies de Vuestra Excelencia su rendido esclavo.] DON GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO. [Excelentissimo Señor Conde de Galve mi Señor.]

[*Excelentissimo Señor.* El Fiscal de su Magestad ha visto esta carta del Governador del Parral con otras dos todas de veinte de Noviembre proximo passado otra de veinte y tres del mismo y los autos fechos por el Capitan del Presidio de San Francisco de Conchos Juan de Retana y consulta del susodicho y dicho Governador sobre que se remitan Missioneros para las onze naciones que se hallan antes de la Junta de los rios de Norte y Conchos y las copias de dos cartas de Juan Fernandez de la Fuente y Martin de Hualde de noticias de lo que havia de obrar dicho Capitan Juan Fernández de Retana. Y dize que dichas cartas se reducen a repetir a Vuestra Excelencia las disposiciones Discurridas y en otras ocasiones ha participado las que se han ydo executando y tiene por executar segun los nuevos acaecimientos y lo que se va reconociendo en todas aquellas naciones barbaras y Christianas a que no se ofrece nueva providencia que adelantar por hallarse dadas y prevenidas por Vuestra Excelencia las que han parecido necesarias y convenientes en las ocasiones antecedente y ordenadas por el dicho Governador con el cuidado vigilancia y desvelo que manifiestan los despachos y demas diligencias que remite de las quales se deven esperar muy buenos efectos en la pazificazion de aquellas provincias y seguridad de las hostilidades que han experimentado sus

...[Folio 106^b] Respuesta del Fiscal. [Mexico, 16 de Diciembre de 1693.]

I have just received a letter from the said Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente containing information, as your Excellency will see by the copy that I send, that the news of the uprising was false, and, since he tells me in the letter that he had sent a courier to you—which only served to cause expense to the king, which was not the case with the one that I sent, as he took other orders than mine—it has seemed right to me to give this information to your Excellency so that you may be relieved of anxiety, in case you have been caused to feel it, so that you may direct and order what I am to do if such another occasion occurs. Perhaps, on account of my misfortune, I did not do what was best concerning the orders that I gave, although I must tell your Excellency that my desires are directed truly for the greatest service. I therefore hope that your Excellency will approve my course, as you have been pleased to do with respect to all the others, for the same zeal prompted me. With such zeal and with reference to the great measures and orders that you have given me, your Excellency may be assured that I shall secure the peace and quiet of the kingdom, which has been my aim and from which I have not been dissuaded, since this is the best and most secure experience.

I have also a letter from Don Manuel de Agramont, in which he represents to me the great need experienced by all the people of his presidio in that province. Nevertheless he said that he would send the soldiers that Fuente tells me are needed to relieve Sonora.

I also had a letter from the judge whom I had named, pending the arrival of Jironza,¹⁶⁵ who says that he and the rest of the residents would assist in every possible way in the service of the king and the defense of the province. Hence it is only to be expected that now Juan Fernández de la Fuente will obtain good results with his squad, through the great zeal that accompanies him and because he went under strict charge from me to make a determined effort to accomplish it. Concerning what develops I will inform your Excellency with the same truth as I have done up to now. May our Lord guard the most excellent person of your Excellency many years in greatest honor. Parral, November 23, 1693. Most Excellent Sir. Sir, your most humble servant kisses the feet of your Excellency. DON GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO. To the most excellent señor the Count of Galve, my lord.

Most Excellent Sir: The fiscal of his Majesty has seen this letter and two others from the governor of El Parral, all of them dated the twentieth of last November, also another one dated the twenty-third of the same month, also the *autos* drawn up by the captain of the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, Juan de Retana, also the latter's brief and that of

The reply of the fiscal. [Mexico, December 16, 1693.]

the said governor with reference to whether missionaries should be sent to the eleven nations that are this side of the junction of the Del Norte and Conchos rivers, also the copies of two letters from Juan Fernández de la Fuente and Martín de Ugalde containing information as to the work the said Captain Juan Fernández de Retana had to do.

moradores a que atendera en lo de adelante aplicando todos los reparos que conduxeren a este fin obrando en todo segun los acontecimientos que huviere pues para ellos no es posible que por Vuestra Excelencia se adviertan los que han de executarse ni los medios de cautelar los daños e invasiones que pueden reselarse sirviendose juntamente Vuestra Excelencia de darles las gracias a los referidos Capitanes de los Presidios como propone dicho Governador y por los motivos que expresa haziendoles en ellas las honrras conforme a su grandeza y especialmente a Martin de Hualde respecto de ser tan merecedores por cumplir tan puntualmente con su obligacion en el exercicio de sus puestos alentandolos a que continuen y con que los tendra Vuestra Excelencia presentes para remunerarlos y premiarlos.] Y por lo que mira a las Ciento y quarenta y ocho familias que quedan pobladas en dicho Presidio de Conchos que de los Autos consta a quienes informa estarseles asistiendo con carne y Mais desde el dia que llegaron pidiendo se les asista por un año que tardaran en sembrar y cojer las Cosechas cuio gasto importaria¹ la Cantidad de seis Mill pesos aunque su Magestad ha expedido diferentes Ordenes para que a los Yndios barbaros que se reduxeren Se les acuda con Raciones en el interim que cultivan las tierras La experencia ha enseñado el poco fruto que se consigue de estas Reducciones y La ninguna Confianza de su perseverancia pues lo hazen con animo de coger lo que se les Reparte y buelven a sus hostilidades perdido el gasto de la Real Hacienda Como insinua de estas familias dicho Governador en sus cartas temiendo no suceda lo mismo con estos en medio de que se halla con alguna esperanza de que prosigan en la reduccion y paz prometida y en esta atencion podra Vuestra Excelencia repetir el mandamiento que solicita para que oficiales Reales de Durango le entriegen al factor Don Joseph de Ursua la cantidad que le esta librada [para que de ella pueda hazerse este gasto arreglandose a lo que Vuestra Excelencia tiene determinado con la respuesta fiscal en este particular encargando a dicho Governador que como tan zeloso del servicio de su Magestad procure todos los ahorros de dichos gastos de la Real hazienda en quanto la posibilidad diere lugar apartando los que entendiere se malograran con la facilidad de estos yndios por lo alcanzada que se halla y cargas que sobre si tiene].

Y en quanto a los Missioneros [Religiosos] que pide para las dos naciones Suniynoligla y Batayoligla Compuestas de dos mill y quinientas personas y otras onze amigas del Rio del Norte por hallarse sin ministros que Les instruian en los misterios de nuestra santa Fee Catholica parese sera necesario que oficiales Reales de Durango y Zacatecas den quenta primero de si en estos parajes los ha havido antes o si existen y se pagan en aquella Real caxa para que con esta noticia Se pueda proceder a que se pongan y nombren [folio 107¹] de la provincia a que pertenezieren estos parajes reservandosse la determinacion de este punto para entonces.

[Y en quanto a la paga de los quinze soldados asignados para la guarda y defensa de la ciudad de Durango dixo el fiscal lo que se le ofrecio en consulta hecha por dichos oficiales Reales cerca de su salida para com-

¹ Copy B has "ymportara".

¹ Folio 105 in Copy B.

The fiscal says that in substance the letters repeat to your Excellency the arrangements [previously] discussed. On other occasions he has reported upon those arrangements which they have been putting into operation and those which, in view of recent occurrences, he has to put into operation. The letters repeat that he is continuing his reconnaissance among all those barbarous and Christian Indians, with reference to which no new developments have occurred, except his advance, [which was possible] because of having in hand the orders given and provided for by your Excellency which have appeared necessary and convenient on previous occasions and which were ordered put into execution by the said governor with the caution, vigilance, and watchfulness revealed by the despatches and other documents which he sends.

Judging from these, very good results ought to be expected in the pacification of those provinces and in attaining security against the hostilities which their inhabitants have experienced. Let him look to the promotion of this, applying all the measures that may tend toward this end, working in everything in the light of development. For it is not possible for your Excellency to acquaint himself with every thing that has to be done nor is he possessed of the means of taking necessary precaution against the damages and invasions which are liable to occur.

Your Excellency will kindly join in giving thanks to the afore-mentioned captains of the presidios as the said governor suggests, and for the reasons which he expresses, and will confer upon them the honors comparable to their achievements, especially to Martín de Ugalde, because they are very deserving for having complied so punctually with their obligation in the exercise of their duty; you will encourage them to continue. Your Excellency will cause them to appear in person in order to remunerate and reward them.

With reference to the 148 families that are settled at the said presidio of Conchos, as appears from the *autos*, whom he [Castillo] says he has been assisting with meat and corn since the day that they arrived, he asks that they be assisted for a year that they will have to wait until they can plant and harvest their crops, the expense of which should amount to the sum of 6000 pesos. Although his Majesty has issued various orders providing that barbarous Indians who may be reduced may be assisted with rations in the interval while they are cultivating their lands, experience has shown how small is the fruit that is obtained from these reductions, and what little confidence may be placed in their perseverance, for they do it for the purpose of getting what is distributed among them and then return to their hostilities, the expense being lost to the *real hacienda*. As the governor insinuates in his letters, he fears that the same may happen with these families, but nevertheless he has some hope that they will continue in the reduction and peace agreed to. In view of this your Excellency may repeat the order that requires the royal officials of Durango to deliver to the factor Don Joseph de Ursua the sum that is assigned to him, in order that from that sum it may be possible to make this payment, the same being arranged as your Excellency has determined in the light of the opinion of the fiscal on this particular matter. You will charge the said

boiar al ylustrissimo Señor obispo y dicho Governador lo qual reproduce remitiendose a su respuesta pues en consideracion a la residencia y continua asistencia de dichos soldados en Durango a representacion de dicho Governador se añadieron otros veinte mas para que se subrogasen en lugar de estos y pudiesen suplir su falta en las operaciones de Campaña y asi mandara Vuestra Excelencia se guarde y observe la resolucion que en este particular estuviere dada.

Y en quanto a los nuevos ordenes que solicita dicho Governador para el castigo de los enemigos y que sea incontinenti pasandolos a cuchillo en caso de quebrantamiento de paz y delictos que cometieren sin forma ni figura de juicio haviendo su Magestad con su catholica piedad reprovado este modo de proceder no admite contravencion ni tiene lugar la proposicion sino que devera dicho Governador y los demas Capitanes y Cavos ajustarse a lo mandado fulminando las causas conforme a derecho y substanciandolas con los mas breves terminos que la calidad de los delictos permitieren y justificados en esta forma y constando de los agresores convenzidos o confessos pasara a imponerles las penas que correspondieren que en observarlo assi nada se aventura y poco podra diferirse el castigo y de lo contrario haviendo de executar lo por mano de otros Ministros se tropezara en graves inconvenientes.

Y por lo que toca a lo que ultimamente propone de que remitira a esta Ciudad las mugeres y chiquillos de los que se sublevaren pasando a cuchillo a los maiores mandara Vuestra Excelencia que por ninguna manera haga semejante remission pues fuera del considerable costo que causaran en la conduccion el embarazo de esta gente sera de calidad que no haya en que ocuparla ni parte donde ponerla y havran de mantenerse por cuenta de la Real hazienda y podra repartirla en todas aquellas misiones y poblaciones que huviere cercanas o distantes Vuestra Excelencia sobre todo resolvera como siempre lo mejor Mexico y Diziembre diez y seis de mill seiscientos y noventa y tres. Doctor Don JUAN DE ESCALANTE Y MENDOZA.]

Excelentissimo Señor: En obedecimiento y Cumplimiento del mandamiento de Vuestra Excelencia de diez y nueve de Diziembre de el año

...[Folio 128^k] Carta de los Oficiales Reales de Durango informando a su Excelencia no haver havido ministros doctrineros en dichos Parajes. Durango, 9 de Febrero de 1694.

pasado de seiscientos y noventa y tres Damos quenta a Vuestra Excelencia Como en los Parages que llaman [folio 129^l] La Junta de los Rios de el norte y Conchos no a havido ministros Doctrines ni consta en los Libros de esta Real Contaduria el que en lo antezedente Se ayga pagado en esta Real caxa Cantidad alguna por estipendio de Limosna a mision de aquellos parages porque no la a

havido y las que oy existen a distancia de ocho o diez leguas de donde estan pobladas las Ultimas naciones reducidas Y de Una mision a otra a la misma distancia Con poca diferencia Son las siguientes:

^k Folio 125 in Copy B.

^l Folio 126 in Copy B.

governor, as one zealous for the service of his Majesty, to effect rigid economy in the said expenditures from the *real hacienda*, as far as may be possible, eliminating those expenditures which he may understand would be wasted because of the proneness of these Indians toward acquisitions and the charges which they selfishly make.

With reference to the missionaries that are requested for the two nations, the Sunigugligla and the Batayogligla, composed of 2500 persons, and for eleven other friendly nations of the Río del Norte, since they are without a minister to instruct them in the mysteries of the holy Catholic faith, it appears that it will be necessary for the royal officials of Durango and Zacatecas to give account first whether there are any at present who are paid from the royal treasury, so that with this information steps may be taken to appoint and name them from the province to which these places belong, the determination of this point to be reserved until then.

With reference to the pay of the fifteen soldiers assigned for the guard and defense of the city of Durango the fiscal concurs in what was submitted to him in a report made by the said royal officials concerning the departure of the soldiers as a convoy for the most illustrious señor bishop and the said governor. This report, which was sent at their request, he reproduces. For, in view of the *residencia* and the continued service of the said soldiers in Durango, twenty others were added, at the request of the said governor, in order that they might be substituted for the latter and might be able to supply their lack in the field operations. Hence your Excellency will order the decision, which on this matter he may have given [already], to be guarded and observed.

With reference to the new instructions which the said governor requests, namely, such as will permit the prompt punishment of the hostiles, even permitting them, without either process or semblance of law, to be put to the sword for breaking the peace or for the crimes which they may commit, his Majesty, with Catholic piety, having condemned this method of procedure, it does not permit of contravention, neither does the proposition deserve consideration. On the other hand the said governor and the other captains and chiefs ought to conform to what has been decreed, conducting the cases according to law and proving them fully by admitting the briefest testimony that the character of the crimes may allow. Justified in this way and being sure of the aggressors, or, in case that they confess, he should proceed to impose upon them the corresponding penalties. By following this procedure nothing is risked and the punishment will be deferred but a short while. To do otherwise, being obliged to depend upon subordinates, he would find himself in grave difficulties.

With reference to his last proposal, namely, that he should send to this city the women and little children of those who may have rebelled, putting the older ones to the sword, your Excellency will order him under no circumstances to do this. For, aside from the considerable expense necessary for their removal, the demoralization of these people will be such that, having nothing for them to do, and no place at which to locate them, they will have to be maintained at the expense of the *real hacienda*. It is possible to distribute them among either the distant or adjacent mis-

Mission de San Pedro de Conchos, Santa Maria Natividad, San Pedro de Alcantara de amiquipa, Santa Ana de El Torreon, Santyago baunoyava, Santa Ysavel y Cassas grandes; estas Siete misiones que llamamos ^m de nuebas combersiones tienen de situacion en esta Real caxa cada Un año doscientos y Cinquenta pesos en Reales los cien pesos de ellos que su Magestad que Dios guarde Manda se le den ⁿ a cada mission de las referidas en dinero y los ciento y cinquenta Restantes Por el Valor de Cinquenta fanegas de maiz que se les da a cada una de dichas Misiones para el Sustento de los Religiosos que en ellas asisten, pagada cada fanega a tres pesos en Reales esto es quanto podemos poner en noticia a Vuestra Excelencia [sobre este particular y sobre todo mandara Vuestra Excelencia lo que juzgare por mas conveniente que como siempre sera lo mexor Durango y Febrero nuebe de mill seiscientos y noventa y quatro años. DON PEDRO DE OLAIZ, THORIBIO DE CASTAÑEDA. DON FERNANDO YGNACIO RUIZ ARIAS. Excelentissimo Señor Conde de Galve.]

Excelentissimo Señor: El Reverendo Padre fray Joseph de Arcorcha, Custodio de la Orden de San Francisco en el Real del Parral me presento con Peticion el Mandamiento de Vuestra Excelencia que es a la buelta [y haviendo reconocido su contexto para dar cumplimiento a la orden de Vuestra Excelencia pedi ynforme juridico al Capitan de este Pressidio y asimismo extrajudicialmente] y Ynquiri lo conveniente para el buen exito de lo que

...[Folio 133^o] Ynforme del Governador Don Gabriel del Castillo. [San Francisco de Conchos, 20 de Octubre de 1693.]

Vuestra Excelencia se sirve hordenar y hallo que la administracion de San Pedro de Conchos [folio 134^p] se compone de seis pueblos nombrados el dicho de San Pedro, San Lucas, Santa Cruz, San Pablo, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, y San Antonio de Julimes; haviendo de distancia de San Pedro a San Antonio doze leguas por cuya razon es dificultoso a cada un Ministro solo a lo que continuamente Se ofrezce Con que reconozco por conveniente Se ponga otro ministro mas y que se comparta dejandole al ministro que oy esta en San Pedro Su administracion y la de San Lucas y Santa Cruz; Y que el que se añadiere tenga la administracion de San Antonio de Julimes Con San Pablo y nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Y en esta forma se asegura la buena administracion y bien de las Almas de los Yndios [este es mi sentir y Vuestra excelencia mandara lo que fuere servido que sera lo mejor. En dicha peticion] me pide dicho Padre Custodio Ynforme a Vuestra Excelencia para que se sirva añadir tres ministros para la administracion de el Presidio de ^a Santa Ysabel en el qual ay Solo Uno que asiste a nuebe Pueblos [y respecto de que el mandamiento de Vuestra excelencia solo se estiende a que informe sobre San Anttonio Julimes hago el ynforme a Vuestra excelencia; en el otro punto

^m Copy B has "llaman".

ⁿ Copy B reads "se le de a cada mision".

^o Folio 130 in Copy B.

^p Folio 131 in Copy B.

^a Copy B reads "de el Parttido".

sions. Your Excellency will decide everything for the best, as usual. Mexico, December 16, 1693. Doctor Don JUAN DE ESCALANTE Y MENDOZA.

Most Excellent Sir: In obedience to and in compliance with the mandate of your Excellency of the nineteenth of December of the past year, 1693, we advise your Excellency that in the region known as La Junta de los Ríos del Norte y Conchos [Junction of the Del Norte and Conchos Rivers] there have been no minister teachers, nor does it appear in the books of this royal auditor's office that there has been in the past any payment made at this royal treasury of any sum designated as aid for a mission in that region. In fact there has been no such payment. The missions existing to-day, distant eight or ten leagues beyond where the last reduced nations are settled, the distance from one mission to the other being about the same, with little distance, are the following:

Letter from the royal officials of Durango advising his Excellency that there have been no minister teachers in the said places. Durango, February 9, 1694.

Mission of San Pedro de Conchos, Santa María Natividad, San Pedro de Alcántara de Amiquipa, Santa Ana del Torreón, Santiago Baunoyava, Santa Isabel, and Casas Grandes. These seven missions, which we call the new conversions, have an annual appropriation in this royal treasury of 250 pesos in reales. One hundred pesos are ordered by his Majesty (whom may God preserve) to be given to each of the afore-mentioned missions in money; the remaining 150 pesos are ordered to be paid in the form of fifty fanegas of corn to each of the said missions for the sustenance of the religious who labor at them, each fanega being valued at three pesos in reales. This is all that we have to bring to the attention of your Excellency concerning this matter. With respect to everything, your Excellency will order what you hold to be most convenient, which, as ever, will be the best. Durango, February 9, 1694. Don PEDRO DE OLAIZ. TORIBIO DE CASTAÑEDA. Don FERNANDO IGNACIO RUIZ ARIAS. To the Most Excellent Señor the Count of Galve.

Most Excellent Sir: The reverend father Fray Joseph de Arcorcha, *custodio* of the Order of Saint Francis at the Real del Parral, presented to me, along with a petition, the mandate of your Excellency, which is on the following page. Having noted its contents in order to comply with the order of your Excellency, I asked for a judicial, and also an extra-judicial, report from the captain of the pre-

Report of Governor Don Gabriel del Castillo. [San Francisco de Conchos, October 20, 1693.]

sidio, and I inquired as to the best means of obtaining a successful outcome for what your Excellency is pleased to order.

I find that the administration of San Pedro de Conchos comprises six pueblos, namely, the said San Pedro, San Lucas, Santa Cruz, San Pablo, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and San Antonio de Julimes, the distance from San Pedro to San Antonio being twelve leagues. For this reason

al pie de la peticion original y ynforme de dicho capitan que e entregado a dicho Padre Custodio para que con su vista se sirva Vuestra Excelencia mandar lo que fuere servido Pressidio de San Francisco de Conchos Veinte de Octubre de mill y seiscientos y noventa y tres. Don GABRIEL DE EL CASTILLO.]

Excelentísimo Señor, Señor: En esa Ciudad Se sirvio Vuestra Excelencia mandarme entregar Un Mandamiento Su fecha de Veinte y nueve

...[Folio 145^r] Carta de Don Gabriel de el Castillo al Señor Virrey. Parral, 8 de Febrero de 1694.

de noviembre de noventa y tres^a para que Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas entregase las Armas que de orden de Vuestra Excelencia Y de el excelentísimo Señor Conde de la Monclova se han remitido a este Reino; Y que el oficial Real diese noticia de su Paradero

Y aviendole hecho notorio asi a dicho Don Juan Como al oficial Real responden lo que Vera Vuestra excelencia por el testimonio asi de dicho mandamiento como de sus respuestas que remito a Vuestra Excelencia y Suplico a Vuestra Excelencia con todo rendimiento que si en esta materia hubiere de hacerse alguna diligencia Sea Servido Vuestra Excelencia hacerme el favor de cometerla a otra persona pues siendo por mi mano qualquiera muy justificada pudiera por mi desgracia padezer la nota de alguna pasion aunque no me asiste otra que la de el mayor servicio de Su Magestad Y dar Complimiento a las Ordenes de Vuestra Excelencia [cui Excelentissima Perssona guarde Dios muchos años en su mayor grandeza Parral y Febrero ocho de mill seiscientos y noventa y quatro. Excelentísimo Señor, Señor, Besa Los Pies de Vuestra Excelencia su rendido esclabo.] Don GABRIEL DE EL CASTILLO.^t [Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Galve mi Señor.]

^r Folio 142 in Copy B.

^a Copy B reads "de noventa y dos".

^t F. R. B., Sevilla, Jan. 19, 1915.

it is most difficult for only one minister to attend to what constantly is coming up, and I therefore realized that it would be better to place another minister there and to divide [the missions] between them, leaving to the minister who is now at San Pedro its administration, and that of San Lucas and Santa Cruz. Let the one who may be added have the administration of San Antonio de Julimes with San Pablo and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. In this way the good administration and the welfare of the souls of the Indians will be assured. Such is my opinion. Your Excellency will order whatever pleases you, which will be the best. In this petition the father *custodio* requests me to advise your Excellency so that you may be pleased to add three ministers for the administration of the presidio of Santa Isabel, in which to-day there is only one, who administers to nine pueblos. Since the mandate of your Excellency only requests me to report concerning San Antonio Julimes, I hereby make this report to your Excellency. With reference to the other matter at the bottom of the original petition and with reference to the report of the said captain, I have entrusted that [for delivery] to the said father *custodio* in order that your Excellency, after seeing it, may be pleased to order what ought to be done. San Francisco de Conchos, October 20, 1693. DON GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO.

Most Excellent Sir. Sir: In that city your Excellency was pleased to order that a mandate be delivered to me, dated November 23, 1693, to the effect that Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas should deliver the arms which, by order of your Excellency and that of the most excellent señor the Count of Monclova, have been sent to this kingdom; and that the royal official should report concerning their whereabouts.

Letter from Don Gabriel del Castillo to the señor viceroy. Parral, February 8, 1694.

This having been made known both to Don Juan and to the royal official they replied, as your Excellency will see by the certified copy of the said mandate as well as by their replies which I am sending to your Excellency. And I pray your Excellency with all humility that if it is necessary to take any steps in this matter your Excellency will do me the favor of committing it to another person, for, if it be done by my hand, even though it were just it is possible that, to my misfortune, some note of passion would creep in, although I have no other desire than to give the best service to his Majesty and to comply with the orders of your Excellency, whose most excellent person may God guard many years in greater honor. Parral, February 8, 1694. *Most Excellent Sir.* Sir, your humble slave kisses the feet of your Excellency. DON GABRIEL DEL CASTILLO. To the most excellent señor the Count of Galve,¹⁶⁶ my lord.

[*Documentos escogidos del expediente intitulado:*] *Testimonio de Cartas y ynformes sobre los Presidios del Reino de la Vizcaya Escritas por el Maestre del Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin, Cavallero del Orden de Santiago y Otras Personas expertas, e ynteligentes Remitidas al Excelentissimo Señor Virrey Conde de Galve. [3 de Agosto hasta 30 de Septiembre de 1693.] Vino con carta del Virrey de 15 de Junio de 1694.*^u

En el Real y Minas de San Joseph del Parral en treze dias del mes de Septiembre de mill y seiscientos y noventa y tres años, Yo el escrivano de su Magestad Hize saver el escrito [folio 5] Desta otra segun se contiene al Señor General Domingo de la Puente Alcalde Maior deste dicho Real, y theniente de Capitan general de este Reyno, quien dize, que como tal theniente de Capitan general, y tocarle y pertenecerle por esta razon el despachar ordenes a los capitanes y demas oficiales de guerra por haver tenido la misma noticia actualmente está su merced despachando horden al capitan Juan de la Puente, que lo es de el Presidio de Janos, para que execute las hordenes que le huviere dado el Señor governador y capitan general de estos Reynos, y ahora, la que su Merced le diere para que acuda al reparo, y defensa de la dicha provincia de Sonora; dejando su presidio, y frontera del con el resguardo combeniente para cuio efecto tiene ya prevenido correo cuia paga mandara pagar de los effectos de Paz y guerra, y lo firmo su merced, de que doi fee. DOMINGO DE LA PUENTE. MIGUEL DE ARANDA esscrivano Real.

[Notoriedad.]

En el Real del Parral a catorce dias del mes de septiembre de mill seiscientos y noventa y tres años El Señor Maestre de Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin, Cavallero del Horden de Santiago Visitador de las Armas y presidios de este Reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, por comision especial del Excelentissimo Señor Conde de Galve Virrey Governador y Capitan general [folio 6] de la nueva España: Haviendo Visto la respuesta dada a lo que su merced tiene proveido respecto de estar impedido el Señor Governador [y Capitan general deste Reino] con enfermedad grave, como consta de la carta de su secre-

Auto

^u A. G. I., 67-4-11. The documents as herein printed constitute only a part of the above-mentioned *expediente*, which contains 162 manuscript folios, or the equivalent, according to the copy in the University of Texas Library, of 122 typewritten pages. The documents as herein printed, however, do not constitute a complete unit, or section, of the entire *expediente*. For example, there are, according to the University of Texas transcript, 49 documents in the above-cited *expediente*; of these Mrs. Bandelier copied only 10 documents. The latter are published hereinafter in the order in which they were copied by Mrs. Bandelier, and no complete document that was omitted in the Bandelier transcript has been added from the University of Texas transcript of the above *expediente*. However, documents that were copied only in part by Mrs. Bandelier have been completed by adding, within brackets, the words or sentences that were omitted from the Bandelier transcript. In order that the length of the omissions occurring in the Bandelier transcript may be apparent, the folio numbering, also within brackets, and as given by Mrs. Bandelier, has been retained. The letter of June 15, 1694, is hereinafter published on pages 410-413.

[Selected documents from the expediente entitled:] *Certified copy of letters and reports concerning the presidios of the kingdom of Vizcaya written by the maestro de campo Don Joseph Francisco Marín, knight of the Order of Santiago, and other expert and well-informed persons, sent to the most excellent señor viceroy the Count of Galve. [August 3 to September 30, 1693.] It came with a letter¹⁶⁷ from the viceroy of June 15, 1694.*

At the camp and mines of San Joseph del Parral, on the thirteenth day of the month of September, 1693, I, his Majesty's clerk, made known the contents of the writing of the other party¹⁶⁸ to General Domingo de la Puente, *alcalde mayor* of this camp and lieutenant-captain-general of this kingdom, who says that being lieutenant-captain-general, it behooves him and it is incumbent upon him for this reason to despatch orders to the captains and other officials of war. And because he has received this information, his Grace is even now despatching an order to Juan de la Fuente, captain of the presidio of Janos, for him to put into execution the orders which the señor governor and captain-general of these kingdoms may have given him and those which his Grace may give him in order that he may hasten to the assistance and defense of the said province of Sonora, leaving his presidio and its frontier with the necessary protection. For this purpose he has already provided a courier, whose salary he will order to be paid from the fund for peace and war. His Grace signed it, to which I make oath. DOMINGO DE LA PUENTE. MIGUEL DE ARANDA, royal clerk.

[Notification.]

At the Real del Parral on the fourteenth day of September, 1693, the señor *maestre de campo* Don Joseph Francisco Marín, knight of the Order of Santiago, visitor of the troops and presidios of this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, by special commission of the most excellent señor the Count of Galve, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of New Spain, says that he has seen the response given to what his Grace, on account of the señor governor and captain-general of this kingdom being hindered by severe illness, has done, as appears from the above letter of his secretary, and the necessity of taking prompt measures which the safety of the province may require. And it appears that Domingo de la Puente, *alcalde mayor* of this camp and, as he says that he is, lieutenant-captain-general, is attempting to hinder the celerity which ought to be practised on such occasions and is sending orders on his own behalf to the captains of presidios to obey him and to do as he commands. These matters do not admit of delay, in order that by his [Marín's] orders it may be possible to proceed manifestly in the service of his Majesty, not only on account of the objections which the said captains, who are immediately under the orders of the most excellent señor viceroy and those of the governor, may offer, but because, concerning orders of his lieutenants, not only have difficulties arisen in their execution, but complaints have been presented to his Excellency from the governor of this kingdom, particularly that Domingo de la Puente is not a military

Auto.

tario, que esta por caveza, y a la necesidad de la prompta providencia que requiere el asegurar la provincia de Sonora, y que parece que Domingo de la Puente alcalde Mayor deste real y theniente de Capitan general, que dice ser pretende impedir la aseleracion con que se deve obrar en tales ocasiones despachando hordenes por su parte a los Capitanes de presidios para que obedescan y obren segun, y como les mandare, y en attencion a que estas matterias no admiten punto de omission, y que de sus hordenes se puede seguir manifestamente en el servicio de Su Magestad, assi por las escussas que pueden oponer los dichos capitanes, quienes estan con immediacion a las ordenes del Excelentissimo Señor Virrey y a las del dicho Señor governador, y que sobre las de sus thenientes se an recrecido no solo incombenientes en la execucion; sino queexas del Governador deste Reyno representadas a su Excelencia y mas siendo el dicho Domingo de la Puente perssona no militar y de poca practica, y experiencia en dicha matheria, por no haver [folio 7] Servido nunca a su Magestad por haverse ocupado desde que esta en este Reino en el oficio de Mercader, y haora de minero, y que para el expediente de las ordenes militares se deven atender los riesgos de las demoras en la execucion y que deven medirse con el conocimiento de los riesgos, y estado de las costas, y en el que se halla el capitan a quien se dan: y por la respuesta dada por el dicho Domingo de la Puente Alcalde mayor [y theniente] que dice ser se manifesta su poca experiencia; pues dice esta despachando horden al capitan Juan Fernandez de la fuente, para que execute las que le huviere dado el dicho Señor governador [y Capitan general] y las que aora el dicho alcalde mayor diere para que acuda al reparo, y defensa de dicha provincia de Sonora: dexando su presidio con resguardo: sin atender a que en la parte de dicho presidio ay al presente guerra mui Viva, y que se halla el dicho capitan Juan fernandez de la fuente con solo treinta y cinco soldados en aquella frontera respecto de lo qual su merced dicho señor maese de campo le previene condicionalmente para que dandole lugar las imbaciones de su frontera, procure la aseguracion de dicha provincia de sonora, que son prevenciones necesarias para evitar qualquier inminente perjuicio, pues el dicho capitan [folio 8] por su carta representa hallarse imbadido en todos los contornos de su presidio de mucho numero de enemigos: y que deviera considerar asimismo el dicho Alcalde maior la necesidad que este capitan tenia de maior numero de soldados para penetrar, cassi cien leguas de tierra de enemigos, y que le era preciso dexar en dicho presidio a lo menos quince, y que de Veinte, necessariamente havia de asegurar la cavallada por lo menos los ocho, Y dies de los que llevasse, y que con la poca experiencia era exponer a el capitan y soldados a Una Rota, con cuiu abilantes los enemigos las continuaran maiores, passando a executar sus acostumbrados estragos consumiendo los templos, Pueblos y Missiones con Muerte de los Sacerdotes, y Basallos de su Magestad, desarraigando la semilla del Santo Evangelio, que a costa de tan innumerables gastos mantiene Su Magestad Y porque hallandosse, como se halla en este Reyno como Visitador de las Armas del, y que les consta a dichos cappitanes atendiendo al estado en que se halla de enfermedad el dicho Señor Governador, y capitan general y á que en semejantes ocasiones por esta razon, y otras deve su merced celar

man and has slight knowledge and experience in this business, since he has never served his Majesty, on account of having been occupied ever since he has been in this kingdom in the business of a merchant, and now as a miner. Furthermore, for the despatch of military orders, attention ought to be given to the dangers arising from delay in their execution, while orders ought to be prepared with knowledge of the risks and expenses to be incurred, and of the experiences of the captain to whom the orders are given.

From the reply given by Domingo de la Puente, *alcalde mayor* and lieutenant, as he says that he is, his slight experience is evident, for he says that he is sending an order to Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente to carry out those instructions which the said señor governor and captain-general may have given him and those which the said *alcalde mayor* may give him in order that he may hasten to the aid and defense of the said province of Sonora—leaving his presidio with a guard, failing to take into account the fact that in the vicinity of this presidio very active war is now going on and that Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente has only thirty-five soldiers on that front.

With respect to these orders his Grace, the said *maestre de campo* [Marín] advises him conditionally, namely, that having repelled the invasions on his frontier he may then secure the safety of the province of Sonora. These are necessary precautions in order to avoid imminent damage, for the captain represents in his letter that invasions by numerous enemies have occurred on all sides of his presidio. Likewise the said *alcalde mayor* ought to consider that it is imperative that this captain have a larger number of soldiers in order to penetrate almost a hundred leagues into the enemy's country, and that it would be necessary for him to leave in the said presidio at least fifteen men, while of the twenty [remaining men] he would necessarily have to provide horses for at least eighteen. Furthermore with their slight experience it would be but to expose the captain and soldiers to defeat, emboldened by which the enemy will inflict greater damages and will go so far as to execute their usual outrages, burning churches, pueblos, and missions, killing the priests and vassals of his Majesty and uprooting the seed of the Holy Gospel, which, at the cost of such innumerable expenditures, his Majesty is maintaining.

And whereas he [Marín] is here, as he is, in this kingdom as visitor of its troops and presidios, and whereas it is apparent to the said captains, on account of the illness of the said señor governor and captain-general, that, on occasions such as this, for the above reason, as well as for others, his Grace [Marín] ought to promote the greater service of his Majesty and the conservation of his royal dominions, in order that the said province of Sonora may not be lost, and ought to obviate the delay caused by ignoring military celerity on such occasions, and [whereas] his Grace, in order to arrange for the execution of orders without the referred-to delay, will give an account to the most excellent señor viceroy, and [will do] whatever else is fitting, he said that the said *alcalde mayor*, Domingo de la Puente, should be required to abstain from sending, despatching, or issuing orders to the captains of presidios, [since] from this prejudicial delays may arise in the execution of an affair which is of such importance

el maior servicio de su Magestad y conservacion de sus reales Dominios para que no se pierda la dicha provincia de Sonora y obiar la [folio 9] Lentitud, que caussa el ygnorar la azeleracion militar en tales ocasiones; y el prevenir el que se executen las hordenes sin los interbalos referidos su merced dara quenta al excelentisimo Señor Virrey, como de todo lo demas, que combenga Dixo; que se le requiera a dicho Alcalde maior Domingo de la Puente se abstenga de remittir, despachar, y dar hordenes para los capitanes de los presidios, de donde se originen dilaciones perjudiciales en la execucion de cossa, que tanto importa al servicio de su Magestad en cuio real nombre de hacer lo contrario le protexta todos los daños, accidentes, y perjuicios, que las Dilaciones ocassionaren, y que seran por su quenta, y riesgo sin que le salve la impericia que en lo militar tiene, sin innober los requirimientos que su merced tiene hechos a los capitanes de los presidios contenidos en la primer diligencia por combenir assi al servicio de su Magestad pena de quinientos pesos en que desde luego lo contrario haciendo le doi por condenado, reservando su aplicacion a la disposicion del Excelentisimo Señor Virrey.

Y assimismo se haga despacho a dichos Capitanes no den cumplimiento a las ordenes de los thenientes generales, que no hayan servido, y tengan practica y experiencia en las cossas de la [folio 10] guerra, que para semejante empleo se necesitan, y que lo hagan con ciega obediencia a las del Señor Governador y Capitan general de este Reyno a cuiu obediencia estan guardando lo que sobre esto tiene proveido el Excelentisimo Señor Virrey en conformidad de las Reales cedulas de Su Magestad y obiando la desunion y desabrimientos, que se an reconocido, por la interbencion de los thenientes, para cuio effecto asimismo Su Merced de parte de su Magestad requiere a dicho señor Governador y capitan general, y de la suya ruega y suplica no permita que dicho Domingo de la Puente ni otro alguno de sus thenientes de ordenes a dichos cappitanes, y que en los nombramientos que hiciere en adelante se lo prevenga assi en interin que el Excelentisimo Señor Virrey se sirve de declarar lo mas conbeniente, y que por haora se notifique este autto al dicho theniente de capitan general Domingo de la Puente, y que exiva las ordenes que tiene dadas so la pena contenida, y el presente esscrivano lo pondra por diligencia, y assi lo proveyo, mando, y firmo.—Don JOSEPH FRANCISCO MARIN.—Ante mi MIGUEL DE ARANDA esscrivano Real.

El General Domingo de la Puente, Alcalde maior [del Real de San Joseph del Parral, y theniente de Capitan general de este Reino de la Nueva Vizcaya]. Por quanto oy dia de la fecha a llegado a mi noticia por Carta que escrivio el capitan Juan Fernandez de la Fuente que lo es actual del presidio de Janos, en que avisa al Señor

...[Folio 12] Auto.

General Don gabriel del Castillo, governador y capitan general de este Reyno, que los Yndios de la provincia de Sonora se an sublebadado y por esta razon estar dicha provincia con evidente riesgo de perderse, y que esta noticia la [folio 13] tenia de algunos Religiossos de la Compañia de Jesus missioneros en dicha provincia y del Cura beneficiado del Real

to the service of his Majesty in whose royal name, if the contrary be done, he protests against all the losses, casualties, and damage that the delays may occasion, all of which will be at his [De la Puente's] account and risk, without his unskillfulness in military affairs excusing him and without his changing the demands which his Grace has already made of the captains of the presidios, which are contained in the first *diligencia*. This is best for the service of his Majesty, under penalty of a fine of 500 pesos, to which, if he does the contrary, I, from the present moment, condemn him, reserving its application according to the disposition of the most excellent señor viceroy.

And at the same time let an order be despatched to the said captains not to obey the commands of the lieutenants-general who may not have served, or who do not have practice and experience in affairs of war, which are essential for such employment. Instead let them obey with blind obedience the orders of the governor and captain-general of this kingdom, in obeying whom they are observing that which the most excellent señor viceroy has provided in conformity with the royal cédulas of his Majesty, and are averting the disunion and vexations which have been experienced through the intervention of lieutenants. For this purpose his Grace, on the part of his Majesty, also requests the said governor and captain-general, and on his own part begs and supplicates him, not to permit the said Domingo de la Puente, or any other of his lieutenants, to give orders to the said captains, and to provide thus in the nominations that he may make in future, until the most excellent señor viceroy may be pleased to declare what is best. But for the present let him make known this *auto* to the said lieutenant-captain-general, Domingo de la Puente, and let him make known to him the orders which have been given under the penalty mentioned.

The present clerk will record this as a judicial proceeding. He thus provided, ordered, and signed. DON JOSEPH FRANCISCO MARÍN. Before me, MIGUEL DE ARANDA, royal clerk.

General Domingo de la Puente, *alcalde mayor* of the Real de San Joseph del Parral, and lieutenant-captain-general of this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, [said] that to-day, the date of this writing, it has come to my notice through a letter written by Juan Fernández de la Fuente, the present captain of the presidio of Janos, in which he advises the señor general, Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor and captain-general of this kingdom, that the Indians of the province of Sonora have rebelled; that as a result the said province is in evident danger of being lost; that he had gained this information from some religious of the Company of Jesus, missionaries in that province, and from the incumbent curate of the camp of San Juan Baptista; and that they are asking for aid from the said señor captain-general.

Auto.

Because his lordship at present is absent from this camp at the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, convalescing from his illness, and is assisting and expediting the divisions of captains and soldiers who are ready to start from that post to make an expedition to reduce and punish the rebellious Indians of those frontiers, and because it is necessary to

de San Juan Baptista en que piden dicho socorro a dicho señor governador, y capitan general: y por estar su Señoría al presente aussente de este real en el Presidio de San Francisco de Conchos en combalecencia de su enfermedad, y a la asistencia, y expedicion de los trozos de Capitanes, y soldados que estan para salir de dicho puesto para hacer entrada a la reduccion, y castigo de los Yndios revelados de estas fronteras, y porque es necessario dar la providencia mas combeniente para el socorro de la dicha provincia y no haver otro por haora para poder hacerlo, que el que puede dar el dicho capitan Juan fernandez de la Fuente: por lo qual ordeno al dicho capitan Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, que luego que reciva esta mi horden, guarde las que dicho señor governador y Capitan general tiene dadas para el reparo y defensa de dicha Provincia, y Viendo, que al presente se necessita de pronto, y eficaz remedio segun las dichas noticias dicho Capitan Juan Fernandez de la Fuente socorra dicha Provincia con toda puntualidad como siempre lo a Savido hacer, y executar en quantas [folio 14] ocasiones se an ofrecido del servicio de Su Magestad y se espera que en esta lo habra hecho (ó lo hará) dejando el resguardo que viere [es] forzoso, y necesario para el reparo de dicho su presidio, y fronteras, para cuio effecto, horden, y mando a todos los vecinos estantes, y Avitantes en aquellas jurisdicciones esten a las hordenes, que les diese el dicho Capitan Juan fernandez de la Fuente para su mejor expediente, y las guarden cumplan y executen so las penas que les impussiere que executara en los ynobedientes: y en todo fio obrara el dicho Capitan Juan fernandez de la fuente cumpliendo con las muchas obligaciones, que le asisten en el maior servicio de su Magestad. Dado en el Real y Minas de San Joseph de el Parral en trece dias del mes de Septiembre de mill y seiscientos y noventa y tres años DOMINGO DE LA PUENTE. [Por mandado de su Merced. MIGUEL DE ARANDA escrivano Real.]

Mui Señor Mio: olgareme la salud de Vuestra Merced sea la que mi afecto le dessea, yo quedo con ella desseando tener muchas ocasiones del

...[Folio 18] Carta de Juan Fernandez a Don Pedro de Almazan. Janos 18 de Septiembre de 1693.

servicio de Vuestra Merced en que executarla con la fina Voluntad que le professo, que la experimentara Con la prompta obediencia en quanto me quisiese mandar. Amigo a esta acompañan dos Pliegos, el Uno del Señor Don Gabriel del Castillo, en que le encarga a Vuestra Merced el Gobierno de esta provincia en el interín que llega Don Domingo Xironza con los cinquenta soldados que de orden del Excelentísimo Señor Virrey esta levantando, que fixamente no se save donde se halla; solo se que Vi el despacho que llego el dia de San Juan á mano de dicho señor governador Don Gabriel, en que manda su excelencia se buelvan las Plaças de los Presidios, y a mi las quince que estavan en essa provincia [folio 19] y haviendo conferido yo, y el señor governador sobre este punto me dava horden su Señoría para que retirasse de essas fronteras mis soldados, y reconociendo el riesgo en que quedava le propuse seria mexor dexarlas, hasta que llegasse dicho general Don Domingo Xironza, y sobre esto le escribe á Vuestra Merced de su partte coopere y ayude con los Vezinos, y Yndios, que huviere lugar, assimismo

take the most convenient measure for the succor of the said province, and because no other aid at present is available except that which the said Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente can give, I order, for this reason, the said Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, as soon as he may receive this my order, to observe those orders which the said señor governor and captain-general has given for the aid and defense of that province. And, seeing that at present there is needed a prompt and efficacious remedy, according to the information mentioned, let the said Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente succor the said province with all promptness, as always he has been known to do and to act on as many occasions as have occurred for the service of his Majesty, and as it is expected that on this occasion he will have done (or will do), leaving the guard which he may consider to be indispensable and necessary for the safety of his said presidio and frontiers.

For this purpose I order and command all the present citizens and inhabitants of those jurisdictions to obey the orders which the said Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente for their better despatch may give them, and that they shall observe, fulfill, and execute them, under the penalties which he may assess and which he will impose on the disobedient. I have complete confidence that the said Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente will endeavor to comply with the many obligations, and let them assist him in the service of his Majesty.

Given at the camp and mines of San Joseph del Parral, on the thirteenth day of the month of September, 1693. DOMINGO DE LA PUENTE. By command of his Grace. MIGUEL DE ARANDA, royal clerk.

My very dear Sir: I trust that the health of your Grace is such as my affection desires for you. I enjoy health, and I desire to have many occasions for serving your Grace, which I can do with the true good will which I profess for you, and which you will perceive in my prompt obedience with respect to anything which you may command me to do. My friend, two papers accompany this letter, one

Letter from Juan Fernández de Don Pedro de Almazán. Janos, September 18, 1693.

from Señor Don Gabriel del Castillo, in which he entrusts to your Grace the government of this province in the interval until Don Domingo Jironza arrives ¹⁶⁹ with the fifty soldiers whom, by order of the most excellent señor viceroy, he is recruiting; it is not positively known where he is. I only know that I saw the despatch which came on St. John's day to the hand of the said señor governor Don Gabriel, in which his Excellency orders that the soldiers of the presidios shall return, and assigns to me the fifteen who were in that province.

After the señor governor and I had conferred with regard to this point, his lordship ordered me to withdraw my soldiers from those frontiers, but I, realizing the danger in which the province would be left, proposed to him that it would be better to leave them there until the said General Don Domingo Jironza should arrive. In regard to this matter he is writing to your Grace to co-operate and assist on your part with as many citizens and Indians as may be secured. Likewise he is despatching an

despacha al capitan de Sinaloa Don Manuel de Agramont orden para que remita los soldados que yo le pidiere, para que incorporados con los mios podamos hacer campaña por la parte que mas combenge, y viene sugeto al señor Governador de la Viscaya dicho Don Manuel de Agramont por nuevas cedula de su Magestad y del Excelentissimo señor Virrey: yo le pido en la que le escrivo con correo yente y viniente el numero de veinte, y cinco Soldados con los que tiene en las fronteras: no se si los despachará que de despacharlos, y haver alguna ayuda de Vezinos, é yndios saldre con toda brebedad á campaña, sea a la pimeria, ó a las demas naciones sus aliadas, que mi intencion es sacar algunos Vezinos de esta jurisdiccion, y Yndios Conchos, y salir por esta parte hasta la sierra de Chiuicague,^v y que por halla salgan los soldados de mi cargo, y los [folio 20] que llegasen de Sinaloa, y demas, que se puedan juntar de vezinos é yndios: y que nos incorporemos y desde alli hagamos la guerra donde mas combenga, Vuestra Merced de su parte hara por aplicar los medios, que le pareciere mas combenientes, ó los discurrira con los Señores Vezinos de esta provincia, y me avissara de lo que se determinare, que á no hallarme haciendo Un poco de bastimento de Arina y Pinole y Carne, y ser corto el tiempo passará en persona á conferir con Vuestra Merced y esos mis señores la materia pero no dudo que todos lo miraran, como al presente se requiere: porque de esperar al general Don Domingo Xironza lo tengo a mucha dilacion: respecto de que no llegara tan breve; y aunque llegue, Vendra falto de Un todo, y no podran servir sus soldados hasta el año, que viene á buen negociar, el Señor governador supo las onze muertes que los enemigos hicieron en los ojitos frios ocho leguas de este presidio, y lo sucedido en Tencenabe^w de la cavalla, y muertes que en los Pimas hiço el Capitan Joseph Reno, por cuyas razones discurrimos hacer la campaña en la forma referida y despues viniendo y del Parral estandosse en el Valle de namiquepa en los ajustes de [folio 21] Unas muertes, que havian sucedido entre Tarmaures y Conchos, quienes estavan para romper la guerra unos con otros: y lo huvieran hecho, si no huviera llegado a tiempo de haverlo podido remediar: y estando alli, como a media noche me llevo Un soldado de este presidio, que iba con diferentes pliegos, que iban para mi governador, y para el general Don Domingo Xironza, y el [Señor] maestre de Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin: y habiendo Visto lo que Vuestra Merced escrivia a mi Alferez y otra del Padre Don Christoval de Mendoza en que davan razon de lo sucedido en bacamuche, por los Pimas que habiendo reconocido lo que podia sobrevenir despache dicho pliego,^x a toda diligencia, assi al Señor governador, como al señor maestre de Campo, de que hasta haora no a venido raçon: y es cierto, amigo, que siento en mi alma las imbaciones de esta provincia, y que si me hallara con fuerças para dexar esto asegurado de los Apaches, y demas naciones, pasava luego al instante en perssona a asistir al reparo de esta provincia, que aunque no fuera con-

^v Copy B has "chinicayue". Both forms are probably miscopies for "chiguicagui" or "Chiricahua".

^w Copy B has "Therrenate". This is probably correct.

^x Copy B has "dichos pliegos".

order to the captain of Sinaloa, Don Manuel de Agramont, to send the soldiers whom I might ask him for, so that, having incorporated them with mine, we may be able to make a campaign through the district where it is most necessary. Don Manuel de Agramont is subject to the señor governor of Viscaya by new cédulas of his Majesty and of the most excellent señor viceroy. I am asking him in the letter which I am writing to him and sending by courier, going and coming, for the number of twenty-five soldiers, with those that he has on the frontiers. I do not know whether he will send them, but if he does send them and if I have some assistance from citizens and Indians, I will immediately go on a campaign against the [Indians of] the Pimeria,¹⁷⁰ or against other nations who are their allies. My intention is to take some citizens from this jurisdiction and some Conchos Indians and to proceed in this direction as far as the Sierra de Chiguicagui,¹⁷¹ where the soldiers of my charge, those who may come from Sinaloa, and others who are able citizens as well as Indians, may assemble, and where we may unite our forces. From there let us make war where it is most necessary. Your Grace, on your part, will endeavor to apply the means that may seem most suitable to you, or you will discuss them with the citizens of this province, and you will inform me of what may be agreed upon. If I were not occupied in collecting a few provisions of flour, meal, and meat, and if the time were not so short, I would go in person to confer with your Grace and those gentlemen concerning the matter, but I do not doubt that all will look at it as at present is required, for by awaiting General Don Domingo Jironza¹⁷² I anticipate a great delay, in view of the fact that he may not arrive soon. And even though he should arrive he will come lacking everything, and his soldiers will not be able to serve to good advantage until the coming year. The señor governor learned of the eleven murders committed by the enemy at Los Ojitos Frios, eight leagues from this presidio, of the occurrence at Terrenate de la Caballa, and of the executions among the Pimas by Captain Joseph Reno. For these reasons we planned to make the campaign in the manner stated. Afterwards, as I was coming from El Parral, while I was in the valley of Namiquepa, examining into some murders which had been committed among the Taramaques and Conchos Indians who were about to begin war with each other—and which would have happened if I had not arrived in time to be able to prevent it—while I was there, at about midnight, a soldier came to me from this presidio with various papers for my governor, for General Domingo Jironza,¹⁷³ and for the señor *maestre de campo*, Don Joseph Francisco Marín; and having seen what your Grace wrote to my *alférez*, and the other letter from Father Don Cristóval de Mendoza, in which they give an account of what was done at Bacanuche by the Pimas, and having realized what might happen, I sent on the said papers in all haste to the señor governor as well as to the señor *maestre de campo*, concerning which up to the present I have had no news. It is a fact, my friend, that I feel in my soul the invasions of this province, and if I had enough forces to leave this place secure from the Apaches and other nations, I would instantly go in person to aid in the protection of this province, and although it might not be according to my desire, we might be able to main-

forme mi desseo pudierā ser mantuviesemos essas fronteras en el interin que llega el general Don Domingo: y veera Vuestra Merced si se puede previnir algunos bastimentos para los Vezinos de esta Provincia, que yo [folio 22] llevase para los que fuese de mi cargo, y con^y los portadores, que son dos soldados, de mi compañía espero razon de lo que Vuestra Merced determinare, que yo a todo estoy mui prompto, y a Dios que guarde a Vuestra Merced [largos años: De este] Presidio de Janos Septiembre 18 de 1693. [Bessa la mano de Vuestra Merced su mayor servidor] JUAN FERNANDES DE LA FUENTE, al Señor Capitan Don Pedro García de Almazan.

Señor Maestre de campo mi señor: que los soldados de los presidios nuevamente erectos, y los que antes estavan concedidos a este Reyno anden continuamente en escuadron volante, ya en

...[Folio 34] Carta en respuesta de Don Agustin Herbante del Camino al maestre de Campo don Joseph Francisco Marin. Parral, 12 de Septiembre de 1693.

un cuerpo, o ya dividido en diferentes paraxes segun lo pidiere la ocasion, y operaciones, que [folio 35] ofreciere el tiempo es matteria tan combeniente, que no abra quien la impugne, si se mira lo mucho que ay que defender de los yndios barvaros y de los rebeldes, que se introducen con ellos, y los

acaudillan, cuio numero cada dia se augmenta de calidad que a un mismo tiempo se suelen experimentar en distintas partes, los rigores de sus imbachiones, y correrias executando las atrocidades y muertes, y robos, que tanto se lloran: de donde se infiere el grande incombeniente que podria resultar si se tomasse (por aora) la resolucion de reducir los soldados de dichos presidios a menos numero que oy tienen, porque siendo el paiz tan dilatado, como Vuestra Merced habra reconocido, sus poblaciones, y Reales de minas tan distantes mal se podran defender disminuiendose las fuerzas, quando todas las que ay no son bastantes a impedir los lastimosos acaecimientos de muertes que suceden por no ser possible dar resguardo a todo, y ser los enemigos cassi imbisibles en sus execuciones; conque el ahorro, que se propone al Excelentissimo Señor Virrey: por este medio, habra pocos, que lo jusguen por combeniente, bien que por otro lado parece lo [folio 36] puede haver: esto es que dando por asentado, como cossa precissa que dichos soldados no pueden campear sin llevar cantidad de yndios amigos en cuia paga, sustento, y conducciones de sus bastimentos se recrecen a la Real hacienda, gastos bien considerables los quales se podrian excussar mandando a los capitanes de dichos presidios que el sueldo de ocho soldados lo apliquen a tener alistados continuamente los Yndios amigos, que en el cupieren, que no baxaran de quarenta pagandoles el sueldo de quatro pessos al mes, que es mui competente, y con lo restante pueden estar muy bien sustentados con lo qual se hallaran dichos capitanes en todos tiempos y ocasiones prompts a todo lo que huvieren de executar, sin que sea necessario que vengan de sus pueblos, ni sacarlos forzados de ellos: y de esta se seguira otra combeniencia mui digna de reparo, qual es, que los enemigos ignoren quando se hacen las preven-

^y Evidently this is a miscopy for "para".

tain the frontiers until the arrival of General Don Domingo. Your Grace will see if it is possible to arrange for some provisions for the citizens of this province which I may carry for those who may be in my charge, and for the porters, who are two soldiers of my company. I await information as to what your Grace may decide, and I am ready for anything. May God keep your Grace many years. From this presidio of Janos, September 18, 1693. Your chief servant kisses the hand of your Grace. JUAN FERNÁNDEZ DE LA FUENTE to the señor captain, Don Pedro García de Almazán.

Señor maestro de campo. Sir: The soldiers of the newly erected presidios, and those which previously were granted to this kingdom, should move constantly in a flying squad, sometimes in one body, sometimes separated and in different places, according to the demand of the occasion and the operations that the weather may permit. This is a matter so desirable that no one can impugn it if consideration be given to the great extent [of territory] which there is to defend against the barbarous Indians and the rebels who join them, and serve as their leaders. Their number increases daily, so that it is customary to experience in different districts at the same time the fury of their attacks and incursions, at which time they commit the atrocities, murders, and robberies, which are so deplored.

Letter in reply from Don Agustín Herbante del Camino to the *maestre de campo* Don Joseph Francisco Marín. Parral, September 12, 1693.

From this it is to be inferred what a great inconvenience would result should the resolution be taken now to reduce the soldiers of the presidios to a smaller number than they to-day have. For, since the country is so extensive, as your Grace will have perceived, and since its settlements and mining camps are so distant [from each other], they could ill defend themselves if the forces should be diminished, for all those that are there now are not enough to prevent the grievous murders which happen because it is not possible to guard every part and the enemies are almost invisible in their acts.

With respect to the saving which by these means is suggested to the most excellent señor viceroy there will be few who regard it as desirable, although it appears that it may be done in another way, namely, in the agreement that the soldiers absolutely cannot take the field without a number of Indian friends, whose pay, sustenance, and the carriage of their provisions are charged to the *real hacienda*. These are very considerable expenses which might be avoided by ordering the captains of the said presidios to apply the pay of eight soldiers to keeping enlisted constantly the Indian friends that might be needed there. The number ought not to go below forty, and they should be paid a salary of four pesos per month, which is quite sufficient, and with what else they get, they may be very well supported.

Under this arrangement the captains should be ready at all times and on all occasions for whatever they have to do, without its being necessary for them to come from their pueblos or to take them forcibly from them.

ciones para salir a buscarlos y no tendran tanto tiempo para transponer sus rancherias, y chusmas, adonde no los descubren. Ademas, que manteniendosse en la campaña los soldados y teniendo siempre hechados [folio 37] sus espías, se lograran mas bien el impedir a los enemigos sus correrias (que es la mayor guerra, que se les puede hacer) y el entrar en sus tierras a darles los albazos. En quanto a los Presidios de Janos, Zinaloa y Santa Catalina: los dos primeros los jusgo importantisimos para el resguardo de la Provincia de Sonora, que no esta menos ynfectada de enemigos Velicossos y el de Santa Catalina se compone de pocos soldados, y estos son necessarios en tierra de tepeguanes, que aunque estando de Paz años a en algun tiempo dieron bien que hacer y para conserbarlos, combiene ayga entre ellos, quien cuide de sus mobimientos. Esto es lo que mi corto discurso alcança que responder a lo que Vuestra Merced me manda, riniendo mi dictamen a lo que la mucha comprehencion de Vuestra Merced informe al Excelentissimo Señor Virrey por cuio medio podremos esperar que su Excellencia resolvera la materia, como mas convenga al servicio de ambas Magestades, permanencia y alivio de estas provincias y sus avitadores. Guarde dios [a Vuestra Merced los muchos años que puede y desseo.] Parral 12 de Septiembre de 1693. [Señor maestre de Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin: de Vuestra Merced mas seguro y afecto servidor, que su mano beza.] Don AUGUSTIN HERBANTE DE CAMINO.

Señor Maestre de Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin, Señor mio. Muy señor mio: recivi esta carta de Vuestra Merced con lo que me hor-

...[Folio 53] Carta de Diego Garcia de Valdez al Maese de Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin. Parral, 26 de Septiembre de 1693.

dena le noticie, y siendo yo Podattario General de este Real en compañía de el capitan Miguel de Biguiristayn,^{*} y assi mismo del Valle de San Bartolome, Reales de minas de el oro, Santa Barvara, San Juan de Yndee, San Juan de Guanacevi, y Santa Rosa de Cusiguriachi como al presente lo somos y por raçon de esta obligacion hemos dado quenta [folio 54] a su excelencia en diferentes ocasiones, y en particular a los Veinte de Jullio de el año passado de Noventa y Uno, de lo que a nuestro entender Combendria al maior servicio de su Magestad y Bien de este Reyno, a que me remito y el traslado de el va adjunto a esta respuesta: y buelvo a repetir que las armas de los quatro presidios que Vuestra merced nomina, se podian y deben emplear en hacer Guerra a los Yndios, que la hacen a este reino al de la Galicia con tantas hostilidades de muertes y robos, que se experimentan, señalando de ellos hasta veinte y cinco soldados para el comboy de carros y Requas que entran en este Real y que todos Juntos se occupassen en este Ministerio, recorriendo el camino Real y no en otros effectos; que de esta manera podia estar prevenido de los Daños, que a los entrantes y salientes se les puede recrezer; y mediante a hacer la guerra se podia esperar la reduccion a Pueblos y Doctrina de los Yndios enemigos consumidos con el castigo; y fecho este, y puesto les en poblaciones

^{*} Copy B has "Biguiristapu".

From this there would result another advantage well worthy of notice, namely, that the enemies would not know when preparations were being made to set out in search of them, and would not have so much time to move their camps and their people to a place where they could not be discovered. Moreover, by keeping the soldiers in the field and by always having employed their spies they will be the better able to prevent the enemies from making their incursions (which is the greatest war that can be made upon them) and even to enter their country and attack them.

As regards the presidios of Janos, Sinaloa, and Santa Catalina, I judge the first two to be most important for the protection of the province of Sonora, which is none the less infested with warlike enemies. That of Santa Catalina is composed of few soldiers, and these are necessary in a land of Tepeguanes, who, although they have been at peace for years, on one occasion threatened to make [trouble]. And in order to take care of them it is necessary that there should be some one among them to look after their movements.

This is what my short discourse suggests by way of reply to your Grace's command, rendering my opinion on what the great comprehension of your Grace may report to the most excellent señor viceroy, by means of which we may hope that his Excellency will resolve the matter to the best advantage of the service of both Majesties and for the permanence and relief of these provinces and their inhabitants. May God guard your Grace as many years as is possible and as I desire. September 12, 1693. Señor *maestre de campo* Don Francisco Marín, the most faithful and affectionate servant of your Grace, kisses your hand. Don AGUSTÍN HERBANTE DE CAMINO.

Señor maestre de campo Don Joseph Francisco Marín. My lord and very dear Sir: I received this letter from your Grace in which you order

Letter from Diego García de Valdés to the *maestre de campo* Don Joseph Francisco Marín. Parral, September 26, 1693.

me to report to you. And since Captain Miguel de Biguiristayn and I are at present serving together as *podattario general* of this camp, and also of the valley of San Bartolomé, and of the mining camps of El Oro, Santa Bárbara, San Juan de Indé, San Juan de Guanacebi, and Santa Rosa de

Cusiguriáchi, we have given account by reason of this obligation to his Excellency on different occasions, in particular on the twentieth of July of the past year of 1691, concerning that which, according to our understanding, would contribute to the better service of his Majesty and the good of this kingdom. I refer you to this, a copy of which goes attached to this reply.

I repeat that the forces of the four presidios which your Grace designates could and ought to be employed in making war on the Indians who are now waging it in this kingdom as well as that of Galicia, with so many hostilities—murders and robberies—as are being experienced, and that there should be assigned from them as many as twenty-five soldiers for the convoy of carts and pack-trains which come to this camp. All together they should be employed in this work, in scouting the *camino real*,

y Doctrina, podia tener algun alivio su Magestad [en tantto gasto] minorando algunas plazas, conforme la occasion lo pidiessse; porque considero, que presistiendo los presidios, sin hacer la dicha guerra, en forma que produzca los buenos effectos que se pueden esperar; ni se han de evitar los Daños de los Bassallos de su Magestad y estaran permanentes los gastos, Y yra en gran disminucion este Reino; como la experiencia ha mostrado desde su fundazion, y antes de hazerse dichos Presidios, se hizo esta propria representacion por el señor Don Joseph de Neyra Governador de este Reyno. Y en quanto al presidio de santa Catalina [folio 55] de Tepeguanes se compone de nueve Plazas de trescientos treinta y seis pessos y quatro tomynes Cada una, y la de el capitan de trescientos setenta y seis sirbe de Vissitar los pueblos de dicha Nacion y en invasiones de Yndios agregados algun numero de Vezinos, y salir al reparo de daños, y que por aora, mientras que con la guerra se reduzen los yndios enemigos: y por su poco gasto, se debe mantener, y el presidio de Janos haze frontera a diversas naciones reveldes Y a la nacion de los apaches, y ademas tiene continuamente el cuydado de acudir a la Provincia de Sonora, y a las entradas, que en ella se suelen hacer, con ayuda de los Vezinos, y por esta Razon, y porque no se ziere^a y Ympossibilite el camino Real a dicha Provincia (que dista de aqui Ducientas leguas), me parece conveniente se permanesca, mientras estos Ynconbenientes Presisten, y mas quando se reconoze estan tan nocivos Con tantas Naciones rebeldes, pues le consta a Vuestra Merced: y han avissado de estar dicha Provincia en la ultima ruyna de despoblarse estos dias con el nuevo alzamiento, que abissan de la nacion Pima sin las demas, que es la mas numerosa, que se conose.

Y en quanto a lo de el presidio de Sinaloa, lo que sé es, que ha muchos años ay continua paz en ella y mucha Vezindad en el nuevo Real de los Frayles, y que no tengo noticias, aya habido guerra; y aunque los dichos Vezinos, y los padres missioneros dessearan (como se, que en muchas Occasiones lo an hecho) el que permanesca el dicho presidio, sin que yo me ponga a expressar los motivos que a ello pueden moverlos: siento en mi consciencia, se podia poner, y mudar a las fronteras de la provincia de Sonora donde esta, La Guerra, y se podia yr reduciendo las [folio 56] Naciones de ella, y la Predicacion de el Sancto Evangelio, y servir de deffenssa a aquella provincia: Pues (como digo) sirbe de frontera a las de Sinaloa, y aun a las de Suni y Moqui de las de el Nuevo Mexico, aunque no esta trajinado.

Y pues de Vuestra Merced por sus muchas Prendas y experiencias militares ha fiado su Excelencia la Vissita de estos presidios, y que ha hecho Vista ocular de los mas de ellos, y sabe sus distancias, forma de hacer hostilidades Los yndios enemigos y lo demas que a esta materia puede conducir; como el varvaro natural de ellos ferocidad y poco seguro de las pazes, que suelen dar; y que solo duran en ellas el tiempo de su conveniencia, y mexor occasion de hazer daños, como ahora proxima-mente en la carbonera de Matheo de Torrez, Jurisdiccion de Minas nuevas han hecho quatro muertes, y otros heridos y algunos que faltan, que no se

^a Copy B has "sierra". Obviously "cierre" is the correct word.

and not for other purposes. In this way it ought to be possible to eliminate the damages which might occur to those coming in and going out, and, by waging war, it might be possible to hope for the reduction to pueblos and to Christian instruction of the enemy Indians, exhausted by punishment. If this were done, and if they were placed in settlements under instruction, his Majesty could obtain some relief from so many expenses by lessening the number of soldiers, in accordance with what the occasion might demand. For I consider that if the presidios remain without waging the proposed war in a manner to produce the good effects that might be expected, injuries to the vassals of his Majesty will not be avoided, the expenses will be permanent, and this kingdom, as experience has shown since its founding, will be greatly diminished. Before these presidios were established this same representation was made by Señor Don Joseph de Neira,¹⁷⁴ governor of this kingdom.

As to the presidio of Santa Catalina de Tepeguanes, it is made up of nine soldiers, each with a salary of 336 pesos and four *tomines* ¹⁷⁵ each, and a captain with a salary of 376 pesos. This force serves to keep watch over the pueblos of the nation mentioned, and when invasions of Indians occur, supplemented by some citizens, to go out to repair the damage. And now, because as long as the war lasts the enemy Indians are being reduced and because of its slight expense, this presidio ought to be maintained.

The presidio of Janos faces the frontiers of divers rebellious nations and the Apache nation, and, besides, it has the constant duty of rendering aid to the province of Sonora and of making expeditions into it which, with the assistance of the citizens, they are accustomed to make. And in order that the *camino real* to that province (which is two hundred leagues distant from here) may not be closed and become impassable, it seems necessary to me that this presidio should be retained as long as these difficulties continue, especially since it is known that they are so mischievous, with so many nations in rebellion. This is known to your Grace, and you have been informed that this province is in the last stages of ruin and depopulation in these days with the reported new uprisings of the Pima nation, which is the most numerous nation known, not to mention other [rebellious] nations.

As regards the presidio of Sinaloa, what I know is that for many years there has been continuous peace there, and that there is a large population in the new camp of Los Frayles. I have no information that there has been any war there; and although the said citizens and the father missionaries, as I know that they have done on many occasions, may desire that the presidio remain there, without attempting to outline the motives that may induce them to favor this, I feel in my conscience that it could be removed and placed on the frontiers of the province of Sonora, where there is actual warfare, and that from there it might be possible to continue to reduce the frontier nations and [to introduce] the Holy Gospel, and that it might serve as a defense to that province. However, as I say, even if it is not transferred, it will serve as a frontier [post] to the nations of Sinaloa and even to the Zúñi and Moqui nations of New Mexico.

sabe de ellos. Con lo, que represento a Vuestra Merced, determinara Lo mas conveniente, para ynforme su Excelencia [Guarde Dios a Vuestra merced los muchos años que desseo.] Parral Septiembre 26 de 1693. [Bessa la mano de Vuestra merced su mas seguro y affecto servidor.]
DIEGO GARCIA DE VALDES.

Señor Mio: En cumplimiento del mandatto de Vuestra Merced en virtud del horden de su Excelencia cerca de que le informe lo que jusgo com-

...[Folio 64] Carta a Joseph Francisco Marin de parte de Raphael de Ybarguen. Parral, 20 de Septiembre de 1693.

beniente como Vezino de Veinte y seis años de este reino, e interesado en el, si sera asertado el eregir compañía volante, y oviar el gasto de los presidios, que tiene su magestad (que Dios guarde) en diversas partes de este dilatado Reino de la nueva Viscaya, Digo, que lo que me parece es, sujetando mi parecer a lo que su Excelencia hallare mas combeniente en servicio de ambas Magestades y a lo que Vuestra Merced a experimentado, reconocido y Visto, mientras a estado en este reyno en la ocupacion de su cargo, y visita de Pressidios de el, es, que segun se ha reconocido estos años passados las traiciones de la multitud de naciones de Yndios rebeldes, que casi an sido todas, si con cinco presidios que tiene su Magestad prolongados desde el de los pasaxes que es el primero, y llave de la entrada deste Reyno, hasta el ultimo de Janos, distancia de docientas leguas, y en ellos ocupados docientos, y veinte y quatro soldados con mas treinta, y cinco de [folio 65] Campaña que asisten de ordinario en el Parral, y sus contornos, apenas a havido parte, que este segura donde no se aya experimentado la ruina de muertes atrozes, rovos, e insultos de los yndios, sin perdonar zegso ni estado, y aun Violando lo sagrado; como podra haver suficiente con un solo esquadron Volante, que no podra ni puede estar naturalmente mas que en un xiron de el reino, y mientras esta parte estuviere resguardada todos los otros ambitos estaran en manifesto peligro de ruinas, como sucedio el año de nobenta, y uno, que mientras estuvo descubierto de soldados el transito que ay del presidio de conchos al de zerro gordo, por estar la milicia y los capitanes en Parigoche^b Provincia de Tarmaures; por este lado y transito sacaron los enemigos, diversas muladas, cavaladas, y ganados maiores y menores, y mattaron atrocmente hasta treinta y cinco personas de todas calidades, y el año passado de nobenta y dos, y al principio de nobenta y tres por haverse sacado de dichos presidios con horden de su Excelencia para sojugar la provincia de la nueva mexico cantidad de soldados experimente en mi hazienda que me llevaron los yndios enemigos en termino de pocos meses [folio 66] ocho manadas de Yeguas, y en ellas quinientas bestias, y en la lleva de las ultimas mataron en la cuesta de Don Pablo (donde nunca an entrado los enemigos) nueve personas, y entre ellas a tres españoles, con el capitan Andres de Jaurigui, y en esta ocasion experimentaron otros vecinos la falta de muchas manadas de caballada: y assi jusgo mui combenientes los Presidios como fronteras, que son: con tal que los capitanes con sus

^b Copy B has "Papigoche". This is probably correct.

His Excellency has entrusted to your Grace, on account of your many gifts and great military experience, the inspection of these presidios, and you have actually seen most of them and know their distances, the manner in which the enemy Indians practise their hostilities, and everything else that may pertain to this matter, such as their natural barbarity, ferocity, and the slight security of the peace terms which they are accustomed to make, for they only endure among them so long a time as is convenient to them, or until a better occasion arises to do damage, as just recently occurred at the colliery of Mateo de Torres, in the jurisdiction of Minas Nuevas, where they killed four persons and wounded others, while some are still missing and nothing is known of them. Therefore, I make this representation to your Grace; you will determine what is necessary in order that you may report to his Excellency. May God guard your Grace many years, as I desire. Parral, September 26, 1693. Your most faithful and affectionate servant kisses the hand of your Grace. DIEGO GARCÍA DE VALDÉS.

My dear Sir: In fulfillment of the mandate of your Grace, given in virtue of the order of his Excellency, that I should report to you what I,

Letter to Joseph Francisco Marín from Raphael de Ibarguen. Parral, September 20, 1693.

as a citizen of twenty-six years in this kingdom and one interested in it, judge to be best, namely, whether it will be proper to create a flying company and thereby avoid the expense of the presidios which his Majesty (whom may God preserve) has in

various parts of this broad kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, I declare that it seems to me—subjecting my opinion to what his Excellency may find to be best for the service of both Majesties, and to what your Grace has experienced, recognized, and seen while you have been in this kingdom, engaged in duties incumbent upon you and in the inspection of its presidios—that, just as has been recognized these past years, almost the entire multitude of rebellious Indians has been guilty of treachery.

His Majesty has five presidios, stretching from that of Los Pasajes, which is the first one and the key to the entrance to this kingdom, to the last one, Janos, a distance of 200 leagues, and in them are 224 soldiers with thirty-five additional field soldiers, who ordinarily remain at El Parral and in its vicinity. Yet there has scarcely been a section which is secure or where there has not been experienced the disaster of atrocious murders, robberies, and attacks by the Indians—without respect for sex or state—and even the violation of what is sacred. In view of this, how can only a flying squad be sufficient, since it will not be able to be, and naturally cannot be, in more than a small part of the kingdom? While one district may be defended, all those surrounding it will be in manifest peril of being ruined, as occurred in the year 1691. [At that time] while there were no soldiers on the road from the presidio of Conchos to that of Cerro Gordo, on account of the militia and the captains being at Papigoche, in the province of Tarmaures, the enemy took away from that vicinity and that road a number of mules, cattle, and sheep, and atrociously killed as many as thirty-five persons of all ages.

esquadras anden campeando las tierras de los enemigos, como actualmente se esta haciendo, persiguiendolos en sus tierras, que aunque no tienen habitacion señalada andando unas esquadras por un lado, y otras por otro, se conseguira topar con los enemigos para contenerlos con el castigo del rigor de las armas, y zerrandoles los puertos, para que no salgan a robar ni matar, que es con lo que se mantienen en las zierras de su havitacion como sucedio dos veces de tres meses a esta parte, Una en que haviendo salido el capitan Juan Baptista de Escorza a recorrer su territorio por horden del señor governador y capitan general; donde menos se penso se topo con el enemigo, que llevaba mucha cavallada, y la quito, y ressarzio, y en este biage, el dicho capitan, y su esquadra obio el que sucedieran muchos daños en las fronteras del mal passo, Sombrerete, y pastorias. Y el capitan Juan de Retana, haviendo salido en alcance de la cavallada, que llevan de la Juridicion [folio 67] del Valle de San Bartolome al Capitan Don Bernardo de Azove sin pensarlo, y contingentemente porque topo a los enemigos que havian muerto al Capitan Domingo de Ytuarte poco mas de una legua de Zerro gordo dio sobre ellos, y mato algunos, y por los despojos, que se hallaron en los enemigos muertos se conocio la fatalidad, que havia sucedido: por cuias raçones, y por otras muchas, que escusso el decirlas y las diran otros, y Vuestra Merced las habra comprehendido en la observacion que habra hecho en el tiempo que a reconocido las milicias de este Reino y las muchas cautelas de los Yndios enemigos del que a procurado remediar su Magestad con su catolico zelo, mandando, que los pressidios se erixiessen para resguardo de este reyno en el aumento espiritual de los que se convierten a Nuestra Santa fee chatolica y en la manutencion^o de su conserbacion en lo temporal, andando los cappitanes con sus esquadras en continuo mobimiento en todo el Reyno, y que los presidios sean Plazas de Armas adonde tengan retirada los soldados, y sus caballadas se reformen en un aloxamiento, y para que dichos presidios esten prompts a la situacion, que tienen sin sacarlos a otras partes [folio 68] Con pretexto de conquista ó entrada, porque con su aussencia no experimente este Reino y sus becinos las ruinas passadas.

Y en quanto al presidio de Santa Catalina con el corto numero de Soldados de su cituacion recorre la cierra de tepeguanes, y sus pueblos y quando les permite su capitan sale a hacer sus correrias por su lado, sacando cuerpo de Vecinos para ello.

En quanto al presidio de Sinaloa tengo pocas noticias de el, por estar extraviado ciento y cinquenta leguas y en paraxe donde no salen sus capitanes, y soldados a este Reyno por tener bastantemente que hacer en las fronteras, y pueblos de su Juridicion. Y assi soi de sentir, que el esquadron bolante solo servira de reparo a la parte donde estuviere, quedando todo lo demas del Reino apeligrado, y por estarlo todo es necessario, que en todas partes anden las armas sobre el enemigo hasta reducirlos al conocimiento de nuestra santa fee catolica y sojusgarlos al bassallaje de nuestro rey y señor (que Dios guarde) y aun despues de todo esto, son combenientes dichos presidios para mantener a los indios en paz y quietud,

^o Copy B has "manuttencion".

In the year '92, and in the early part of '93, because a number of soldiers had been withdrawn from the presidios by order of his Excellency for the purpose of subjecting the province of New Mexico,¹⁷⁶ I had the experience at my hacienda of having the enemy Indians take from me in the period of a few months eight herds of mares, totalling 500 animals. In carrying off the last ones they killed on the summit of Don Pablo (where the enemy has never before appeared) nine persons, among them three Spaniards, including Captain Andrés de Jáuregui, and on that occasion other citizens suffered the loss of many herds of horses.

I therefore judge the presidios to be very necessary as frontier [posts], which they are, provided that the captains, with their squads, make campaigns into the country of the enemy, as is actually being done at present, and provided they pursue them in their own territory. For, although they have no fixed habitation, by some of the squads going in one direction and others in another, it will be possible to encounter the enemy Indians and to restrain them by the chastisement of arms, closing to them the passes so that they can not come out to rob and to kill, which is the way by which they maintain themselves in the mountains where they live. This happened twice within three months in this vicinity, once when Captain Juan Bautista de Escorza went out to reconnoitre his territory, by order of the señor governor and captain-general. When he least expected it he encountered the enemy Indians, who were driving off many horses which he relieved them of in order to make amends for the damage done. On this expedition the said captain and his squad averted many disasters on the frontiers of El Mal Paso, Sombrerete, and Pastorias.

Another time Captain Juan de Retana, having set out to overtake the herd of horses which was being driven from the jurisdiction of the valley of San Bartolomé to Captain Don Bernardo de Azove, unexpectedly and accidentally came across the enemy Indians who had killed Captain Domingo de Ituarte, a little more than a league from Cerro Gordo. He fell upon them and killed some of them, and from the booty which was found upon the dead Indians he learned of the tragedy which had occurred. For which reasons, and for many others which I refrain from discussing but which others will narrate, your Grace, at the time when you inspected the militia of this kingdom, must have comprehended, from the observation which you must have made, the great cunning of the enemy Indians, which his Majesty, with his Catholic zeal, has endeavored to remedy by ordering that presidios should be erected as a protection within this kingdom for the spiritual advancement of those who may be converted to our holy Catholic faith, as well as for the maintenance of their temporal conservation—the captains, with their squads, to move continually throughout the entire kingdom.

Let the presidios be military posts to which the soldiers may retreat and where their horses may, with good care, recuperate. And let the said presidios remain where they are and not be removed to other localities under the pretext of making a conquest or an expedition, so that this kingdom and its citizens may not experience, by their absence, disasters like those in the past.

sin que su proterbia intente, como hasta aqui rebeliones; este es mi parecer. [Nuestro Señor guarde a Vuestra Merced muchos años] Parral y Septiembre [folio 69] 20 de 1693. [Besa la mano de Vuestra Merced su menor criado y servidor.] RAPHAEL DE YBARGUEN.

[Para Don Joseph Marin.] Por las noticias que me ha participado Don Gabriel del Castillo governador de essa Nueva Vizcaya, y las que me asistian anteriores de el estado de essas provincias, e deseado que las armas de su Magestad se restituyan a su antiguo credito contra los enemigos, y rebeldes, que por haverse aquel menoscavado y estos cobrado abilantes se experimentan las hostilidades, que me avissan padecen los bassallos de su

...[Folio 90] Carta de su Excelencia El Conde de Galve, al Maestre de Campo Don Joseph Marin. Mexico 3 de Agosto de 1693.

Magestad con atrazo de el comercio por la poca seguridad de los caminos, y de el beneficio de haciendas de Minas por no estar seguros en ellas de asaltos de enemigos, y consiguientemente con notable menoscavo, y perjuicio del Real haver, para lo qual e dado las providencias que por mi y barias Juntas, e jugado convienen para el resguardo de Vidas, y haciendas de los basallos de su Magestad y castigo de los enemigos: y no desistiendo de intento tan de mi [folio 91] obligacion, y considerando te hallas en este Real y que con occassion de el cargo que tienes de Juez de la residencia de Don Juan de Pardiñas te asistiran no bulgares noticias de el estado de essas provincias, condicion de sus havitadores, y calidad de las fuerzas de sus fronteras, y presidios fiando de tu buen juicio, obligaciones, y zelo del servicio de su Magestad me a parecido encargarte, como lo hago, por esta, que de todo lo que te pareciesse conducente al logro de mi desseo me noticias con individualidad participandome el estado en que se allan essas Provincias, y los medios que a vista de los daños que se an experimentado, y experimentan te parecieren combenientes, y que se pueden poner en practica a fin de castigar los enemigos establecer la seguridad paz y socio de sus vezinos, y evitar las discordias, y desunion de las voluntades de los que pueden perjudicar a su buen gobierno: espero en primera ocasion tu informe, para la mayor brebedad en proveer a su Vista lo mas combeniente. Dios te guarde muchos años. Mexico, tres de Agosto de mill seiscientos y noventa y tres años. EL CONDE DE GALVE.

Excelentissimo Señor Conde de Galve, mi Señor Excelentissimo Señor, Señor: Obedeciendo a Vuestra Excelencia en lo que se sirve mandarme

Carta, Informe, y Respuesta del Maestre de Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin a su Excelencia el Conde de Galve. Parral, 30 de Septiembre de 1693.

por su decreto de veinte de febrero deste presente año, procurando Vuestra Excelencia [folio 92] aliviar en parte con su gran celo los crecidos gastos que su magestad en este Reyno de la nueva Viscaya y por algunos informes hechos a Vuestra Excelencia en que combendria que de los soldados que asisten en los presidios (que para freno de

las hostilidades barbaras de los Yndios se erijieron el año de ochenta y seis), se hiciesse un esquadron volante que acudiesse a las partes mas

With regard to the presidio of Santa Catalina, with the small number of troops at its location, its force scouts the Sierra de Tepeguanes and its pueblos, and, when the captain permits, it makes forays in its vicinity, taking a body of citizens for the purpose.

With regard to the presidio of Sinaloa, I have little information, since it is distant 150 leagues, and in a place from which its captains and soldiers do not come to this kingdom, on account of having enough to do on the frontiers and in the pueblos of their jurisdiction. I am, therefore, of the opinion that the flying squad would serve as a protection only to the district where it might [happen to] be, while all the rest of the kingdom would be left in danger. In order that the entire kingdom may be secure it is necessary that our forces may fall upon the enemy Indians in all districts until they are reduced to the knowledge of our holy Catholic faith and are subjugated to the vassalage of our king and lord (whom may God preserve). Even after all this is done, the said presidios will be useful in order to keep the Indians in peace and quiet, even though their wantonness, as heretofore, may stimulate rebellions. This is my opinion. May our Lord guard your Grace many years. Parral, September 20, 1693. Your humble servant and admirer kisses the hand of your Grace. RAPHAEL DE IBARGUEN.

Don Joseph Marín: Because of information which Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor of that province of Nueva Vizcaya, has imparted to me, as well as that previously furnished me with respect to the state of those provinces, I have desired that the arms of his Majesty may be restored to their former standing against the enemies and rebels. For, on account of the deterioration of the former, the latter have taken courage and are committing

Letter from his Excellency the Count of Galve to the *maestre de campo* Don Joseph Marín. Mexico, August 3, 1693.

hostilities which I am informed the vassals of his Majesty are suffering, with consequent loss to commerce, on account of the insecurity of the roads, and to the working of the mines, because there is no safety at them from attacks of the enemy. Consequently, there is notable impairment and prejudice to the royal revenue. For these reasons I have taken the measures which, by myself and various juntas, have been judged best for the protection of the lives and property of the vassals of his Majesty and the punishment of the enemy Indians.

Not desisting from a purpose so obligatory upon me, and taking into consideration that you are now in that camp, and that on the occasion of your assuming your duties as judge of the *residencia* of Don Juan de Paríñas you will receive no slight information concerning the state of those provinces, the condition of their inhabitants, and the character of the forces of their frontiers and presidios and trusting in your good judgment, sense of obligation, and zeal for the service of his Majesty, it has seemed right to me to charge you, as I do by this writing, to report to me in detail concerning everything that may seem to you to be conducive to the accomplishment of my desire, and to inform me of the state in which those provinces are, and of the means which, in view of the damage that

essenciales de remedio, y a comboyar a los que trajinan, y comercian estas provincias, y que con este medio se podrian escussar algunos soldados, y algunos sueldos de sus capitanes: y siendo uno de los mas Unicos, y principales motivos, y desseos de su Magestad, que con dicha ereccion se asegurasse el comercio por ser la bara mas essencial, y firme que mantiene conserba las monarquias, y ser la substancia begetativa que las aumenta y hace fructificar productos considerables y que dichos presidios; son quien lo aseguran, y que si estos faltassen cessaria en el todo, hallo al pressente por difficultosso executar lo por las continuas hostilidades que cada dia executan los Yndios, y sin embargo, señor, passe a informarme de los sugetos de mas practica, y experiencia, que tiene este Real y resolvi, que por escripto diesen de por si su parecer para lo qual les despedi villetes cuias respuestas [folio 93] y discursos podra veer, y considerar Vuestra Excelencia por ser las adjuntas: Y obedeciendo tambien a Vuestra Excelencia en lo que me manda en su carta orden de fecha de tres de Agosto fiando a la^d insuficiencia las noticias del estado deste Reyno y sus Provincias y los medios que a vista de tantos daños, como se experimentan se pueden subministrar para su reparo y los mas combenientes, y que se puedan poner en practica a fin de castigar los enemigos, establecer la segura paz, y sociego, evitar toda desunion, y discordias entre sus havitadores, que puedan perjudicar a su buen gobierno, avisando de su condicion y naturales: (grave y considerable peso para lo devil de mi comprehencion) pero con el seguro de que Vuestra Excelencia esta satisfecho de mi realidad, y ingenuo desinteres, y celo, passase^e a notificar a Vuestra Excelencia las que mi cortedad en este poco tiempo a adquirido (mediante alguna aplicacion) que enemigas naciones le imbaden, y circundan, que armas le defienden, y quanto pareciere mas conduce a su remedio, y Real servicio para lo qual hare una breve inscripcion de sus dilatadas provincias.

El Reyno de la Viscaya, Señor, empiessan a correr sus limites desde los Veinte y quatro grados, y un tercio con poca diferencia diez a doze leguas antes de la ciudad de Durango su cabeza, y Metropoli, dejando a el Sur [folio 94] la nueva Galicia, y sus districtos, y a el Leste el Nuevo reyno de Leon, y corren entre el Saltillo, y villa de Monterrey estendien-dosse a quaguila, y Rio del Norte (que los Indios llaman Alchachagila^f) por el noreste es en tanta longitud que se consideran hasta el Ryo Colbert, estando estas explayadisimas tierras todas havitadas de innumerables naciones; Corriendo al norte llega asta el presidio del passo, que esta en altura de treinta y dos grados menos un tercio, y desde alli los limites del Nuevo Mexico demorando su Cabecera, que es Santa Fee de este Reyno^g de Parral, que se halla en altura de Veinte y siete grados menos un tercio a el norte, quarta al norueste en distancia de cassi trescientas leguas y en

^d Copy B has "mi". This is probably correct.

^e Copy B has "passare". Obviously this is correct.

^f Copy B has "Alchachagua". Hereinafter, in folio 99 of both the Bandelier copy (p. 40) and Copy B, the form "Alcachagua" occurs. Hence it is assumed that the latter form is the correct one.

^g Copy B has "Real". Obviously this is correct.

has been and is now being experienced, may seem best to you, and which can be put into practice for the purpose of chastising the enemy Indians, establishing the security, peace, and tranquillity of the inhabitants, and avoiding disagreements among them which may prejudice their good government. I await your report at the first opportunity, in order that I may take the best measures, in view of it, with the least possible delay. May God guard you for many years. Mexico, August 3, 1693. The COUNT OF GALVE.

Most Excellent Señor the Count of Galve—my most excellent lord.
Sir: [I am] obeying your Excellency in the matter which you saw fit to

Letter, report, and reply of the *maestre de campo* Don Joseph Francisco Marín to his Excellency the Count of Galve. Parral, September 30, 1693.

command me in your despatch of February 20 of this year, by which your Excellency is endeavoring, with your great zeal, to alleviate partially the increased expenses which his Majesty [has incurred] in this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya. Some recommendations [have been] made to your Excellency that it would be advisable for the

soldiers, stationed at the presidios (which were erected in the year 1686 to check the barbarous hostilities of the Indians), to be formed into a flying squad which might repair to the districts most in need of assistance, and which might serve as a convoy to those who travel and trade in these provinces, as a result of which some soldiers might be dispensed with, as well as some salaries of their captains. It is one of the especial and principal motives and desires of his Majesty that by this establishment of presidios commerce might be assured—this being the most essential and firm staff for the support and preservation of monarchies, and likewise the vegetative substance which augments them and causes considerable products to fructify—and, since these presidios are the things that assure this, if they fail everything will cease.

At present I find it most difficult to execute your order, on account of constant hostilities which the Indians commit daily. Nevertheless, Sir, I proceeded to get information from the most practical and experienced persons in this camp, and I decided that each should express his own opinion in writing. For this purpose I sent notes to them; their replies and statements your Excellency may see and consider, for they are enclosed in this letter.

Likewise [I am] obeying your Excellency in the matter which you command me in your letter and order of August 3. You entrust to my inadequate abilities the acquisition of information concerning the state of this kingdom and its provinces, and the means which, in view of as many damages as have been experienced, may be provided for its defense, and, likewise, the most convenient means that can be applied with the object of chastising the enemy, establishing secure peace and quiet, and averting all discord and disunion among its inhabitants which might prejudice its good government. [Also you order me] to report concerning its conditions and its natives—a grave and considerable responsibility for the weakness of my comprehension. But with the assurance that your

altura de treinta y siete grados, y quince minutos estendiendosse a su hueste cassi quarta al sueste,^b las provincias de Suñi, y moqui, las quales demoran cassi quarta al norueste de este Real teniendo a este rumbo la dilatada provincia de Sonora, que dista de su cavecera, que es San Juan Baptista Docientas leguas estendiendosse sus limites a mucho mas pues an llegado las armas de su Magestad hasta el Rio del Tizon, que desemboca en la mar de Californias en altura de treinta y cinco grados, y doce minutos, como lo executo el Capitan Oñate el año de mill seiscientos y cinco atravesando desde Santa Fee, por [folio 95] Las dichas provincias de Suni, y Moqui, y Ryo colorado, y adquirio noticias ciertas de haver diversas naciones la tierra adentro de mucha policia, y grande aplicacion en el cultivo de los campos, y en particular las que estan pobladas orillas de la Laguna de Copala, que esta en los treinta y ocho grados, y medio; y al hueste de dicho Real demora la provincia de Sinaloa havitada toda de Yndios pazificos y quietos, y al sudueste la del Rossario Una, y otra a la costa del mar del sur.

Este dilatadissimo Reyno le favorecio el cielo con benigno temperamiento, quanto puede dessearse, con gran fertilidad de sus campos; pues producen los fructos colmadissimas cosechas, los ganados en tanta abundancia que si los continuos robos de los Yndios los dexassen lograr, no tendria precio alguno; abunda de tanta copia de metales, que sera muy rara la parte de sus montañas donde no se encuentren muchas y muy buenas minas de ellos: asegurando todos los mas practicos de la nueva españa, tiene dicho reyno mas plata que lo restante de toda ella, y cada dia se hacen nuevos descubrimientos de minerales; pero que importa, Señor, que la naturaleza haia depositado en las entrañas desta tierra tanta suma de riqueza, si el beneficio de las ya [folio 96] descubiertas no se puede conseguir por lo despoblado, que esta de gente y cassi del todo a parado assi este, como el de las heredades: haviendosse despoblado las mas principales haciendas del beneficio de metales, y siembras, y siembras de regadio, y temporal; siendo caussa de estos daños la suma avilantes y orgullo de los Yndios, pues continuamente, estan executando robos de cavallada y muertes en sus havitadores, de calidad, que sin escolta, y buena guarda no pueden emplearse los pocos obreros, que an quedado por cuya razon an descaezido los mas de los caudales, no haviendo ayudado poco la epidemia, que corrio el año passado, y parte de este: pues consumo mas de la tercera parte del Reyno padeciendo la de servicio mas general este infortunio; conque a quedado en el mas misero estado, que puede imaginarse, y a no haverle acudido Vuestra Excelencia Con tantas, y tan promptas providencias, soy de sentir se huvieran arruynado del todo, y aun perdido, y se seguiria el preciso despueblo de los Reinos de sombreroete, Sacatecas, San Luis, y todos sus contornos: por ser este el antemural que los defiende, y conserva: sinque, bastassen a evitar tan tamaña, desgracia, y desbentura los soldados que asisten en los presidios erectos: por ser como son estos paraxes espacios dilatadissimos, y aun imaginarios, y no poder acudir a todos los que se nececita, y ser tanta la copia de las naciones barbaras que

^b Obviously this is meant to be "soeste" or "sudeste".

Excellency is convinced of my sincerity, open disinterestedness, and zeal, I will proceed to make known to your Excellency those facts which my poor intelligence has (by means of some application) acquired in this short time, namely, what enemy nations are invading and surround it, what forces defend it, and what, on the face of things, contributes most to its relief and to the royal service. For this purpose, I will give a brief description of its broad provinces.

The bounds of the kingdom of Vizcaya, Sir, begin at twenty-four and one-third degrees [north latitude], more or less, [at a point] ten or twelve leagues below the city of Durango, its capital and metropolis. On the south is Nueva Galicia and its districts, and on the east is the New Kingdom of León. The boundary runs between Saltillo and the villa of Monterrey, and extends to Coahuila, and the Río del Norte (which the Indians call Alcachagua). On the northeast the province stretches to such a longitude that the boundary is considered to extend as far as the Colbert River.¹⁷⁷ All of these widely extended domains are inhabited by innumerable nations. To the north the province extends as far as the presidio of El Paso, which is in latitude thirty-two degrees,¹⁷⁸ less one-third, and from there the bounds of New Mexico bear towards its capital, which is Santa Fé.

This Real del Parral is in twenty-seven degrees, less one-third, latitude. [The kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya stretches] north-by-northwest a distance of almost 300 leagues, or as far as latitude thirty-seven degrees and fifteen minutes, and extends almost west-by-southwest to the provinces of Zúñi and Moqui, which bear almost a quarter to the northwest of this *real*. In this direction lies the broad province of Sonora, the capital of which, San Juan Bautista, is distant 200 leagues. Its limits, however, extend much further, for the forces of his Majesty have gone as far as the Río del Tizón¹⁷⁹—which empties into the Sea of California in latitude thirty-five degrees and twelve minutes—as did Captain Oñate, in 1605,¹⁸⁰ when he went from Santa Fé by way of the said provinces of Zúñi and Moqui and the Río Colorado, and acquired authentic information that various nations, highly civilized and largely devoted to the cultivation of fields, particularly those which are settled on the shores of the Laguna de Copala, in thirty-eight degrees and thirty minutes, occupied the country beyond. To the west of the said *real* stretches the province of Sinaloa, which is entirely inhabited by peaceable and orderly Indians. To the southwest is a province of Rosario.¹⁸¹ Both of these provinces are on the coast of the South Sea.

Heaven favored this most extensive kingdom with a benign climate, as much so as can be desired, and with great fertility of the land, for the plantings produce most abundant crops, while cattle produce so abundantly that if the constant robberies of the Indians would allow them to increase they would have no value whatever. The province abounds in such a plentifulness of metals that the locality in its mountains where many and good mines may not be found is rare indeed. All of the most experienced persons in New Spain assert that the said kingdom has more silver than all the rest of it, and every day new discoveries of ores are made.

los havitan, que inducidas de los cocoiones, Tovosos executan sus entradas por tantas y diversas partes, y con tanta celeridad, y astucia, que no es dable, que aun maior numero impidiessen semejantes latrocinios, y imbaciones, y para prueba de esto refiere¹ a Vuestra Excelencia el numero de naciones que le ostilizan, y el de soldados, que le aseguran, y defienden, de la ciudad de Durango a este real de San Joseph del Parral (donde asisten los gobernadores del Reyno) ay dos caminos el Uno por Santa Cathalina¹ donde esta el Presidio deste nombre, que se compone de ocho plazas, y su capitan que lo es Don Benito Pereda y Morales; ay setenta leguas con poca diferencia, en cuió paraxe havita parte de la dilatada nacion de tepeguanes, quienes de muchos años a esta parte an conserbado segura fidelidad, y obediencia; es poco seguro respecto de espiarle a menudo algunas esquadras de tovossos; el de cuencame, lo es mas, y muy cursado por los tres presidios que le pueblan, y los comboyes, que subministran a los passaxeros; quenta cien leguas en esta forma: de Durango al presidio del Parral^k treinta, quien se compone de cinquenta plazas [folio 98] y la de su capitan Juan Baptista de escona: ¹ De este al del Gallo Veinte y quatro, componesse de otras cinquenta, y la de su capitan Luis de Quintana, de aqui al de zerro gordo Veinte y dos, contiene veinte y tres plazas, y la de su capitan Martin de Ugalde, de aqui al Real del Parral quentan veinte y quatro, donde assiste la compañía de Campaña con numero de otras cinquenta, aunque los quince asisten de ordinario en la ciudad de Durango para guarda de aquellos Bassallos, siendo su capitan Antonio de Medina de dicho Real al presidio de conchos quentan veinte leguas componese de otras cinquenta plazas, y la de su capitan Juan Fernandez de Retana, el de Janos cituado en la provincia de este nombre, se compone de otras cinquenta y la de su capitan Juan Fernandez de la Fuente dista deste Real Cien leguas cubre y defiende toda la provincia de Sonora, que se dilata en mas de otras ciento y cinquenta leguas: para cuyo reparo tan menesterosso el dia de oy se sirvio la gran providencia de Vuestra Excelencia de consederles otras cinquenta plazas a cargo de Don Domingo de Jironza: El Presidio de Montesclaros situado en la Provincia de Synaloea consta de quarenta, y tres plazas, y de su capitan Don Manuel de Agramont, dista deste Real mas de ciento, y cinquenta leguas [folio 99] La Distancia de Paiz que cubren y defienden en su longitud estas plazas de Soldados, que con las de sus capitanes hacen el numero de trescientas, y ochenta y tres es dilatadissima: la latitud, y extension de tierra que mantienen no es menos; Las familias de españoles que havitan en el Reino seran como quinientas con poca diferencia, corto numero a el crecido de las muchas naciones que le circumbalan, y algunas numerosas; pues las descubiertas, y conocidas asta el dia de oy, sin otras muchas, que se ignoran, son como se siguen.

Las naciones, que havitan desde la ciudad de Durango hasta la Junta de los Rios de conchos, y el del Norte (que los Yndios llaman alcachagua), y entre la misma Junta de Una y otra banda son las siguientes Yndios:

¹ Copy B has "referire". This is the correct form for the context.

¹ Copy B has "Santa Catharina".

^k Copy B reads "al presidio del Passaxe". Obviously this is correct.

¹ This is obviously a miscopy for "Escorza", as appears in Copy B.

But what does it matter, Sir, that nature has deposited in the entrails of this land such a sum of riches if the value of those already discovered cannot be realized on account of its being depopulated, as is the case, and [despoiled] of almost everything? Mining as well as farm work has ceased, the principal mining establishments have been abandoned, as well as the irrigated and the seasonal crops. The cause of these losses is the extreme boldness and daring of the Indians, for they are continually stealing horses and killing the inhabitants, to such a degree that without an escort and a good guard the few laborers who have remained are not able to work. For this reason most of the fortunes have decayed. To this the epidemic which prevailed last year, and part of this, contributed not a little, for it destroyed more than a third of the kingdom, the working people suffering more generally from this misfortune. It has, therefore, remained in the most wretched state imaginable, and if your Excellency had not hastened to its assistance with so many and such prompt measures, I am of the opinion that it would have been entirely ruined and perhaps lost. The consequent depopulation of the kingdoms of Sombrerete, Zacatecas, San Luis, and all their environs would have followed, for this is the rock which defends and preserves them. The soldiers stationed at the established presidios would have been insufficient to avert such a great misfortune and disaster because of these places being separated, as they are, by such great and even imaginary distances and because of the impossibility of rendering aid to all that need it.

So numerous are the barbarous nations which inhabit these provinces that, influenced by the Cocioimes and Tobosos, they make their expeditions through so many and diverse districts and with such swiftness and cunning that it is impossible for even a larger number [of soldiers] to prevent such robberies and invasions. In proof of this I will call the attention of your Excellency to the number of nations which are committing hostilities and to the number of soldiers who are defending and protecting it.

From the city of Durango to this Real de San Joseph del Parral (where the governors of the kingdom live) there are two roads. One is by way of Santa Catalina, where is situated the presidio of this name, which is composed of eight men and their captain, Don Benito Pereda y Morales. The distance is seventy leagues, more or less, and in that region lives a part of the widely distributed nation of the Tepeguanes Indians, who for many years in this district have maintained strict fidelity and obedience. This road has slight security because squads of Tobosos continually spy upon it. The road by way of Cuencame is safer and is much travelled on account of the three presidios which are situated on it and because of the convoys which afford protection to the travellers. The distance by this road is one hundred leagues and is divided as follows: it is thirty leagues from Durango to the presidio of El Pasaje, which is composed of fifty men and their captain, Juan Bautista de Escorza. From this pueblo it is twenty-four leagues to that of El Gallo, which is composed of fifty men and their captain, Luis de Quintana. From there it is twenty-two leagues to the presidio of Cerro Gordo; it has twenty-three soldiers and their captain, Martín de Ugalde. From there it is twenty-four leagues to the

Los Tepeguanes; Los de Parras; Los Tovossos; Los Cocoliomes; Los gavilanes; Los de el sombrero prieto; Los Cocoliomes de thecolote; Los babosarigames; Los hijos de la tierra; Los hijos de las Piedras; Los hijos de lodo; Los negritos; Los salineros; Los Jojocomes; mas otros gavilanes; Los de Cuaguila; Los Chizos se componen de siete naciones que son; Los Chizos; Los chichitames; Los Satapayogliglas; Los Guazapayogliglas; Los osatayogliglas; Los Cacuitaomes; [folio 100]; Los Otauay; Los Batayogliglas; Los Sunigugliglas; Los cacucoat; Los Gaudmuchiquat; Los Bajopapay; Los Boomes; Los Cocosut; Los Colorados; Los ajames; Los Tuimamare; Los teimamar; Los oymamare; Los Sinibles; Los mopututur; Los totonomos, que llaman cabezas blancas; Los cocomoguacales; Los Salineros; Los bacopo; Los Pobas; Los Estoytto; Los Sibuitutilca; Los Esauqui; Los Cuicuiguas; Los ttrimomomos; Los cuurbipicas; Los del pescado; Los pinanacas; que llaman desorejados; Los Pinanuas, que llaman los apagados; Los bobori, que llaman los cometunas; Los tuidamoydan, que llaman hijos de la Sierra; Los mascagua que llaman los duros; Los Utacas; Los Parugan, que llaman hedor fiero; Los tuigare, que llaman palo, conque martaxan Los opoli; Los tuicuiguan, que llaman por aqui; Los Popos pocodomen que llaman comesacate; Los Guascadome que llaman la gente de las nuezes; Los acoclames; Los cholomes; Los del Pellejo Blanco; Los Cavezas de Guacale; Los enemigos del cerro; Los papacolani; Los cucubipi; Los Mastajamesquite; Los malas flechas; Los babimamar; Los cotomamar; Los totolomes; Los osatames; Los [folio 101] Cocomas; Los Parucan; Los Tuigar; Los opulas; Los manos Prietas.

Estas Diez y ocho naciones ultimas descubrio el Capitan Juan Hernandez de Rettana en esta entrada que executo en el mes de Jullio de este año a la Juntta de los Rios, las quales havitan las serranias de dicha Junta.

Siguense las que havitan de la otra Banda de la Junta entre Texas y nuebo Mexico. 54 Naciones.

Los Salchomis; Los de Pie de Recacalote; Los Guacali; Los de Sino-rejas; Los de los Cabellos blancos; Los Salcocolomes; Los Bapacores; Los Sallas; Los Borrados; Los Siniples; Los de los Dientes alazanes; Los de las cassas moradas, que son quatro naciones del mismo nombre; Los cavezas; Los Conejos; Los alzados; Los Pajaritos; Los humanas; Los come sibolos; Los arcos tirados; Los Sivolos; Los apaches; Los mesquites; Los Cacalotes; Los Posalmes; Los Polacmes; Los oposmes; Los Pulicas; Los topacolmes; Los de los miembros largos; Los que comen todo manjar hecho pinole; Los gaapa; Los paiaias cuchite; Los canaq; Los tugues; Los cruiamos; Los ymittes; Los Rayados; Los ysuguaio; Los mamuyas; Los Satatu; [folio 102] Los yaguat; Los Comeviejos; Los Chauares; Los mapoch; Los de las manos sordas; Los de los arcos Podridos; Los de los Arcos buenos; mas otros Borrados; Los de las colas largas; Los texas.

Todas estas naciones son mas pacificas que velicossas, por cuiu razon se pudiera penetrar con facilidad hasta lo interior de ellas, traen continuamente guerra con ellas los apaches.

Real del Parral, where the field company, consisting of fifty more soldiers, is stationed, although fifteen of them are usually at the city of Durango for the protection of its inhabitants. Their captain is Antonio de Medina. From the said *real* it is twenty-two leagues to the presidio of Conchos, which is composed of fifty more soldiers and their captain, Juan Fernández de Retana. The presidio of Janos, situated in the province of this name, is composed of fifty more soldiers and their captain, Juan Fernández de la Fuente. The last-named presidio is one hundred leagues distant from this *real*, and covers and defends the entire province of Sonora, which extends for more than another hundred and fifty leagues [beyond]. For its defense, so greatly needed to-day, the great foresight of your Excellency saw fit to grant to them an additional fifty soldiers, under the command of Don Domingo de Jironza.¹⁸² The presidio of Montesclaros, situated in the province of Sinaloa, consists of forty-three soldiers and their captain, Don Manuel de Agramont. It is distant more than a hundred and fifty leagues from this *real*.

The longitudinal extent of the country covered and defended by these soldiers, totalling, with their captains, 383, is extremely large; the latitudinal extent of land which they cover is no less. The families of Spaniards living in the kingdom number about 500, more or less—a small number in comparison with a large population of the many nations which surround it, some of which are very populous. Those discovered and known up to to-day, not to speak of many others which are not known, are the following:

The nations which inhabit [the country] from the city of Durango to the junction of the Río de Conchos and the Río del Norte (which the Indians call Alcachagua), that is, as far as the said junction and on either side of the river, are as follows:

Indians: The Tepeguanes; those of Parras; the Tobosos; the Cociomes; the Gavilanes [the Sparrow Hawks]; those of El Sombrero Prieto [the Black Hat]; the Cociomes of Tecolote; the Babosarigames; the Hijos de la Tierra [the Sons of the Earth]; the Hijos de las Piedras [the Sons of the Stones]; the Hijos de Lodo [the Sons of Mud]; the Negritos; the Salineros; the Jojocomes; other Gavilanes [Sparrow Hawks]; those of Coahuila; the Chisos, comprising seven nations, namely, the Chisos, the Chichitames, the Satapayogliglas, the Guazapayogliglas, the Osatayogliglas, the Cacuitaomes; the Otauay; the Batayogliglas; the Sunigugliglas; the Cacucoat; the Guamuchiquat; the Bajopapay; the Boomes; the Cocosut; the Colorados; the Ajames; the Tuimamare; the Teimamar; the Oymamare; the Sinibles; the Mopututur; the Totomonos, who are called Cabezas Blancas [White Heads]; the Cocomoguacales; the Salineros; the Bacopo; the Pobas; the Estoytto; the Sibuitutilca; the Esaugui; the Cuicuiguas; the Trimmomos; the Cuurbipicas; those of El Pescado [the Fish]; the Pinanacas, who are called Desorejados [Cropped Ears]; the Pinanuas, who are called the Apagados [the Pusillanimous]; the Bobori, who are called the Cometunas [the Prickly Pear Eaters]; the Tuidamoydan, who are called Hijos de la Sierra [Sons of the Mountain]; the Mascagua, who are called the Duros [the Cruel]; the Utacas; the Parugan, who are called Hedor Fiero [Great Stench]; the Tuigare, who

Siguensse las que havitan desde el Rio Conchos hasta el Nuevo Mexico, y desde alli al Rio Teson, costa del Mar del Sur Provincias de Sonora y Sinaloa. 27 Naciones.

Los Conchos; Los Julimes; Los Sumas Cristianos; Los Sumas Xentiles; Los apaches; Los Taos; Los del nuevo Mexico; Los moquinos; Los yutas; Los Jouas; Los apaches cruzados, que es dilatada nacion; Los pimas, que es muy numerosa; Los Seris; Los tepocas; Los sobal; Los Sonoras; Los Chinipas; Los guacapares, que son los taraumares; Los Janos; Los yaques; Los Rau; Los Babun; Los potutu; Los cocori; Los tepagui; Los Conecuaris. [Folio 103.]

are called the Palo [the Pole], with which they beat the Opoli; the Tuicuiguan, as they are called here; the Popos Pocodomen, who are called Comesacate [Grass Eaters]; the Guascadome, who are called the people of the nuts; the Acoclames; the Cholomes; those of the Pellejo Blanco [White Skin]; the Cabezas de Guacale; the Enemigos del Cerro [the Hill Enemies]; the Papacolani; the Cucubipi; the Mastajamesquite; the Malas Flechas [Bad Arrows]; the Babimamar; the Cotomamar; the Totolomes; the Osatames; the Cocomas; the Parucan; the Tuigar; the Opulas; the Manos Prietas [Black Hands].

Captain Juan Hernández de Retana discovered the last of these eighteen nations on the expedition which he made in the month of July of this year to La Junta de los Ríos. They inhabit the mountainous regions of that junction.

Those inhabiting the opposite bank from La Junta, between Texas and New Mexico, are the following fifty-four nations:

The Salchomis; those of Pie de Recacalote; the Guacali [Fruit Hamper]; those of Sinorejas; those of the Cabellos Blancos [White Heads]; the Salcocolomes; the Bapacores; the Sallas; the Borrados; the Siniples; those of the Dientes Alazanes [Sorrel-colored Teeth]; those of the Casas Moradas [Mulberry-colored Houses], comprising four nations of the same name; the Cabezas [Heads]; the Conejos [Rabbits]; the Alzados [Rebels]; the Pajaritos [Little Birds]; the Humanas; the Come Cíbolos [Buffalo Eaters]; the Arcos Tirados [Long Bows]; the Cíbolos [Buffalos]; the Apaches; the Mesquites; the Cacalotes [Maize Gruel]; the Posalmes; the Polacmes; the Oposmes; the Pulicas; the Topacolmes; those of the Miembros Largos [Long Limbs]; those who eat all of their food made into *pinole* [meal]; the Gaapa; the Paiaias Cuchite; the Canaq; the Tugues; the Cruiamos; the Ymittes; the Rayados [the Striped]; the Ysuguaios; the Mamuyas; the Satatu; the Yaguat; the Comeviejos; the Chauares; the Mapoch; those of the Manos Sordas [Still Hands]; those of the Arcos Podridos [Rotten Bows]; those of the Arcos Buenos [Good Bows]; other Borrados; those of the Colas Largas [Long Tails]; the Texas.

All these nations are more peaceful than warlike, for which reason it should be possible to penetrate with ease to their interior. The Apaches maintain a continuous war with them.

The Indians who inhabit the country from the Río Conchos to New Mexico, and from there to the Río Tizón, the coast of the South Sea, and the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa, totalling twenty-seven nations, follow:

The Conchos; the Julimes; the Christian Sumas; the heathen Sumas; the Apaches; the Taos; those of New Mexico; the Moquinos; the Yutas; the Jouas; the Apaches Cruzados, which is a widespread nation; the Pimas, who are very numerous; the Seris; the Tepocas; the Sobal; the Sonoras; the Chinipas; the Guacapares, who are the Taramares; the Janos; the Yaquis; the Rau; the Babun; the Potutu; the Cocori; the Tepagui; the Conecuaris.

Pues como, Señor, si se desenfrenasse el atrebimiento y descoco de tanto barbaro podra resistir el corto nervio de las armas referidas, ni el de sus havitadores? Ni como siendo paiz tan explanado,^m y distancias tan dilatadas, se podra ocurrir al remedio de las hostilidades, y ymbaciones, que por tantas y diversas partes yntentan, executandolas con todo arte, y ardid; pues siempre logran a su salvo sus despravados intentos espianando diferentes esquadras los que traxinan, y si reconocen no llevar bastante escolta en los passos mas estrechos, y montuossos, donde los cavallos, no pueden usar de su ligereza, de repente dan sobre ellos, y con grandes alaridos los flechan, siendo su primera diligencia el derricarlos cavallos,ⁿ que con la suma destreza que les assiste en el manejo de semejantes armas, con facilidad lo consiguen, y desmontados, quedan yndefenssos, y por trofeo de sus acostumbradas crueldades, si reconocen no pueden sin riesgo suio acometer se estan quietos enbijados, como ussan, y barnizados todos de color de la tierra y las mas bezes subiertos de sacaton (que es la hierva que con abundancia producen los campos) Los dexan passar, y siguen muchas leguas obserbando sus [folio 104] descuidos doblando las puntas y quebradas con su grande hagitad bolviendo a salirles en otros estrechos, y si en ellos no logran sus maldades las consiguen en otros, y acontece muchas vezes passar sobre ellos sin reconocer el riesgo: y de rrepente flecharlos sin remedio: para el rovo de las cavalladas usan de lo mesmo espian sus estancias, y potrereros, y al mas leve descuido la arrevatan no enpleandosse en semejantes hurtos mas que tres o quatro y por presto donde se juntan, algunos Vecinos, y soldados, y los siguen siempre llevan anticipadas Veinte, ó treinta leguas; conque es, Señor, fortuna el darles pique, y si se logra, y reconossen les siguen flechan algunos de los ganados, para despues bolberles a comer: pues su principal alimento son mulas y cavallos, y quanta inmundicia encuentran, y a veces los cuerpos de los españoles, como en muchas se a experimentado, y en este mes de Jullio se vio: pues haviendo dado en una mission de Cuaguila los Chichitames, y otras naciones, apressaron una muchacha española, y se la comieron las Viejas cassi viva, segun me conto Un pricionero que liberto el cappitan Retana enrriscansse, y se [folio 105] emboscan en lo mas fragosso de las montañas, con su apresurada fuga, y se imposibilita el castigo de sus hurtos. Paresse no es dable el remedio, y alibio de tan continuos daños y que superan las dificultades a evitarlos? pues no, señor, dos caminos discurro para obiarlos con algunos puntos, y circunstancias faciles, y suaves, y que conducen mucho al Real Servicio, quietud, y Sociego tranquilo deste Reyno, el mas breve, y que desde luego se necessita se reduzca a el acto de sus operaciones, es el de la manutencion (al presente) de los cinco pressidios, Passaxe, Gallo, Cerro gordo,

^m Copy B has "tan explaiado". Obviously this is correct.

ⁿ Copy B has "el derrivar los cavallos". Obviously this is correct.

Hence, Sir, if the boldness and audacity of so many barbarians should be loosed how will the slight strength of the forces mentioned, or that of the inhabitants be able to resist them? And how, since the country is so extensive and the distances so great, will it be possible to effect a remedy for the hostilities and attacks which the Indians commit in so many and divers localities, and perpetrate with expert art and cunning? For they always succeed in their wicked plans by lying in wait for those engaged in carting goods, and, if they perceive that there is not a sufficient escort, they suddenly fall upon them in the narrowest and mountainous passes, where the horses are not able to employ speed, and, with great shouts, they let fly arrows at them.

Their first care is to strike down the horses. This, with the great skill that attends them in the use of such arms, they easily accomplish, and being dismounted, the travellers are left defenceless and become victims of their customary cruelties. If they perceive that they cannot make the attack without danger to themselves, they keep quiet—all of them, as is their custom, being painted and varnished the same color as the earth, and generally covered with *sacaton* (which is the grass which the country produces in abundance)—and permit the travellers to pass. They follow them for many leagues, on the lookout for some carelessness, doubling the points and ravines with their great agility and sallying out upon them in other narrow passes. And if they do not succeed in perpetrating their evil designs upon them they do so upon others. Often it happens that travellers pass over the roads without realizing their danger, when of a sudden they are unavoidably shot with arrows.

In their robberies of horses they use the same methods. They keep watch on the ranches and pastures, and upon the slightest carelessness they drive off the animals, not more than three or four being employed in such robberies. No matter how quickly some citizens and soldiers assemble and follow them, they always have a start of twenty or thirty leagues, so that it is, Sir, a piece of good fortune if they overtake them, and, if this does happen, and they perceive it, they shoot with arrows some of the cattle, in order afterwards to come and eat them.

Their principal food consists of horses and mules, and any filth that they may find, even sometimes the bodies of Spaniards, as has many times happened. This occurred in this month of July when the Chichitames and other nations, having attacked a mission of Coahuila, captured a Spanish girl, and, according to what a prisoner who was rescued by Captain Retana told me, the old women almost ate her alive. By their swift flight they take refuge and ambuscade themselves in the roughest parts of the mountains, and make it impossible to punish their thefts.

Does it appear that the remedy and relief from these constant injuries is impracticable, and that the difficulties in the way of overcoming them are insurmountable? By no means, Sir. I think of two ways by which under certain conditions and easy and moderate circumstances they may be obviated, all of which may conduce greatly to the royal service, quiet, and tranquil peace of this kingdom. The quickest method, and the one which it is necessary should be put in operation, is that of the preservation (temporarily) of the five presidios of Pasaje, Gallo, Cerro Gordo,

conchos, y Janos, y que de los cinquenta soldados concedidos para la defensa de Sonora se erija otro en uno de tres sitios de dicha provincia para que con mas facilidad se pueda dar la mano con la gente del de Janos, y unidos operen castigando el orgullo de los enemigos apaches, y pimas naciones numerosas, y dilatadas, que de continuo ymbaden, y hostilizan a los moradores de ella como oy sucede, poniendola en grande estrecho (como Vuestra excelencia habra visto por las Cartas originales, que remiti del Vicario del Real de San Juan, y el de Nacosari!) Executan estas naciones sus entradas por estos [folio 106] tres Sitios, El Primero por el Valle de Caaguiona, que dista treinta leguas del dicho Real de San Juan; el segundo por el Valle de Babispe; el tercero por el de teuricache nueve leguas del dicho Real de nacosari (a quien tienen los enemigos cassi despoblados con sus continuos correrias), y es el paraxe mas Unico y essencial, y de mas consecuencias para dicha ereccion, y para enfrenar, y impedir tantos daños como executan; segun me e informado de las personas mas practicas, y expertas de aquel Paiz, y celossas de sus aciertos y alivio: y parecera corto el numero de soldados para el grande de los enemigos, en mi sentir sobran señor, y ay armas no solo para castigar, y reducir las naciones barvaras, si para intentar nuevas conquistas, si fuesse dable el mantenerlas, y poblarlas; pues estas bien empleadas en tiempos oportunos, operaran mucho, y con brevedad con sus efectos pudieran producir alivios considerables al Real Patrimonio; pues si con continuacion se hiciesse la guerra a los enemigos en sus mismas tierras siguiendoles en los paraxes de sus abrigadas, y retiros, castigando aqui unos, alli otros, se les tendria en perpetuo [folio 107] desasocio, y no se les daria lugar para que hiciessen correrias, y entradas en las nuestras, y la mesma experiencia, nos lo dice y veemos, que en quando se les sigue de esta suerte, estan los caminos seguros, y libres los ganados de sus hurtos: pues su principal cuidado es el de retirarse de la furia de las armas, y asegurar sus chusmas de mugeres, y hijos (que aunque barbaros, no puede faltarles el cariño innato de estas prendas) y a el punto, que buelben las armas a sus quarteles. ó precidios, yncontinenti buelven a executar sus cotidianas maldades. Este es el unico medio de contenerles, y reducirlos; pues hallandosse ostigados y seguidos an de venir al yugo de la obediencia, como an venido (a discrecion) las quatro naciones de los chicos, que son los chichitames, los satapayogliglas, los guasapayogliglas,^o y los Osatayogliglas,^p beligcossas naciones, y guerreras por el aluaso, que por el mes de Jullio deste año les dio el Capitan Retana (haviendosse antes reducido a ella los bataiogliglas,^a y los sunigugliglas,^r quienes aiudaron contra ellas).

El modo de hacer la guerra sera como en esta campaña se executa, que es dexar en cada presidio dies ó doze soldados para su defensa, y escolta

^o Copy B has "los quasapaioliglas".

^p Copy B has "los Osoyayoliglas".

^a Copy B has "los bataioliglas".

^r Copy B has "los suñiluliglas".

Conchos, and Janos; furthermore, that with the fifty soldiers granted for defense of Sonora another should be erected at one of the three sites in the said province, so that it may join hands more easily with the people at Janos, and that they may operate together in curbing the pride of the enemy Apaches and the numerous and widespread Pima nations. These are constantly attacking and committing hostilities upon its inhabitants, as is happening to-day, thereby putting it in great extremity (as your Excellency must have learned from the original letters which I sent from the vicar of the Real de San Juan and that of Nacosari).

These nations enter by one of the following three routes—first through the valley of Caaguiona, which is thirty leagues distant from the said Real de San Juan; second, through the valley of Babispe; third, by that of Teuricache, nine leagues from the Real de Nacosari (which the enemies have almost depopulated by their constant raids). The latter place is the most unique and essential, and the one of most consequence for the said establishment, as well as for restraining and preventing all the injuries that are being committed—according to what I have been informed by the most practical and experienced persons in that country, and those most zealous for its success and relief.

The number of soldiers will appear small in comparison with the great number of enemy Indians, but in my opinion, Sir, they will be more than is necessary. In fact there are forces sufficient not only to chastise and reduce the barbarous nations, but also to contemplate new conquests should it be feasible to maintain and settle them. For these soldiers, if well employed at opportune times, will accomplish a great deal, and consequently they will shortly be able to bring about considerable relief to the royal patrimony. For if war should be waged continuously against the enemy Indians in their own lands, and if they should be followed to the places where they hide and take shelter, and if they should be punished, some here, others there, they would be kept in perpetual uneasiness and no opportunity would be given them to make raids and forays upon our people.

Experience itself tells us and we perceive that when this plan is followed the roads are safe and the cattle are free from their robberies, for their principal care is to flee from the fury of the troops and secure the safety of their rabble of women and children (for, although they are barbarous, they can not be lacking in the innate affection for their dear ones). But on the instant that the troops return to their quarters or presidios they at once resume their daily abominations. This is the only way to restrain and reduce them, for, finding themselves harassed and pursued, they must return to the yoke of obedience, as the four fierce and warlike nations of the Chisos, namely, the Chichitames, the Satapayogliglas, the Guazapayogliglas, and the Osatayogliglas, have prudently done because of the attacks which in the month of July of this year were made upon them by Captain Retana (he having previously reduced to obedience the Bataiogliglas, and the Sunigugliglas, who assisted against the former).

The way to carry on this war is the same as was done on the above campaign, namely, to leave at each presidio ten or a dozen soldiers for its defense and as an escort for travellers, and with the rest to reconnoitre

de los [folio 108] pasajeros, y de los restantes recorrer con esquadras de a quarenta o cincuenta (con algunos Yndios amigos, que son los que con mas facilidad espian) los sitios, y paraxes de su havitacion (la qual no es permanente, pues biben a la inclemencia, como bruttos alimentandosse de las cassas, y lo mas del tiempo de los animales reptibles, y asquerossos) y biniendo, como bendran a rendirsse, se les pondra en poblazones; no como se a executado asta aqui, que es pactando dichos Yndios los paraxes, y sitios donde havian de hartar, que eran siempre apartados de los soldados, y presidios (a quien tanto temen) desde donde executaban a su salvo devaxo de la seguridad de Paz mas atrevimientos, y hostilidades que estando de guerra, si a la vista de los presidios debaxo de las mismas armas de ellos, segun, y como pareciere mas combeniente: obligandoles a que hagan cassas en forma, y cria de gallinas: y que siembren sus milpas de calidad, que se aquerencien, y cobren cariño a las poblaciones y pierdan y destierren el que tanto tienen a el vagar por las serranias, y montañas (como oy sucede, con los tepeguanes, y taramares, que estan sumamente españolissados con alguna [folio 109] policia, y grande aplicacion en las crias y cultivo de sus tierras) y que el capitan protector les tenga siempre a la Vista, y observe sus acciones y movimientos, reconociendo si faltan algunos en tiempo que sucedan robos, ó muertes, y que tenga bien aseguradas las chusmas, que de esta suerte se mantendran en su reduccion, y obediencia, y si acaso executassen fuga, con facilidad les daran alcance los soldados, y quedaran castigados; y los demas escarmentados para no intentarla: A los Cociomies tovossos soy de parecer, Señor, se les haga la guerra mui viva, y sangrienta sin darles quartel; pues an faltado infinitas vezes a la obediencia que dieron, siendo apostatas a la ley Evangelica que professaron, y ser los mas perniciosos, y malevolos, que quantos ay, y los que incitan y atraen otras muchas naciones contra los españoles sevandolas con las muchas pressas, que an logrado en los descuidos destos y pues solo an quedado las esquadras del thecolote, la de Lorencillo, La de Zejablanca, La de el cola de Coyote, La de Contrerillas, que quando mas podran llegar al numero de cien gandules, (que assi llaman a los [folio 110] yndios que son de guerra) combiene mucho el consumirles, y acabarles del todo, y reducir las chusmas, que es cierto, que mientras subsistan tan pessimos Yndios, no faltaran trabajos al Reino, ni considerables gastos a su Magestad y quitando caussa tan maligna, se logran desde luego los efectos de alivios considerables: el tiempo mas oportuno para hacerles la guerra es el de las aguas por hallarsse con facilidad en todas partes para los soldados, y cavallos; y el mas rudo y difficil el de la seca, por ser todos parages aridos, y esteriles, y no encontrarse la combeniencia de ellas; sino es en distancias prolongadas, y padecer mucho la soldadesca, por cuya caussa se deve reservar alguna gente (que sera la menos trabajada) para que en este tiempo recorra algunos sitios, y tierra del enemigo para que impida las entradas, que hacen en la nuestra. Y bolviendo a coxer el filo de las circunstancias, que arriva dije; ymportaria mucho que el Governador que este Reino tenga, sea mui capto, y experimentado, assi en las cossas de la guerra, como en materias

with squads of from forty to fifty (together with some friendly Indians, who are most successful as spies) the sites and locations of their habitations. (These are not permanent, for they live in the open like beasts, obtaining their food by hunting, and much of the time living on loathsome reptilian animals.) When they come, as they will do, to surrender themselves, they will be placed in settlements. This should not be done as heretofore, that is, by allowing the said Indians to choose the locations and sites where they are to live in plenty, which were always apart from the soldiers and presidios (whom they fear so much) and from which they committed with impunity, under the security of peace, more outrages and hostilities than when they were at war. Instead let them be settled in sight of the presidios and under the very forces of these, according as it may appear most expedient. And let them be compelled to build their houses correctly, to raise chickens, and to plant their corn-fields, so that they may acquire and obtain an attachment for their settlements and may lose and abandon their inherent instinct to wander about in the mountain ranges. (This is what is now happening with respect to the Tepeguanes and Tarmaures, who are now highly Hispanicized, have some degree of culture, and greatly apply themselves to the raising of cattle and the cultivation of their lands.) Their captain protector should always keep them within sight and should observe their actions and movements. He should ascertain whether any are missing at times when robberies and murders occur, and should see that their rabble is always securely held, for in this way they will be kept submissive and obedient, and, if by chance they attempt to take flight, the soldiers will easily overtake and punish them, and the others [will be] warned not to attempt it.

With respect to the Cociomes-Tobosos, I am of the opinion, Sir, that active and bloody war, without quarter, should be waged against them, for they have failed time without number in the obedience which they promised, being apostates from the Evangelical law, which they profess, and are the most pernicious and malevolent among them all. Furthermore they are the ones who arouse and turn many other nations against the Spaniards by exciting them with the great amount of booty which they have acquired through the carelessness of the latter. For there have been left only the bands of El Tecolote, Lorencillo, Cejablanca [White Eye-Brow], El Cola de Coyote [Coyote Tail], and Contrerillas, which at most cannot reach the number of one hundred braves (for thus do they call the fighting Indians). It is extremely necessary to extirpate and destroy them entirely, and to reduce the rabble, for it is certain that as long as such very bad Indians live troubles will not be lacking in the kingdom nor considerable expense to his Majesty. On the other hand, by eliminating a cause so malign the results of a notable improvement will be realized at once. The most opportune time to wage war upon them is in the rainy season, as water is then easily found everywhere for the soldiers and horses. The hardest and most difficult time is in the dry season, as all parts are then dry and sterile, and water is not to be found except at long distances, hence the soldiery experiences great suffering. For this reason some men should be reserved (and they should be the least exhausted), in order to reconnoitre some localities and territory of

politicas, pues la seria [folio 111] muy grande, y de gran conquequencia el introducir, y sembrar con toda maña entre estas naciones discordias, y desconfianças; para que de ellas nasca, y produsca mayor seguridad a los españoles, y desunidas se recelen, y teman unas de otras, y las rendidas a la real obediencia se conserben y mantengan por miedo de las no reducidas, y estas se contengan por el temor de estotras: y quando combiniessse, acerles la guerra con ellas mismas: es punto essencialissimo, y que se deve tener gran cuidado en observarle, y seguir maxima tan provechossa: no siendo lo de menos el que Su Magestad y sus Ministros cierren totalmente la puerta al beneficio de semejantes govierños, como es este, Philipinas, Campeche, y otros de aquesta Ierarquia,^s en donde se requieren hombres llenos de practica y experiencias militares, y de buena testa (pues siempre sean conocidos sus asiertos), y oy dia lloran y claman, Señor, en este Reyno por aquellos governadores, que tubieron soldados: y aseguro a Vuestra Excelencia no menos por las acertadas resoluciones, desintereses, y suavidad, que experimentaron en el inter, que obtuvo de este Gobierno el Señor Don Lope de Zierra: donde se reconoce que el literato con discrecion [folio 112] y cordura supera la falta de experiencias militares, y que con facilidad adquiere y comprehende lo que mas conduce al asierto; pero quien llevado solo de las Utilidades de su interes compra los oficios, no haviendo en su vida llegado a saver, que cossa es guerra, ni soldado, ni de que color sea la cara del enemigo, ni menos la de sus experiencias, y practica, ni la de las hordenes, que deve dar a sus subalternos, ni norma, que deva seguir en las disposiciones Belicas? Que effectos favorables podra producir en el Real servicio, ni en el bien comun de los Vassallos [?] producira los en el bien particular de sus combeniencias, no guiando sus operaciones, y desseos a otro fin, que a conseguir los de su utilidad, y ynteres: no estando quizas seguros de su codicia los Reales productos, ni los de los pobres moradores, naciendo de esto el perder Su Magestad mucho mas, que pueden producirle los mas subidos beneficios, y sin duda expuestas las provincias a perderse totalmente, introduzennsse los mas (que por este medio entran) a ampliar sus Jurisdicciones, como oy sucede en estas; pues no pudiendo nombrar mas que un theniente de Capitan general (quien deva assistir en la ciudad de Durango) pasan a nombrar, y dar titulos de dichos [folio 113] thenientes, y capitanes generales a qualquier suerte de sugetos queriendo, que estos den hordenes a los capitanes de presidios (cossa mui sensible, y ruda para ellos) el que passe a mandarlos, quien solo tuvo la practica de mercader, y por maior asensso la de fundir alguna plancha de Plata, de donde an nacido algunas discordias, y disturbios entre los dichos thenientes, y capitanes. Y es cossa dura, Señor, que á unos capitanes, por su Magestad llenos de Experiencias militares, quieran introducirsse a mandarlos sugetos sin ninguna (y aun a vezes yndignos de qualquier Honor) puede el ciego distinguir de colores? no por cierto: Dexo remediado semejante absurdo, como Vuestra Excelencia vera por los ynstrumentos adjuntos hasta dar quenta á Vuestra Excelencia quien se servira proveer lo que le paresca mas combiene al Real servicio considerando, que en las

^s Copy B has "jerarquia". This is the correct modern form.

the enemy at this time and in order to thwart the expeditions which they are making into our territory.

Again taking up the thread of the circumstances which I have stated above, it is very important that the governor which this kingdom may have shall be competent and experienced, in affairs of war as in political matters. For it would be very fine and of far-reaching consequence artfully to introduce and to sow among these nations discords and distrusts, in order that from these greater security for the Spaniards might be born and produced, and in order that, being disunited, they may be suspected and feared by each other; those reduced to the royal obedience may be conserved and maintained through fear of those unreduced; while the latter may be coerced through fear of the others, and whenever it might be convenient to wage war upon them with these latter ones. This is a most essential matter and great care ought to be taken to observe it and to follow a plan so advantageous. It is none the less essential that his Majesty and his ministers close completely the door to the purchase of such governorships as this, the Philippines, Campeche, and others of this hierarchy, where thoroughly practical men and men of military experience as well as of good sense (for their ability should always be recognized) are required.

To-day, Sir, the people cry and clamor in this kingdom for those governors who had soldiers. And I assure your Excellency that they do not cry and clamor less for the wise decision, disinterestedness, and suavity which they experienced in the period when Señor Don Lope de Sierra¹⁸³ held this governorship. As a result it is evident that the highly educated man with discretion and judgment overcomes the lack of military experience, and that he readily acquires and comprehends what is conducive to success. But who is it that buys offices—influenced solely by expediences of self-interest, and not having come to know during his life what manner of thing is war, or a soldier, or what may be the color of the face of the enemy, much less anything relative to experience or training, or anything as regards the giving of orders, such as he ought to give to his subordinates, or the procedure which he ought to follow in military matters? What favorable results will he be able to achieve in the royal service, or for the common good of the vassals? He will achieve purposes for the personal benefit of his own fortune, directing his operation and desires to no other end, the royal products, perhaps, not being secure from his covetousness, nor those of the poor inhabitants. From this comes a greater loss [in money] to his Majesty than the highest priced offices can possibly yield [as income] to him, while, without doubt, the provinces are threatened with being completely lost. Most of them start out (and for this expedient they come here) by exceeding their authority, as is happening to-day in these provinces. For, not being authorized to name more than one lieutenant-captain-general (who ought to live in the city of Durango), they proceed to name and to issue commissions as lieutenants and captains-general to any kind of persons, and want them to give orders to the captains of presidios (a very annoying and offensive thing to the latter). The one who may go to command them [perhaps] only had experience as a merchant, or, as a greater credit, in the smelting of bars of silver. From

distancias tan explaiades de este paiz mas bien sabra lo que deve obrar el experto soldado, segun, y como las disposiciones, y ocasiones hallare oportunas que el inepto, y sin practica en dilatado camino.

El segundo que discurso para alivio del Reino es mas lento, y espasioso; y que sin dificultades no se puede seguir, y executar; pues es el remediar en parte lo despoblado, que se halla, no dudo [folio 114] que llegado a conseguir lograra Su Magestad grandes productos en sus Reales quintos total alivio en los crecidos gastos de las armas, que en el mantiene; esto es en lo que toca a los contornos deste Real, que en lo dilatado de sus provincias, es impossible; pues poblados cinco ó seis sitios, ympedian^t del todo la entrada a los enemigos, aseguravan^u los caminos y estos basallos, gozaran toda tranquilidad, y sosiego, y pudieran suprimirse algunos de los precidios, y algunas plazas de los que pareciesse combeniente dexar porque quitar en ningun tiempo todo el nervio de las armas sera error; por que siempre necesita de la manutencion de algunas, y muy por extensso referire a boca a Vuestra Excelencia las grandes consecuencias deste punto: Y aora passo a representar a Vuestra Excelencia como tan celoso del alivio en los haveres Reales que el presidio de montclaros erecto en la provincia de Sinaloa que se compone de quarenta y tres plazas está en una provincia quieta, y pacifica de muchos años a esta parte, y de adonde no deve temersse contra tiempo de sublevacion alguna [folio 115] por ser sus havitadores de natural tranquilo, y radicados ya en la fee y aplicados a la cultura de las heredades, y crias de ganados, y por tener a el Sur las del Rosario y Culiacan, y a el Leste mucha parte deste Reino, y la de Sonora a el norte; y pues del numero de sus plazas a muchos años que subministra quince para defensa de esta provincia, oy que se añaden en ella otras cinquenta que con las de Janos hacen cien plazas, no solo serviran de refrenar, y castigar las hostilidades, de los enemigos Pimas y Apaches; si de antemural a qualquier accidente que se ofresca en Sinaloa, y como las de aquel presidio hasta aora an acudido, y assistido a los de esta provincia podra tambien esta subministrar a aquella armas quando las necessite y pues se le an augmentado a Su Magestad este año setenta plazas soy de parecer se le aliviassse de dichas quarenta y tres, y que poco a poco, segun los buenos sucessos de este Reino (que los espero esta campaña mui propicios) se le baya aliviando al Real Patrimonio; pues si viniessen de paz algunas naciones, y se acabasse la perniciossa de los tovossos podrian suprimirse luego las Veinte augmentadas este año a la compañía de Campaña; pues con los treintta antiguas, es numero sufficiente, [folio 116] con las demas armas que se dexten, Y si hasta aqui en medio de tanta hostilidad a sido numero capaz y bastante para castigar los Yndios, mas lo sera logrando la reduccion de muchos de ellos, y en tal casso se podran suprimir las nueve de Santa Catalina,^v y despues a diez, ó a doze de cada precidio (que con toda essa paussa sera precisso executarlo, hasta que se establezca, y se radique la tranquila paz, y seguridad de estas provincias, que tanto Vuestra excelen-

^t From the context this should be "ympediran".

^u From the context this should be "aseguraran".

^v Copy B has "Catharina".

this circumstance discords and disturbances have arisen between these lieutenants and captains. It is a hard thing, Sir, that persons without any military experience (and even at times unworthy of any honor whatever) should desire to begin to issue orders to captains of his Majesty who are thoroughly versed in military affairs. Can the blind distinguish colors? Certainly not. I have remedied this absurdity, as your Excellency will see by the inclosed papers, until I can give and account to your Excellency, who will [then] be pleased to take such measures as may seem best to you for the royal service, taking into consideration that in the wide distances of this country, the experienced soldier will know better how to act and to do so in accordance with the conditions and opportunities which he may find opportune than one who is unskilled and without experience on a long road.

The second plan which I propose for the relief of the kingdom is slower and more deliberate, and cannot be followed out and put into execution without difficulties. It is to remedy, in part, the depopulated condition that prevails there. I have no doubt that when this is once accomplished his Majesty will enjoy a great income from the royal fifths,¹⁸⁴ and complete relief from increased expenses of the troops which he maintains there; that is, in so far as concerns the country surrounding this *real*, for such is impossible throughout the entire extent of its provinces. If five or six sites are settled they will prevent entirely the entrance of the enemy Indians, the roads will be safe, these subjects will enjoy complete tranquillity and peace, and some of the presidios may be suppressed, as well as some of the soldiers from those that it may seem best to retain.

To withdraw inopportunately the full strength of the troops will be an error, because the maintenance of some of them is always necessary. I will tell your Excellency in great detail, by word of mouth, the great consequences with respect to this matter. And now I proceed to represent to your Excellency, as one so solicitous for relief for the royal revenues, that the presidio of Montesclaros, erected in the province of Sinaloa, and composed of forty-three soldiers, is in a quiet province and one peaceful for many years prior to this time. Any uprising ought not to be feared there, because its inhabitants are naturally peaceable, are now rooted in the faith, and are devoted to the cultivation of their farms and the raising of cattle. Besides, the provinces of Rosario and Culiacan are on the south, on the east lies a large part of this kingdom, while on the north is the province of Sonora. And since from its complement of soldiers fifteen have for many years served in the defense of that province, now that fifty additional soldiers are being added to this province, who with those of Janos total one hundred, they will serve not only to bridle and chastise the hostilities of the Pima and Apache enemies, but also as a bulwark against any disaster that may occur in Sinaloa, and since those of that presidio up to the present have succored and assisted those of this province, these will also be able to furnish troops to the former province whenever it may need them. Also, since seventy soldiers have been added to his Majesty's force this year, I am of the opinion that he should be relieved of the [expense of the] said forty-three soldiers [at the presidio of Montesclaros], and that little by little, according to satisfactory de-

cia desseá) Bien sé, señor, que sobre el punto de suprimir estas plazas haran a Vuestra Excelencia varios y diversos ynformes de la combeniencia, y ymportancia de su subsistencia; pero lo cierto será los haran por los que gozan y disfrutan de su permanencia, sin atender a los muchos gastos, que su Magestad tiene en la manutencion de estas armas: pues en cada un año solo este renglon de sueldo de soldados, y capitanes, y gastos de paz, y guerra passa de ciento y settenta mill pessos, y luego el superavit de otros, que se ofressen dependientes de aquellos: pues como es dable que esto pueda subsistir, y permanecer? pues es maxima assentada, y irrefragable, que quanto superan los gastos a los productos de las provincias [folio 117] es difficultossa su manutencion Y en casso, señor, de suprimir dichos presidios sera mui de la grandeza de Vuestra Excelencia el atender, y acomodar sus capitanes en empleos de consecuencia: por que lo merecen sus servicios.

En quanto a noticiar a Vuestra Excelencia de la condicion y costumbres de los moradores del Reino solo podre atreverme a executar lo de los Vezinos de este Real y Durango y sus Contornos, por no haver registrado lo restante de sus provincias; pero hare lo Uno por la experiencia de haverlos tratado y lo otro por las noticias Veridicas, que e adquirido. Componesse este Real Durango, y sus comarcas de Labradores, Mercaderes, y Mineros, y assi todo lo demas del Reino: y aunque desseosso de sus conbeniencias lo paessen del Real servicio, se pagan mucho de la suavidad y agrado de los superiores, y a el contrario de la aspereza; pues aun de las Vozes que van enbueeltas con alguna, se sienten con extremo (effecto de ser sus naturales algo velicossos) por cuya razon devera el que les gobierne, ussar de toda maña y blandura, y atemperarsse a este conocimiento, sin olvidarsse de la execucion de algunas resoluciones, quando combengan; aunque con [folio 118] pocos exemplares de estas, los mantendra pacíficos, gustossos y obedientes; fomentan con facilidad algunos pleytos, y como desde Durango hasta Sonora no tienen abogado que pueda dirigirlos, lo es cada uno de si mesmo, presumiendo todos por suya la Justicia, y derecho; naciendo desto, que por cossas leves y sin substancia recurren a la Audiencia de Guadalaxara, y como no es camino comerciable, todo es a gastos de correos, sirviendo de no poco daño, y perdida a todo el Reino semejante inquietud, y consumo de dinero, por cuiá caussa soy de sentir se devia representar a su Magestad lo mucho que combendria a estas provincias, y las ymportancias suyas, en que la Real Audiencia de Mexico conosiesse de lo politico de ellas, pues los señores virreyes conocen de lo militar, y siendo, como son presidentes de ella atenderian al todo de su reparo, y a rremediar los perniciosos daños que resultan de dichos pleytos y se obiaba tambien la descombeniencia del camino: pues con facilidad (respecto de ser todo el comercio de este Reino a esta ciudad) de cada dos a tres meses (quando mas) tendria Vuestra Excelencia ó sus subcessores noticia de lo que acaeciesse, y fuesse digno de enmienda, y castigo, y se remediaran [folio 119] tantos incombenientes, y daños y conduciria mucho para alivio de estos bassallos, y para el mismo govenador, que el theniente que nombra en este Real fuesse abogado, pues con su direccion daria bado a la conclusion de muchos, y barios negocios politicos, que ante el ponen, y siguen: Y no

velopments in this kingdom (which I expect this campaign [will make] very propitious) there may be gradual relief for the royal revenues.

In case some of the nations should make peace and if the pernicious activity of the Tobosos might be suppressed, then the twenty soldiers added this year to the field company might be withdrawn at once. With the thirty that were already there, the number is sufficient, with the other troops that may be left, and if, up to the present, in the midst of so much hostility, the number has been ample and sufficient to chastise the Indians, it will be more so when the reduction of many of them is realized. In that case the nine soldiers at Santa Catalina may be withdrawn, and afterwards from ten to twelve from each presidio. This must be done with utmost deliberation, until the tranquil peace and security of these provinces, which your Excellency so greatly desires, may be established and firmly implanted. I know well, Sir, that in regard to the matter of withdrawing these soldiers various and diverse reports will be made to your Excellency concerning the necessity and importance of retaining them; but it is certain that they will be made by those who profit and reap some advantage from their retention, without taking into consideration the great expense which his Majesty incurs in the maintenance of these troops, because the annual item of salaries for soldiers and captains and the expenses of peace and war alone exceeds 170,000 pesos, and then [there is] the residue from other items which are dependent upon the former. Is it possible that this can continue and become permanent? It is an accepted and irrefutable maxim that when the expenses overbalance the products of the provinces their maintenance is difficult. In case, Sir, these presidios are suppressed, it will be very much to the credit of your Excellency to take care of and to accommodate their captains in offices of consequence, for their services merit it.

With regard to giving information to your Excellency concerning the condition and customs of the inhabitants of the kingdom, I can only venture to report personally concerning the citizens of this Real de Durango and its neighborhood, for I have not inspected the remainder of its provinces. I will report upon the former, however, from the experience of having dealt with them personally, and I will report upon the provinces from trustworthy information which I have obtained.

This Real de Durango and the country surrounding it are peopled by farmers, merchants, and miners, and the same is true of the rest of the kingdom. Although they are solicitous for their own welfare they appear to be solicitous also for the royal service. They are much influenced by suavity and gentleness in their superiors, and the opposite by harshness; in fact, as a result of their dispositions being somewhat bellicose, they are extremely sensitive to the voices of some people which are naturally harsh. For this reason whoever governs them ought to employ all character of tact and gentleness and ought to accommodate himself to this knowledge, without neglecting to put into execution certain resolutions when they may be necessary. By following a few such precedents he will keep them peaceful and obedient.

The inhabitants readily engage in lawsuits and, since from Durango to Sonora they do not have a lawyer to advise them, each is a lawyer for

hallo, señor ni discurso, que al presente algunas discordias, que se an seguido, y fomentado entre algunos sugetos capitulares del Reino sean capaces a perturbar la segura paz, y sosiego de él; é procurado con toda actividad y viveza su union, y ajuste para atajar qualquiera accidente de disgustos, que de todo con extencion dare quenta a Vuestra Excelencia y aora en particular de las acertadas disposiciones del actual governador, assi en lo militar, como en lo politico de las quales me prometo (subsistiendo en ellas) el fructo de favorables sucessos, y que de ellos logre un mas que mediano alivio el Real haver de su Magestad.

Heme explaiado en molestar a Vuestra Excelencia con las circunstancias, y puntos de este informe, numero de soldados, que defienden el Reino el crecido de las naciones que le ostilizan, y circundan con especificacion de sus nombres [folio 120] Las estancias, y abrigadas de su haviacion, mejor reconocera Vuestra Excelencia por un mapa para que e procurado executar (en mal tiradas lineas, y mal formados borrones) destas dilitadas provincias, espero de la gran providencia de Vuestra Excelencia que hara lo que mas bea combiene a su alivio, y real servicio, y que dispensara lo tosco de mis discursssos por el ingenuo celo, que les acompaña, y deseos de assierto, y assi se lo suplico a Vuestra Excelencia rendido, y prometo de su grandeza, guarde Dios a Vuestra Excelencia [los muchos años que deseo, y e menester, y este reino necesita.] Parral, Septiembre 30 de 1693. [Excelentísimo Señor. Don] JOSEPH FRANCISCO MARIN.

Haviendo informado el Maestre de Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin Cavallero del horden de Santiago desde el Parral donde se hallave tomando la residencia de Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas del tiempo, que havia sido governador del estado de aquel Reyno, y reservado de hacerlo de otras particularidades como en esta Consulta menciona para hacerlo a Boca en esta ciudad [folio 121] attenta a hallarse en ella lo hara a continuacion de este decreto de lo que se le ofreciere y fuere digno de mi noticia para aplicar en lo que necesitare el remedio, que combenga. Rubricada de su Excelencia.^w

Decreto. Mexico siete de Septiembre de Mill Seiscientos y Noventa y tres.

^w F. R. B., Sevilla, Dec. 16, 1914. [Two additional reports by Don Joseph Francisco Marín, addressed to the viceroy; the *respuesta* of the fiscal; the decision of the Junta General in Mexico City, and three viceregal decrees, are, according to the complete transcripts of this *expediente* in the University of Texas Library, the final documents in this important *expediente*, and are found between folios 121 and 162.—C. W. H.]

himself, while all presume that justice and right are on their side. From this it results that for slight and unsubstantial causes they appeal to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, and since it is not a commercially practicable road everything is done by utilizing couriers. Such inquietude makes for no slight injury and damage to the entire kingdom and also for no slight expenditure of money. For this reason I am of the opinion that it ought to be represented to his Majesty how advantageous it would be to these provinces, and how greatly to his benefit, if the royal Audiencia of Mexico might take cognizance of their political affairs. The viceroys are acquainted with their military affairs, and being, as they are, presidents of the audiencia, they would attend entirely to the restoration of the kingdom and to remedying the pernicious damages which result from these lawsuits. Also the inconvenience of travel [to and from Guadalajara] would be obviated for, since the entire commerce of this kingdom is with this city [of Mexico], your Excellency or your successors could easily obtain at least every two or three months information concerning what might be happening and what might be worthy of emendation or punishment. Hence all these difficulties and injuries will be remedied.

It would conduce very much to the relief of these vassals, and of the governor himself, if the lieutenant appointed at this *real* were a lawyer, for, with the latter's assistance he could devote himself to bringing to a conclusion many political matters which they present and press before him. I do not find, Sir, at this time, nor do I discourse thereupon, that any disputes that have arisen among some of the principal subjects of the kingdom are capable of disturbing its firm peace and quietude. I have endeavored as actively and earnestly as possible to procure their union and adjustment, in order to prevent any disagreeable occurrences. Of all this I will give a detailed account to your Excellency; at this time I refer, in particular, to the excellent measures taken by the present governor, in military as well as in civil affairs, concerning which I promise myself (subsisting on them) the fruit of most favorable results, and that from them the royal income of his Majesty may realize more than a moderate relief.

I have gone to extremes in molesting your Excellency with the circumstances and details of this report, the number of soldiers who defend the kingdom, and the great number of nations which are making war upon it and surround it, with specifications of their names. Your Excellency will learn more about their farms and the places where they live from a map which I have endeavored to make (in badly drawn lines and ill-formed sketches) of these broad provinces. I expect from the great wisdom of your Excellency that you will do whatever you may see is best for the royal service and for the relief of these provinces, and that you will pardon the lack of polish in my discourse for the sake of true zeal which accompanies and my desire to do what is right. Hence I humbly beg this of your Excellency and I anticipate it because of your graciousness. May God guard your Excellency as many years as I desire and have need of, and as many as this kingdom requires. Parral, September 30, 1693. Most Excellent Sir. Don JOSEPH FRANCISCO MARÍN.

El Virrey de la Nueva España da cuenta a Vuestra Magestad con testimonio de Autos del estado y operaciones del Reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, ordenes y asistencias que ha dado para su manutencion, y propone los medios Con que podrá mantenerse en seguridad y quietud por lo de adelante." [Mexico, 15 de Junio de 1694.]

Señor: Deseando el mas exacto cumplimiento a las rreales Ordenes de Vuestra Magestad sobre que se mantenga el Reino del Parral en toda seguridad y defensa, y Considerando tamvien la Ymportancia de los Crezidos gastos que para ella se estan causando, y que en los terminos presentes segun las noticias que se me participavan y ban produziendo los efectos de Guerras felizes, progressos Conque en lo adelante, podrian permanecer Con menos defenssa mas seguras aquellas Provinzias y Vinien-dose ⁷ las Armas de los Presidios, y formandose de sus soldados una Compañia Bolante en Continuo movimiento se escusarian algunos sueldos de Capitanes y Cavos, y por ser esta materia de la diligencia y puntualidad que explica el hecho, y motivos que Comprehende, y por esta rrazon Digno de su ² en Cargo de persona de toda satisfaccion y Inteligencia, y que la de el Maestre de Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin, pasaba Con orden de Vuestra Magestad por Juez de Residencia de Governador de Aquel Reino halle proxima la ocasion, y lograndola, le Cometi la Haveriguazion, modo y circunstancias de lo referido, y asimismo el estado de dichas Provinzias, Calidad de las fuerzas de sus fronteras, y Presidios, y los medios que asista ^a de los daños que sean Experimentado, pudiesen ponerse empractica, a fin de [folio 2] Castigar los enemigos establezer la Seguridad Paz y sosiego de sus Vecinos, y hevitar los discordias que pudiesen perjudicar su buen Govierno a este dio tan entero y perfecto Cumplimiento que en diferentes Ynformes, con noticias practicas, y no menos prolija descripcion, Explico y propuse todos los medios aproposito que yndago y adquirio su zelo Con toda Claridad y distincion, y aunque estos Combista de lo pedido por el fiscal de Vuestra Magestad se rrecono-

² A. G. I., 67-4-11.

⁷ Obviously this is a miscopy for "Uniendose".

² Probably a miscopy for "ser".

^a Probably a miscopy for "a vista" or "en vista" or "con vista".

The *maestre de campo* Don Joseph Francisco Marín, knight of the Order of Santiago, having reported from El Parral, where he was taking the *residencia* of Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas for the time that he had been governor of that kingdom, and having deferred his report upon other particulars, as he mentions in this statement, in order that he may make it by word of mouth in this city, since he is now here, he will make it, in continuation of this decree, upon whatever occurs to him and may be worthy of my notice, so that the most suitable remedy may be applied for whatever is needed. Signed with the rubric of his Excellency.

Decree. Mexico, September 7, 1693.

The viceroy of New Spain gives account to your Majesty, with a certified copy of autos, relating to the state and operations of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, and the orders which he has taken for its maintenance. He suggests the means by which it may be maintained in peace and security in the future. [Mexico, June 15, 1694.]

Sir: Desiring the most exact fulfillment of the royal orders of your Majesty with reference to the matters of fully defending and protecting the kingdom of El Parral, and,

Taking into consideration also the importance of the increased expenses, which, in order to realize this, are being incurred, and the fact that at present, according to the reports which have reached me, the effects of warfare continue to yield happy returns—as a result of which those provinces may be maintained more securely with less defense—and the fact that if the forces of the presidios were united and a flying company, in continual movement, were formed of their soldiers, the salaries of some captains and corporals would be saved, and,

Since this is a matter of importance and exactness, which explains the action and the motives which it comprehends, and, for this reason, is worthy of being in charge of a person of entire satisfaction and intelligence, and,

Since the *maestre de campo* Don Joseph Francisco Marín was proceeding thither with the order of your Majesty as judge of the *residencia* of the governor of that kingdom, I found the occasion opportune, and,

Taking advantage of it, I charged him with the investigation, method, and circumstances of what has been mentioned, and, at the same time, with the investigation of the state of the said provinces, the condition of their frontier forces and presidios, and the means which, in view of the injuries that may have been done, might be adopted for the purpose of punishing the enemy Indians, establishing the security, peace, and quiet of the inhabitants, and preventing discords which might interfere with their good government.

To this he gave complete and perfect compliance, and, in different reports, containing practical information and no less than a prolix description, he explained and proposed all the fitting means which he zealously

zieron en Junta General se hicieron dificiles sus gastos por lo exhausto de la Real hazienda para poder practicarse, pero dignos de la Real Consideracion de Vuestra Magestad para que com bista del testimonio de Autos en que Consta lo rreferido mande Vuestra Magestad lo que fuere de su Real servicio. Guarde Dios la Catholica Real Persona de Vuestra Magestad Como la Cristianidad ha menester. Mejico, 15 de Junio de 1694.

El CONDE DE GALVE.

[*Al parecer al dorso se lee:*] El Virrey Conde de Galve A Su Magestad. Mexico, Junio a 15 de 694. Vino con aviso en 17 de Enero de 1695.

Consejo [de Indias. 22 de Enero de 1695.]

Consejo, 22 de henero 695. Juntese y Vealo el Señor fiscal.

Comision nombrando á Don Carlos de Andrade y Sotomayor Comisario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion en la Villa de Aguas Calientes.^b
[*Villa de Aguas Calientes, 2 de Abril de 1695.*]

Nos los Ynquisidores Contra la eretica pravedad Y apostazia en esta ciudad Y arçobispado de Mexico Y en todos los reynos, y Probinzias de esta nueva españa, yslas Philipinas, sus distritos Y jurisdicciones Por abtoridad apostolica etc.

Por quanto Para la buena expedicion de los negocios y Causas de fe que se ofrezten tocantes y pertenezientes a este santo oficio de la Ynquisicion Conbiene que en la Villa de Aguas calientes Su distrito y jurisdiccion en la nueva galicia tengamos persona que exerze el cargo y ministerio de nuestro Comissario y execute todo lo que por nos le fuere cometido y encomendado del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor Y de nuestra Santa fe chatolica Y acuda a las materias y Caussas Cuyo Conocimiento Conpeta a este ssanto Oficio Y reciva las denunziaciones y testificaziones que de esta Calidad se ofrecieren Por tanto Confiando de las partes Virtud letras y Suficienzia de Vos el Birrey Don Carlos de Andrade y Sotomayor presbitero teniente de Cura en la hazienda nombrada La sienega de Mata Y todo lo que Comprehende Su territorio Y que con todo Cuydado diligenzia Y Secreto acudireys en lo que se ofreziere y por nos os fuese Cometido y encomendado Por el tenor de El presente os nombramos y Creamos Constituyemos y deputamos Comisario de este Ssanto oficio de la Ynquisicion en dicha Villa de Aguas Calientes Su distrito y Jurisdiccion Ynterin y por el tiempo de nuestra Voluntad y os damos facultad para que Podays Recevir Y recibays las denunziaciones Y testificaziones arriva espresadas

^b A. G. I., 67-3-3. [*En papel sellado de 1690-91. Perteneciente a papeles de Inquisicion.*—F. R. B.]

investigated and determined upon with all clarity and distinctness. And, although these reports, in view of what was asked for by the fiscal of your Majesty, were considered in the *Junta General*, their expense put difficulties in the way, the royal funds being too low to make it possible to carry them out. Nevertheless they are worthy of the royal consideration of your Majesty, so that, after having examined the certified copy of the *autos* in which the above is set forth, your Majesty may order what will be for your royal service. May God preserve the royal Catholic person of your Majesty as Christianity has need. Mexico, June 15, 1694.

The COUNT OF GALVE.

[*Apparently on the cover is written:*] Viceroy, Count of Galve to his Majesty. Mexico, June 15, 1695.

The Council [of the Indies. January 22, 1695.]

The Council, January 22, 1695. Let all be assembled and let the fiscal examine it.

Commission naming Don Carlos de Andrade y Sotomayor Comisario of the Holy Office of the Inquisition at the town of Aguas Calientes. [Villa de Aguas Calientes, April 2, 1695.]

We, the inquisitors against heretical depravity and apostasy in this city and archbishopric of Mexico, and in the kingdoms and provinces of this New Spain, the Philippine Islands, and their districts and jurisdictions, by apostolic authority, etc. :

Inasmuch as, for the better expediting of matters and affairs of the faith which occur touching upon and pertaining to this Holy Office of the Inquisition, it is necessary that we have at the villa of Aguas Calientes, its district and jurisdiction in Nueva Galicia, some person to perform the duty and ministry of our *comisario*, to execute everything that may be committed and entrusted to us for the service of God, our Lord, and of our holy Catholic faith, to assist in all matters and affairs of which this Holy Office has a right to have knowledge, and to receive the denunciations and testifications of this nature that may be offered, therefore, the viceroy, having confidence in the abilities, rectitude, erudition, and qualifications of you, Don Carlos de Andrade y Sotomayor, assistant priest at the hacienda called La Ciénega de Mata and all that its territory includes, and confident that you will, with all care, diligence, and secrecy, attend to all duties that may be committed and entrusted to you, by these presents we name, create, constitute, and delegate you as *comisario* of this Holy Office of the Inquisition in the villa of Aguas Calientes, its district and jurisdiction, for such time as it may be our will, and we give you authority to receive, and you may receive, the denunciations and testifications stated above, examining the conflicting statements that the witnesses may make, and validating both before honorable persons, in accordance with the use

examinando los Contestos que los testigos Zitaren Y ratificando a los Unos Y a los otros ante las Personas onestas Conforme a estilo e ynstrucciones del ssanto oficio y forma de proezar que para esto se os remite y las dichas testificaciones que assi recibieredes nos las remitireys originales Y publicareys los editos guenerales de la fe y carta de Anatema al tiempo que se os hordenare y no en otra manera guardando en todo las dichas ynstrucciones y ordenes y antes que Comenzeis a exercer dicho oficio de tal Comisario areis el juramento de fidelidad y secreto acostumbado ante el comisario mas zercano a dicha Villa de Aguas calientes y a su falta ante qualquiera Cura beneficiado O ministro de Doctrina y notario de este ssanto oficio de que remitireys testimonio abtentico y Por razon de dicho oficio de nuestro Comisario Usando de la facultad a nos Conzedida Por el Excelentissimo sseñor Obispo Ynquisidor General Y señores del Consejo de Su Magestad de la ssanta gueneral Ynquisicion por su carta acordada de seys de Junio del año passado de mill Seiscientos y Setenta y seis os Conzedemos podays gozar y gozeiz de todas las gracias prerogativas E Yndulgencias Conzedidas Por nuestros muy ssantos Padres y de las excenpciones franqueras Y Libertades que Por zedulas de Su magestad e Ynstrucciones del ssanto Oficio y Por Usso y costumbre les estan conzedidas a nuestros comisarios y ministros y exsortamos y requerimos Y siendo necesario en birtud de Ssanta Obedencia y so pena de excomunicar mayor late sententiae y de quinientos ducados de castilla aplicados a gastos estraordinarios de el Ssanto oficio mandamos á todos y qualesquiera Jueces y Justicias de Su magestad a Si eclesiasticas Como seculares de todo nuestro Distrito os las guarden y agan guardar.

En testimonio de lo qual mandamos dar y dimos El presente firmado de nuestros nombres Sellado con el Sello de este Ssanto oficio, etc., . . .
[Firmas.]

En la Villa de Aguas Calientes en dos dias del mes de Abril de 1695.^o

El Virrey da quenta de lo executado en la nueba Viscaya por su governador Don Gabriel del Castillo, y los capitanes de aquellos presidios todo a fin de castigar los Indios Rebeldes que cada dia executan nuebas muertes y atrocidades con los traxinantes y Vezinos, y de las providencias que ha dado, Remitiendose en todo a los autos que embia con esta carta. Sobre esto mismo hay expediente en poder del Señor fiscal con carta del Governador don Gabriel del Castillo en que trata del estado de el Reyno de la Nueva Viscaya y sus Presidios.^a [Mexico, 16 de Noviembre de 1695.]

Señor: En continuacion de lo que tengo escrito a Vuestra Magestad en las ocasiones antecedentes de el estado del Reino de la Nueva Viscaya

^o F. R. B., Sevilla, Jan. 26, 1915.

^a A. G. I., 67-4-11.

and instructions of the Holy Office and the form of procedure which is sent you for this purpose.

The said attestations that you may thus receive you will send to us in their original form, and you will publish the general edicts of the faith and the letter of anathema at the time when you are ordered to do so and not in any other manner, observing in everything the said instructions and orders. Before you begin to exercise this office of *comisario*, you will take the usual oath of fidelity and secrecy before the *comisario* who is nearest the town of Aguas Calientes, or, lacking him, before some benefited curate, or minister of instruction and notary of this Holy Office, of which you will send an authentic certified copy.

By reason of this office of our *comisario*, using the power granted us by his Excellency, the señor bishop inquisitor general, and the gentlemen of the Council of his Majesty of the Holy General Inquisition, in their letter issued on the sixth of June of the past year of 1676, we grant to you the enjoyment of all the favors, prerogatives, and indulgences conceded by our very holy fathers, and the exemptions, franchises, and liberties which, by decrees of his Majesty and instructions of the Holy Office, and by use and custom, are conceded to our *comisarios* and ministers. And we exhort and require, and, since it is necessary in virtue of holy obedience, under penalty of the greater excommunication *latae sententiae*,¹⁸⁶ and a fine of 500 ducats of Castile, to be applied to extraordinary expenses of the Holy Office, we command that all and every one of the judges and justices of his Majesty, ecclesiastical as well as secular, in all our district, shall respect these privileges and cause them to be respected.

In testimony of which, we order to be issued, and we issue, the present writing, signed by our names, and sealed with the seal of this Holy Office, etc. [Signatures.]

In the villa of Aguas Calientes, on the second day of the month of April, 1695.

The viceroy gives account of what has been done in Nueva Vizcaya by its governor, Don Gabriel del Castillo, and the captains of those presidios, all for the purpose of chastising the rebellious Indians who each day are committing fresh murders and atrocities on carriers and citizens, and of the measures that he has taken, transmitting the autos touching upon everything which he sends with this letter. There is an expediente upon this same subject in the possession of the señor fiscal, with a letter from the governor, Don Gabriel del Castillo, in which he treats of the state of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya and its presidios. [Mexico, November 16, 1695.]

Sir: In continuation of what I have already written to your Majesty on previous occasions in regard to the state of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, I proceed in this with the measures that have been taken as conducive to the better service of your Majesty and the peace and quiet of

lo continuo en esta de las providencias que se han tenido por conbenientes al maior servicio de Vuestra Magestad quietud, ó sociego de aquellos Dominios operaciones executadas por Don Gabriel del Castillo Governador de el parral asi por el como por los capitanes de aquellos presidios en virtud de sus disposiciones a fin de el castigo de los indios reveldes que continuamente estan yntentando las hostilidades de las muertes i rrovos en los traginantes de aquel comercio como en los mismos Vezinos que estan poblados entrando y rrovandoles sus haziendas, haviendo procurado Con toda diligencia y desuelo hevitar lo rreferido este governador, i con el mismo he procurado asistirle i fomentarle en grato estado de mi parte con las providencias que he tenido por conbenientes al mayor servicio de Vuestra Magestad como parece de el testimonio adjunto Con cuya viata se servira Vuestra Magestad de mandar lo que tubiere por de su Real servicio. Guarde Dios la catholica y Real Persona de Vuestra Magestad etc. Mexico 16 de Noviembre 1695.

CONDE DE GALVE.

CONSSEJO [DE INDIAS. SIN FECHA].

Los oficiales Reales de Durango en carta para su Magestad de 28 de Abril de 1696 pondera por menor los muchos gastos que su Magestad tiene para la defensa y seguridad de aquel reyno, siendo muy pocos los Yndios que hay de guerra, Propone la forma en que dichos gastos se pondran minorar asegurar mas la tierra y extinguir los Yndios barbaros que se fueren aprehendiendo.

Señor: esto hay en poder del Señor fiscal las cartas del Governador Don Gabriel del Castillo, y un papel dado por Don Joseph Manzanegue.

Dize que los minerales de aquel Reyno estan muy proximos a despoblarse por falta de Azogues, pues de la flota que ahora llegó á [nueva] españa y Navio de don Joseph Lopez de Carvajal, solo se repartieron a Durango treinta quintales, y al Real del Parral 100 Haviendo otro nuevo muy opulento, que se ha descubierto, y probehe del Parral.

Por varios despachos y el ultimo de 4 de febrero de 1687 está mandado a los Vireyes de Nueva España que todos los años remitan a la Nueva Galicia 10 quintales de Azogue assi del que va de españa como del que viene del Peru, lo qual no se executa, segun se dice.

Que los mineros no son atendidos ni amparados como lo disponen las ordenanças, ni se mira por la rendicion de los quintos pues a un dueño de ciertos minerales a quien la Justicia tenia concedido sitio para hacer una hacienda de Azogue, teniendola ya casi acavada con gasto de mas de 80 pesos De orden del Governador Don Gabriel del Cas-

tillo, y a pedimento del Protector de los Yndios Taramares (En cuyo distrito está poblado uno de los minerales que es el nuevo que arriva se dice) se le demolio; y haviendo ocurrido a la Audiencia de Guadalupe para que le concediesen su reedificacion havia mas de Un año que estava pendiente esta instancia en cuyo

No se ofrece que notar

tiempo por estar parada la hacienda dicen haver perdido Su Magestad mas de seis mil pesos de quintos, y se continua el daño cada dia mayor.

those dominions by operations carried out by Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor of El Parral, as well as by the captains of those presidios, in virtue of their orders for the chastisement of the rebellious Indians who are continually committing hostilities, such as murder and robbery, upon the carriers of that district, as well as upon the citizens who are settled there, entering upon and robbing their farms. This governor has endeavored with all diligence and care to avoid the aforesaid, and I, on my part, have tried to assist him and to encourage him in this laudable attempt by the measures that I have considered to be necessary for the better service of your Majesty, as appears from the certified copy enclosed. In view of this your Majesty will be pleased to order what you consider to be best for your royal service. May God keep the Catholic and royal person of your Majesty, etc. Mexico, November 16, 1695.

The COUNT OF GALVE.

THE COUNCIL [OF THE INDIES. UNDATED.]

A letter from the royal officials of Durango, addressed to his Majesty on April 28, 1696, presents in detail the great expense that his Majesty incurs for the security and defense of that kingdom, considering how few fighting Indians there are, and proposes a way by which they will be able to lessen the said expenses, make the country more secure, and extinguish the barbarian Indians who may be captured.

Sir: There are in the possession of the señor fiscal the letters of the governor, Don Gabriel del Castillo, and a paper issued by Don Joseph Manzanegue.

It is said that the mines of this kingdom are very near to being abandoned through lack of quicksilver, for the fleet that lately reached [New Spain] and the ship of Don López de Carvajal only distributed to Durango thirty quintals and to the Real del Parral one hundred, although another very rich mine has been discovered which is supplied from El Parral.

By various decrees, the last one of February 4, 1687, it is ordered that the viceroys of New Spain shall every year send to Nueva Galicia ten quintals of quicksilver—not only of that which goes from Spain but of that which comes from Peru. This is not done, according to reports.

[It is said] that the miners are not cared for or protected as the ordinances direct, nor is any care taken for the rendition of the king's fifths. For instance, an owner of certain mines, to whom the court had granted a site for the erection of a quicksilver establishment, had almost finished it, at an ex-

pense of more than eighty pesos, by order of the governor, Don Gabriel del Castillo, and on petition of the protector of the Taramaues Indians (in whose district is located one of the mines, namely, the new one spoken of above), when it was destroyed. And although he applied to the Audiencia of Guadalajara for permission to re-

Only take note of this.

build it, more than a year passed while this petition was pending, in which time, while the building of the establishment was delayed, they say that

Que estando resuelto que de los 30 soldados de campaña que hay en aquel territorio acudan los 15 al resguardo de la Ciudad de Durango

En poder del Señor fiscal esta una carta del Consejo Justicia y regimiento de la Ciudad de Durango sobre lo resuelto por el virrey en cuanto a que de los 30 Soldados destinados asistan los 15 en Durango.

Consideran que andando estos en la mediana del Real de Aizate y el del Gamon que son los parages mas inmediatos a las entradas que los Indios tienen a aquella Ciudad se seguira no solo se hallen mas prontos a el resguardo de ella en que solo hay de distancia 12 leguas; sino que se pueblen dichos reales que son ricos y opulentos que por temor a los Indios no se executa, sino que se conseguira aumento en los quintos y alivio

de los Vasallos.

Quejandose de la resolucion tomada en quanto a que uno de estos oficiales Reales anualmente asista en el Parral a la administracion de la Real hacienda, a que dicen no estar obligados por razon de los beneficios de sus plazas, lo qual les es de summo gravamen, Piden se les releve del proponiendo se ponga administrador por su quenta y riesgo, afianzando la administracion, ó se les de facultad para que administrando ellos puedan nombrar Thenientes por la Suya.

En estas cajas por lo pasado solo havia dos oficiales Reales, el uno era tesorero el otro factor y Contador.

El año de 1690 se acrecento otro oficial Real igual con los dos para que el uno de los tres anual y alternativamente asista en el Parral al repartimiento de los azogues y esta acracentada la sirve al presente Don francisco Perez Caro a quien su Magestad hizo merced de ella el año de 1692 declarando no ser comprendida en la reforma general del año de 1691.⁶

Respuesta Fiscal Sobre Diferentes Puntos de Guerra con los Yndios Enemigos del Reyno del Parral Motibados de Diferentes Ynformes del Virrey de Mexico Conde de Galve, Y de las Consultas de Don Gabriel del Castillo Governador de la Dicha Ciudad del Parral.⁷
[Madrid, 1 de Abril de 1698.]

El Fiscal en vista de las cartas recibidas⁸ por el virrey de la nueva españa y Don Gabriel del Castillo Governador de la Nueva Vizcaya y de

⁶ F. R. B., Sevilla, Nov. 27, 1914.

⁷ A. G. I., 67-4-11.

⁸ The University of Texas copy of this document, herein referred to as Copy B, has "remitidas". Words, phrases, or sentences which were omitted in the Bandelier copy have been added, within brackets, from the University of Texas copy of the document. See note m, p. 430.

his Majesty lost more than six thousand pesos in fifths, while the loss becomes greater every day.

As it has been resolved that fifteen of the thirty field soldiers that are in that territory shall go to guard the city of Durango, they consider that if these are placed in the neighborhood of the Real de Aizate and that of El Gamon, which are the places nearest to the entrances by which the Indians can reach that city, not only will they be situated most conveniently for its defense, since the distance is only twelve leagues, but the said camps, which are very rich and opulent, may be settled, which has not been done up to now through fear of

There is in the possession of the señor fiscal a letter from the council, court, and *regimiento* of the city of Durango in regard to the decision of the viceroy that of the thirty soldiers assigned fifteen shall be stationed at Durango.

the Indians; also this will result in an increase of the fifths and in the relief of the citizens.

They complain of the resolution taken in the matter of one of the royal officials who annually assists in El Parral in the administration of the *real hacienda*, as they say they are not under this obligation on account of the pay of their offices, and it is a heavy burden to them. They ask that they be relieved of this, and propose that an administrator be appointed on their account and risk, they to vouch for the administration, or that power be given them to administer themselves and name their own deputies.

At these depositories there have been in the past only two royal officials; one was the treasurer and the other was the factor and accountant.

In the year 1690 there was added another royal official on an equality with the two, so that one of the three, annually and alternately, may assist in El Parral in the distribution of the quicksilver. This additional office is now being filled by Don Francisco Pérez Caro, to whom his Majesty granted the office in the year 1692, declaring him not to be included in the general reform of the year 1691.

Reply of the fiscal concerning various questions relating to the war with the hostile Indians of the kingdom of El Parral which were raised by different reports of the viceroy of Mexico, the Count of Galve, and by the opinions of Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor of the said city of El Parral. [Madrid, April 1, 1698.]

The fiscal, in view of the letters transmitted to him by the viceroy of New Spain and by Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor of Nueva Vizcaya—together with the accompanying bundles of *autos*—in which they tell of the condition of the presidios and of the state of the war in the said kingdom, says:

Their contents are reduced to an account of how the aforesaid governor, having been installed in the city of Durango on March 30, 1693, and having acknowledged the royal cedula of July 21, 1691—by which

los quadernos de autos que las acompañan; en que expresan el estado de los presidios y Guerra de dicho Reyno Dize que su contexto se reduce a dar cuenta como habiendo tomado posesion el rreferido Governador en la ciudad de Durango en treinta de Marco de 93 y reconocido la real cedula de fecha 21 de Julio de 91 por la cual fue servido su Magestad de mandar a los Governadores sus antescsores y a los demas que lo fuesen de aquel Reyno el que diesen cuenta al visorrey de la nueva españa de todo lo que obrasen obedeciendo las ordenes que les dixeⁿ dicho Virrey para su mejor gobierno en cuio cumplimiento se la dio al Virrey Conde de Galve del estado en que havia allado aquel Reyno proponiendole diferentes providencias pertenecientes a su mayor resguardo; las quales haviendolas recibido y llevandolas a la Junta de Guerra donde se aprobaron le dio orden dicho Virrey para que las executase. Y las que parece aver propuesto este Governador para resguardo de aquel Reyno fueron el que en el Real del Parral se aumentase el numero de las treinta plazas a el de cuarenta [y] que aunque havia prevenido al principio que no eran necesarios los quince soldados que se havian sacado de los treinta que tenia de ereccion el Parral para que asistiesen en la Ciudad de Durango havia rreconocido despues ser precisa la asistencia de los soldados¹ en dicha ciudad y que se agregasen a los [5], otros veinte los quales se uniesen con los del Parral para componer el numero de quarenta plazas de campaña y que para la paga de los diez de Durango se rreformase el orden y resolucion de la junta que mando no se hiciese paga ninguna sin certificacion del cavildo justicia [y] rregimiento de dicha ciudad.

Ynformado¹ asi mismo en el que a los yndios amigos que salian a campaña (cuio numero seria el de 100) hera necesario darles carne y harina y dos rreales en cada un dia para cuio gasto no alcanzavan los 60 pesos^k que por tiempo de paz y guerra se le dava en cada un año yncluyendo en esta cantidad el gasto que tiene tambien de correos. Y assi mismo le ynformo como aviendo preguntado a oficiales Reales si en ocasion de gasto preciso que prompto le darian lo necesario a que les¹ respondieron no poderlo executar sin mandamiento del Virrey. Con cuio motibo le pidio se lo rremitiese general para que oficiales Reales le diesen el dinero que hubiese menester para lo rreferido y demas que se ofreciese del Real servicio de Su Magestad demas de los 60 pesos^m que tenia concedidos pues con dicho mandamiento se evitava el gasto de correos y peligros que podrian acontecer ynterin que unaⁿ la noticia a Mexico y bolvia al rreyno del Parral la resolucion. Y que para las operaciones que dicho gobierno^o tenia discurridas se le havia de dejar la gente en los presidios sin sacar soldado alguno de ellos para componer la compañía volante que el Virrey havia encargado a Don Domingo Jironza pidiendole asi mismo el que la

ⁿ Copy B has "diere".

¹ Copy B has "10 soldados". Obviously this is correct.

¹ Copy B has "ynformando".

^k Copy B has "los 6 U-pesos". Obviously this is correct.

¹ Copy B has "a que le".

^m Copy B has "los 6 U-pesos". Obviously this is correct.

ⁿ Copy B has "que yba". Obviously this is correct.

^o Copy B has "Governador". Obviously this is correct.

your Majesty saw fit to order the governors of that kingdom, their predecessors, and others who might be governor of it, to report to the viceroy of New Spain concerning everything which they might accomplish, obeying the orders which the said viceroy might issue to them for their better government—has, in fulfillment of this *auto*, given an account to the viceroy, the Count of Galve, concerning the state in which he had found that kingdom, and has proposed to him various measures concerning its greater security.

Having received these suggestions and having presented them to the *junta de guerra*, where they were approved, the said viceroy ordered him [the governor] to put them into effect. And those measures which this governor seems to have proposed for the security of that kingdom were: that in the Real del Parral the number of soldiers should be increased from thirty to forty; that, although at the outset he had advised that the fifteen soldiers who had been taken from the thirty which El Parral originally had in order to assist in the city of Durango were not necessary, afterwards he had realized that the presence of ten soldiers in the said city of Durango was essential, and that to the remaining five soldiers twenty should be added, all of whom should be united with those of El Parral in order to make up the number of forty field soldiers; and that, for the pay of the ten soldiers at Durango, the order and resolution of the *junta* should be amended, which decreed that no payment should be made without certificate from the council, court, and *regimiento* of the said city.

Likewise [the governor] advised in the report that it was necessary to give the Indian allies who took the field (the number of whom should be one hundred), meat, flour, and two reales daily. For this expense the 6000 pesos which, during peace and war periods alike, are given to that number each year, are not sufficient—the expense which he incurs for couriers being included in this amount. Likewise he [the governor] informed him [the viceroy] how, having asked royal officials if, on the occasion of a necessary expense, they would promptly give to him what was necessary, they replied that they could not do so without an order from the viceroy. For this reason he [the governor] asked him [the viceroy] to issue a general order so that royal officials might give him the money which he might need for the case in question, and, furthermore, that the money, in addition to the 6000 pesos which his Majesty had conceded, be appropriated from his royal service. For, with the said order, the expense of couriers and the dangers which are apt to arise during the interim that a notice went to Mexico and the resolution thereon returned to the kingdom of El Parral would be avoided. As for the operations which the said governor had planned, he had been forced to keep the people in the presidios, not drawing therefrom a single soldier to add to the flying company which the viceroy had placed in charge of Don Domingo Jironza, and, likewise, to ask of the viceroy that the members of this company should not be recruited from the citizenry of El Parral.

Likewise he notified the said viceroy that he had ordered *Sargento Mayor* Juan Bautista de Escorza to go with some people from his presidio, and from others, to reconnoitre for a period of two months the

gente de esta no se reclutase de la del Parral. Y así mismo le noticio a dicho Virrey haver dado orden al sargento mayor Juan Bautista de Escorza para que saliese con alguna jente de su presidio y de los demas por tiempo de dos meses a rreconocer los parajes del Rio de Guanabal Bocas de Picardia, de San Diego, de Pateron^p y potrero de San Juan de costta, y otros parejes que expresa en una memoria que se halla al folio 14 dandole horden al dicho sargento mayor de que si en dos parajes no adquiriese noticia del enemigo teniendo tiempo y bastimentos pasase a la sierra del Diablo y reconociese todos los sitios donde se suelen ranchar los yndios enemigos; y constandoles serlo y haber ejecutado las muertes y atrocidades que se tenia noticia les diese los albacos conbenientes y procurase pasarlos a cuchillo; y en caso de que se pusiesen en huidas los siguiese y rretirandose estos a parage donde dicho sargento mayor les pudiese poner sitio, le encargo los hiziese y pidiese socorro a la parte mas cercana, Y en caso de vencerlos los condujese al presidio mas proximo dandole cuenta de todo a dicho gobierno haviendo oportunidad para ello.

Cuia representacion fue hecha por el dicho Gobierno en 2 de Mayo de 93^q y otra de 6 de Febrero del mismo año hecha por Don Pedro Garcia de Almazan, Don Juan de Escalante, Pedro de Peralta, Joseph Romo de Bivar y Francisco de Mendoza, thenientes de Alcalde Mayor y capitanes de guerra de los Reales de minas de San Juan Bautista Nuestra Señora del Rosario; San Juan Bautista, San Antonio de la natibidad, el Santo nombre de Jesus de Bacanuchi y San Francisco Javier de Nacabori de la provincia de sonora; en que dan cuenta del miserable estado de aquella provincia por los rovos muertes y atrocidades que executan constantemente en ella los enemigos revelados Y que haviendolo entregado al capitán Francisco Ramirez de Salazar en virtud de orden del Virrey 20 soldados del presidio de sinaloa 10 del cuencame y Gallo para que con ellos mantubiese aquellas fronteras ynterin que dava otra providencia haviendolo recibido y salido a campaña con ellos reconociendo no heran suficientes para oponerse a tanto enemigo como ynbadia aquella provincia no poderse guardar con ellos las entradas que tiene, resolvió dicho ramirez ir en persona a ynformar al Virrey lo que parecia mas acertado al seguro della sin embargo de haverle hecho diferentes requirimientos y protestas para que no dejase la provincia por el Riesgo en que quedava. Y a pocos dias de haverse partido reconociendo el enemigo las pocas fuerzas que havia por haver dejado los soldados de su cargo divididos en cuatro partes de las fronteras para el mes de Agosto de 92 Se arrojó al pueblo de opotci^r donde mato y hirio muchos de los yndios cristhianos llevandose bivos algunos muchachos y el ganado mayor que tenian aquellos vezinos y por el mes de Noviembre de dicho año haviendose juntado las naciones de Soba, Yguipuro^s y mucha parte de los Pimas y otras que estaban juntas y hizieron la entrada en oportu,^t se llevaron de las fronteras de

^p Copy B has "Patron".

^q Apr. 2, 1693, is the correct date. See Castillo's order to Escorza, Durango, Apr. 2, 1693, this volume, pp. 297-301.

^r Copy B has "Opottu". Apparently this is correct.

^s Copy B has "Soba Y guipuro".

^t Copy B has "Opottu". Apparently this is correct.

following places: Río de Guanabal, Bocas de Picardia, Bocas de San Diego, Boca de Patron, Potrero de San Juan de Costa, and other places which he mentions in a memorial to be found in folio fourteen.¹⁸⁶ He gave orders to the said *sargento mayor* that if in those places he did not obtain information concerning the enemy, he was to pass, in case he had time and supplies, to the Sierra del Diablo, and to reconnoitre all the sites where the hostile Indians are accustomed to settle. And, having ascertained that they had done so and that they had committed the reported murders and outrages, he should make a strategic assault and should endeavor to put them to the sword; in case they should flee he was to follow them. Should they retire to a place where the said *sargento mayor* was able to besiege them, he was charged to do so and was to ask for help from the nearest place. In case he should conquer them he was to conduct them to the nearest presidio and report all to the said governor at the earliest opportunity.

This representation was made by the said governor on May 2, 1693;¹⁸⁷ another was made on February 6 of the same year by Don Pedro García de Almazán, Don Juan de Escalante, Pedro de Peralta, Joseph Romo de Bivar, and Francisco de Mendoza, lieutenants *alcaldes mayores* and military captains of the mining camps of San Juan Bautista, Nuestra Señora del Rosario [de Nacozari], San Juan Bautista, San Antonio de la Natividad, El Santo Nombre de Jesús de Bacanuche, and San Francisco Xavier de Nacabori of the province of Sonora, in which they give account¹⁸⁸ of the wretched state of that province as a result of the robberies, murders, and atrocities which the rebellious hostiles constantly commit there. Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar was given, by virtue of the order of the viceroy, twenty soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa and ten from Cuencame and El Gallo, in order to guard those frontiers with them until other measures could be taken. Having received the order he took the field with the soldiers, but, perceiving that they were not sufficient to oppose so large a body of hostiles that were invading that province or to guard its entrances, the said Ramírez determined to go in person and to report to the viceroy what seemed to him the most desirable action for its security. He did so notwithstanding that there was made to him various complaints and protests against his leaving the province in the dangerous state in which it was. A few days after his departure, the enemy, cognizant of the few forces which there were as a result of his having separated the soldiers in his command in four sections of the frontier, fell upon the town of Opotu,¹⁸⁹ during the month of August, 1692, killed and wounded many of the Christian Indians, and carried off some boys alive and the cattle which those inhabitants had. And in the month of November of the said year the Soba and Guipuro nations, a large number of the Pimas, and others who had assembled, having united and made the entrance into Opotu, carried away from the frontiers of Bacanuche, San Antonio de la Natividad, and the mining camps and town of Chinapa, all the horses and mules, which left their inhabitants without means of seeking sustenance for their families. And on the fifth day of February, 1693, at seven o'clock in the morning they entered the camp and mines of Nacosari, just as work was being begun at them, shut up those that were

Bacanuche, san Antonio de la natividad, Reales de Minas y del pueblo de chinapa, todas las cavalladas y muladas que avia dejando a sus moradores imposibilitados de buscar el sustento para sus familias y el dia 5 de Febrero de 93 entraron a las siete de la mañana en el Real y Minas de Nacosari que se empezavan a trabajar y tapearon a los que estavan dentro para matarlos arrojandose al mismo tiempo al Real y a diferentes casas de las vertientes y aunque se les opusieron los vezinos mataron muchos de ellos y se llevaron la cavallada mulada y ganado mayor desde cuia ocasion dicen estan paradas las Minas por estar metidos en las Sierras por donde ellos tienen sus entradas y estar los mineros y comercio sumamente atrasados por estas estorciones, y que hecha la rreferida ymbacion pasaron a la Mision y Valle de Santa Maria Vasaracas y en el puerto de tamichopa mataron onze personas entre ellas los dos Governadores de Santa Maria y San Juan Guachinera llevandose lo que avia en ella y rrefiriendo haver hecho en otras partes diferentes entradas y llevando las cavalladas y muladas; representando que de no ponerse remedio sucederia el lebantarse los yndios cristhianos y que se havian levantado ya los del pueblo de Tuape jurisdiccion del Real de San Joseph.

Y en visita de dichas representaciones y lo respondido a ellas por el Fiscal haviendose hecho junta general de Guerra por el Virrey para conferir con mas acierto lo que se devia executar en la que se tubo en 5 de Junio de 93, se resolvio por el Virrey y la mayor parte de votos que se aumentase el crezimiento de las 20 plazas a las 30 de campaña como lo propone el Governador en su consulta, y en el punto de poder gastar sin ser necesaria nueva horden para que los oficiales Reales de Durango le acudiesen con lo que necesitase se resolvio que se le diese el despacho en la conformidad que lo pedia para que los oficiales Reales en los casos urgentes y que no admitia consulta al Virrey acudiesen a Don Gabriel del Castillo con lo que pidiese no alcanzando los 60 pesos ^u de paz y guerra corriendo su distribucion y quenta al cuidado del Factor Del Real del Parral con obligacion de darla en el tribunal de quantas Y que no se sacasen los soldados de los presidios para componer la compañía volante de Don Domingo Jironza y que los sueldos de los 20 soldados añadidos se entendiesen en la misma caja y efectos que los treinta de campaña y mientras durase la causa y ocasion. Y en quanto al punto de los 15 soldados de Durango se aprovo que permaneciesen en la ciudad para su defensa mandando pedir ynformes al Obispo Gobierno ^v y Cavildo secular de Durango sobre las racones y motibos de la asistencia de dichos soldados asi para ^w en lo [de] adelante se podrian pagar sueldos de otros medios que no fuesen de Real Hazienda y lo que deverian contribuir los vezinos y dueños de haciendas de los contornos por ser en su beneficio la asistencia de ^x los pareceres que dan asi el Obispo como cavildo eclesiastico Gobierno ^y y ciudad conbienen en que se necesitan otros ^z soldados

^u Copy B has "los 6 U-pesos". This is correct.

^v Copy B has "Governador".

^w Copy B has "y si para". Obviously this is correct.

^x Copy B has "y".

^y Copy B has "Governador".

^z Copy B has "dichos".

within in order to kill them, and at the same time assaulted the camp and some of the houses on the mountain slopes. And although the inhabitants resisted them, they killed many of the former and carried off horses, mules, and cattle. Since that time it is said that the mines are at a standstill, for they are situated in the sierras through which the Indians make their expeditions; as a result mining and trading are severely set back by these disturbances. After the above-mentioned attack had been made the Indians went on to the mission and valley of Santa María Bazeraca, and in the pass of Tamichopa they killed eleven persons, among them the two governors of Santa María and San Juan Guachinera, and carried off what there was there. Account was given of various expeditions that were made in other parts, and of the horses and mules being carried off. Representation was made that if this state of affairs were not remedied an uprising among the Christian Indians would occur, and that those of the town of Tuape, in the jurisdiction of the Real de San Joseph, had already rebelled.

In view of the said representations and the reply made to them by the fiscal, a *junta general de guerra* was called by the viceroy to confer more effectively upon what ought to be done. This met on June 5, 1693, and it was decided by the viceroy and the majority of the votes that twenty [regular] soldiers should be added to the thirty field soldiers, as the governor proposes in his report. With reference to the proposition of being able to expend money without the necessity of a new authorization in order that the royal officials of Durango may supply him with what he might need, it was resolved that the authorization should be given to him as requested so that the royal officials, in urgent cases which did not admit of communication with the viceroy, might supply Don Gabriel de Castillo with what he might ask for, in case the 6000 pesos peace-and-war fund should not be sufficient, its distribution and account to fall to the care of the factor of the Real del Parral, with the obligation to give account of it in the court of accounts.¹⁹⁰ [It was also resolved] that soldiers should not be taken from the presidios to make up the flying company of Don Domingo Jironza, and that the pay of the twenty soldiers added should be paid in cash and goods the same as the thirty field soldiers, for the duration of the cause and occasion.

With regard to the fifteen soldiers of Durango, it was decided that they should remain in the city for its defense, orders having been given to request opinions from the bishop, the governor, and the *cabildo* of Durango concerning the reasons and motives for the presence of the said soldiers, whether in the future payments, which should not be made from the *real hacienda*, may be able to be made from other sources, and whether the inhabitants and owners of farms in the neighborhood should contribute, since the presence [of the soldiers] is for their benefit. The opinions which the bishop, as well as the ecclesiastical *cabildo*, the governor, and the city gave all agree that the said soldiers are needed for the safety of the city, in order that the bishop and other inhabitants may not have to abandon it, as has happened on other occasions when the soldiers were taken away from Durango, the inhabitants in their extreme poverty being unable to contribute. In the said junta the other operations and orders

para el resguardo de la ciudad porque no la desamparen el Obispo y demas vezinos como avia sucedido en otras ocasiones que avian sacado los soldados de Durango imposibilitando el poder contribuir los vezinos por su suma pobreza aprobándose assimismo en dicha junta las demas operaciones y ordenes dadas por dicho gobierno^a a Don Juan Bautista de Escorza y al General Juan de Retana Capitan del Presidio de Conchos; de cuías disposiciones parece aver dado en tiempo de un año las escuadras de los presidios con los yndios amigos rejidos por Retana ocho Albazos a los enemigos y muertole mas de 300 yndios y reducido a la obediencia de Su Magestad en la junta de los Rios del Norte dos naciones que se componen de mas de 400 familias; Y en el pueblo llamado San Francisco ymmediato al presidio de Conchos otras cuatro naciones de mas de 130 familias para cuiá educacion parece averse dispuesto en junta de hazienda que hico el Virrey en 19 de Diziembre de 93 (en virtud de noticias [y provisiones pedidas por el Governador en 20 y 23 de Noviembre] de dicho año y de los autos dichos por el capitan Retana y diferentes consultas y cartas) Se acordo que en quanto a las 148 familias que quedaban pobladas en el presidio de Conchos y se les asistiese con carne y mayz desde el dia que llegaron y hera preciso asistirles por un año que tardarian en sembrar y cojer las cosechas cuió gasto ymportaria 60 pesos^b y que se repitiese el mandamiento (librado en la Junta de cinco de Junio) al oficial del Parral para que de la mayor cantidad que parase enn su poder procedida de azogues se le entregasen 100 pesos^c en la forma y con las adbertencias prevenidas en quanto a su gasto cuenta y distribucion en el despacho que en la junta referida de 5 de Junio se despacho a los oficiales Reales de Durango. Y en quanto a los cuatro religiosos misioneros que pedia dicho gobierno^d para las dos naciones tuninobirla^e y Batayolijela^f compuestas de 2.500 personas y otras onze naciones amigas del Rio del Norte en la junta de los Rios y Conchos, se mando librar despacho de ruego y encargo al Provincial de San Francisco de la provincia de Zacatecas para que nonbrasse cuatro religiosos ministros que les ynstruyesen en la fee participando la noticia de su remision para que se le acudiese con la lismosna de Real hazienda, Y que oficiales Reales de Durango y zacatecas ynformasen sy en los dichos parajes avia havido en otra ocasion ministros y si se havian pagado de las Reales cajas; Y la que dan los oficiales es de no aver havido de tiempo ynmemorial doctrineros en los sitios referidos.

Y asi mismo se dio horden a dicho Governador para que los 15 soldados asignados a Durango pudiesen salir 20 leguas en contorno acompañados de los tenientes de Gobierno a rrecorrer los puestos que menciona en su ynforme dicho Gobierno.^g

^a Copy B has "Governador".

^b Copy B has "6 U-pesos". Obviously this is correct.

^c Copy B has "10 U-pesos". Obviously this is correct.

^d Copy B has "Governador".

^e Copy B has "Zuninobirla". Apparently the correct form is Sunigugliglas.

^f This is obviously a miscopy for "Batayogliglas".

^g Copy B has "Governador".

issued by the said governor to Don Juan Bautista de Escorza and General Juan de Retana, captain of the presidio of Conchos, were likewise approved.

As a result of these arrangements it seems that in the space of one year the presidial squads, including friendly Indians, commanded by Retana, made eight surprise attacks on the enemy Indians, killed more than three hundred of them and reduced to the dominion of his Majesty at La Junta de los Ríos, in the north, two nations¹⁹¹ which contain more than 400 families, and, at the pueblo of San Francisco, near the presidio of Conchos, four other nations,¹⁹² containing more than 130 families, whose instruction it seems (by virtue of the reports and provisions requested by the governor on November 20 and November 23, of the said year, by virtue of the *autos* of Captain Retana, and by virtue of various reports and letters), had been provided for in the *junta de hacienda* which the viceroy held on December 19, 1693.

With regard to the 148 families who were settled at the presidio of Conchos it was agreed that they should be aided with meat and corn from the day of their arrival, and that it was necessary to assist them for the year that would elapse in planting and harvesting their crops, the expense of which should amount to 6000 pesos and that the order (issued in the junta of June 5) should be repeated to the official of El Parral, so that from the largest sum available in his possession, as proceeds from quicksilver, 10,000 pesos¹⁹³ may be delivered to him, in the form and according to the measures taken in regard to its disbursement, accounting, and distribution in the despatch which was issued in the above-mentioned junta of June 5 to the royal officials of Durango.

With regard to the four missionary religious which the said governor requested for two nations—the Sunigugliglas and the Batayogliglas, containing 2500 persons, and eleven other friendly nations of the Río del Norte at the junction of the rivers [Del Norte] and Conchos—it was ordered that a command of entreaty and request should be issued to the provincial of San Francisco of the province¹⁹⁴ of Zacatecas to name four religious as ministers to instruct them in the faith, notice to be given of their despatch so that he may be assisted with alms from the *real hacienda*, and that the royal officials of Durango and Zacatecas should report as to whether there had been ministers in the said places at any other time and whether they had been paid from the royal depositories. The report which the officials give is that there have never been since time immemorial teachers of the Christian doctrine in the places mentioned.

An order was likewise given to the said governor that the fifteen soldiers assigned to Durango might go out twenty leagues in the vicinity, accompanied by the lieutenants of the governor, to explore the places which the said governor mentioned in his report.

The said governor represented in his report that if the campaigns are continued in the same way as they have been it will be possible in time to reduce that kingdom to peace, but that in case some of the soldiers are withdrawn from those who are there at present, through the parsimony of the *real hacienda*, that kingdom will always be exposed to the contingency of being destroyed, and that even though all the Indians

Representando en su consulta dicho Gobierno que continuandose las campañas en la forma que ha executado (podra con el tiempo) ponerse aquel reyno en quietud; pero que en caso de extinguirse algunas plazas de las que hay al presente por el aorro del Real hazienda quedara siempre aquel reyno espuesto a la contingencia de perderse y que aun logrando el rendimiento de todos los yndios tampoco se podran disminuir antes si aumentarse en caso que la quietud ocasionare crece de quintos suponiendo el que siempre que los yndios se rindan a de ser por fuerca y castigados y que si estos reconociesen disminucion en las armas pasaran a cuchillo los pocos vasallos que su magestad tiene en aquel Reyno arriesgandose sus minerales y fronteras; pidiendo se reformen las cedula (por lo respectivo a aquel Reyno) en que tiene mandado Su Magestad se ayan los gobernadores con gran benignidad con los yndios rendidos por aver mostrado la experiencia el que siendo admitidos de paz solo la guardan mientras le es de conbeniencia por el miedo de las armas volbiendo despues a retirarse executando grandes estragos siendo dificil de poderse averiguar juridicamente sus dicinios por cui a causa dize sera muy conbeniente el que Su Magestad ampliase las hordenes a los Gobernadores para que conforme a el esta^h presente obrasen executando escarmientos o rreperitirlas al Virrey para que los ynformes de los Gobernadores execute lo conbeniente.

Y con [la] ocasion de pasar el Maestre de campo Don Jose Francisco Marin al Parral a tomar la residencia a Don Juan Ysidro se Pardiñas por ser persona de inteligencia En 20 de Febrero de 93 se le dio orden por el Virrey para que hiciese diligencias sobre si conbendria unir las armas de los presidios y formar una compañia volante que andubiese en continuo mobimiento Y asi mismo para que averiguase el estado de las provincias calidad de las fuerzas de sus fronteras y presidios y medios que se pudieran poner en practica (a vista de los daños que havian executado los yndios) para castigar los enemigos y establecer la seguridad de la paz y sosiego de los vezinos y evitar las discordias que pudiesen perjudicar su buen Gobierno y pareze que haviendo pasado al Parral y pedido ynformes sobre lo referido a Don Agustin Erban del Camino al Maestre de campo Don Pedro del Pozo, a Don Joseph de Herra¹ y Quiroga, a Don Ygnacio de la Vega y Sotomayor, a Don Diego Garcia de Valdes, al Capitan Juan de Echevarria, Rafael de Ybarguen, Don Diego de Maturana, Don Diego de Aguilar, Don Luis de Valdes, Al Sargento Mayor Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas y al Factor Don Joseph de ursua, en los que estos dan por su parte de dicho año todos son de sentir el ser muy necesarios los soldados de los presidios y su manuntencion sin disminuir ni quitar ninguna de las plazas que tienen por estar todos contiguos a los enemigos diziendo asi mismo que combrendra sacar escuadras de los presidios y que acompañadas con los yndios amigos salgan por diferentes partes a buscar los enemigos a sus casas y rancherias castigandoles de una vez y destruyendolos porque de no hazerse la guerra en esta forma aunque se aga paz con ellos dizen no la guardan mas que el tiempo que

^h Copy B has "a el estado".

¹ Copy B has "Neira". This is correct.

should be successfully subjected, the soldiers cannot be reduced. Rather, [they must be] increased, in case peace should cause an increase of farms, on the presumption that the Indians may always be subjected by force and punishment, and that if they should perceive that the forces had been diminished they would put to the sword the few subjects that your Majesty has in that kingdom, thereby endangering its mines and frontiers. He asked that the *cedulas* (referring to that kingdom) be changed with respect to his Majesty's orders that the governors shall treat the conquered Indians with great gentleness, for experience has shown that when they are admitted to peace they only keep it, through fear of the soldiery, while it is expedient, and that when these retire they again commit great ravages. Hence it is very difficult to determine exactly their intentions. For this reason he says it would be a good thing if his Majesty would amplify the orders to the governors so that they may act in conformity with the existing situation and may inflict chastisements, or may report the situation to the viceroy, so that he may put into execution such recommendations of the governors as is proper.

Upon the occasion of the departure, on February 20, 1693, of the *maestre de campo* Don José Francisco Marín for El Parral to conduct the *residencia* of Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas, he being a person of intelligence, he was given an order by the viceroy to make efforts to ascertain whether it would be best to unite the forces of the presidios and to form a flying company which would keep constantly in movement, and also to ascertain the state of the province, the character of the forces of their frontiers and presidios, and the means that might be put into effect (in view of the damage the Indians had done) to chastise the hostiles, to establish the security of peace and quiet for the inhabitants, and to avoid the discords that might prejudice their good government. It seems that he went to El Parral and secured information concerning the aforesaid matter from Don Agustín Erban del Camino, from the *maestre de campo* Don Pedro del Pozo, from Don Joseph de Neira y Quiroga,¹⁹⁶ from Don Ignacio de la Vega y Sotomayor, from Don Diego García de Valdés, from Captain Juan de Echevarria, Rafael de Ybarguen, Don Diego de Maturana, Don Diego de Aguilar, Don Luis de Valdés, from *Sargento Mayor* Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas, and from the factor Don Joseph de Ursua.

In the reports which these give for the said year all are agreed that the presidial soldiers are very necessary, as well as the maintenance of the presidios, and that there should be no diminution or withdrawal of any of the men at the presidios, for they are all situated adjacent to the hostiles. They say also that it will be a good thing for squads from the presidios to go out in different directions, accompanied by the friendly Indians, to hunt for the hostile Indians in their homes and on their rancherías and to punish them all at once and to destroy them. For unless war is made upon them in this manner, even though peace should be made with them, they say that they will not keep it longer than the time necessary to regain their strength, with the result that they will return with greater force and will commit other hostilities and murders. They say further that until this plan of rigorously seeking them out is put into

necesitan para rehacerse de que se origina el bolver con mayor rigor y hacer mayores ostilidades y muertes; Y que Ynterin que no se executare el buscarlos con rigor llevando por cada parte la mas gente que se pueda para que por todas sientan el castigo, no es medio azertado el que se disminuyan los soldados por quedar el Reyno en la contingencia de perderse por ser muchas y muy dilatadas las naciones de los enemigos que le circundan y juntarse estas con facilidad.

El Ynforme que haze el Maestre de Campo Don Joseph Francisco Marin ¹ que empieza desde el folio 92 hasta el 144 del cuaderno de ynformaciones ^k lo primero se reduce a dar cuenta de los limites del Reyno de la nueva Viscaya, Nueva Galizia, Nuevo Reyno de Leon, Nuevo Reyno de Mexico Provincias de Sinilen,¹ Moqui y Sonora su fertilidad y abundancia de Minerales ^m y enemigos que les zircundad y numero de soldados que le aseguran (los cuales referira el Fiscal en Memoria aparte) pasando a decir dicho Maestro de campo que desde la ziudad de Durango al Real de San Joseph del Parral donde asisten los Governadores de Reyno ay dos caminos el uno por Santa Catalina donde esta el presidio deste nombre con ocho plazas y su Capitan donde esta Don Benito Paradas Morales ⁿ de distancia de 10 leguas ^o en cuiu paraje dice abita la nacion de los tepeguanes que conservan fidelidad a Su Magestad y que este es poco seguro para andar en el con continuazion escuadras de tobosos; Y que el otro es el de Cuencame que dista 100 leguas y de mas seguridad por circundarle los tres presidios, el del Pasaje que dista treinta leguas de Durango y se compone de cinquenta plaças y la de su Capitan Juan Bautista de Escorza, y de este al del Gallo (que se compone de otras 50 placas y la de su Capitan Luis de Quintana) 24 leguas y de este al de Cerro Gordo que se compone de 23 plaças y la de su Capitan Martin de Ugalde, 22 leguas, Y de este al Real del Parral 24 leguas, y que en el Real asiste la Campaña de campaña con numero de 50 soldados asistiendo los 15 dellos en la ciudad de Durango continuamente para la guarda de aquellos vasallos de cuiu compañía dice es Capitan Antonio de Medina, Y que del Real al Presidio de Conchos que se compone de 50 placas y la de su Capitan Juan Fernandez de Retana ay 20 leguas, Y que el Presidio de janos sito en la provincia deste nombre se compone de otras ciencuenta plaças y la de su capitan Juan Fernandez de la Fuente y dista 100 leguas del Real de Parral y cubre y defiende toda la provincia de Sonora que dice se dilata mas de otras 150 leguas, para cuiu reparo se han concedido por el Virrey otras 50 placas a cargo de Don Domingo de Jironza. Que el presidio de Montesclaros que se compone de 43 plaças y la de su capitan Don Manuel de Agramont sito en la provincia de sinaloa dista del Real del Parral mas de 150 leguas cuias plaças con las de los capitanes componen

¹ [Al margen pone:] Ojo.

^k Copy B has "ynformes".

¹ Copy B has "Sunilin".

^m Thus far this document is *verbatim* the same as the transcript of a document in the University of Texas Library entitled: "Respuesta fiscal dada en las dependencias del Reyno de el Parral su fecha 1 de Septiembre de 1698" (A. G. I., 67-4-11).

ⁿ Copy B has "Pereda y Morales".

^o Copy B has "70 leguas". This is correct.

execution, taking into every section as many soldiers as possible so that they may feel the punishment everywhere, it is not a proper step to take to diminish the number of soldiers, for the kingdom would be in imminent peril of destruction, since the nations of hostiles that surround it are many and extensive and readily unite.

The report which the *maestre de campo* Don Joseph Francisco Marín makes, which extends from folio 92 to folio 144 of the bundle of reports, reduces itself, first, to giving an account of the limits of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, Nueva Galicia, New Kingdom of León, New Kingdom of Mexico, and the provinces of Sunilen [Zuñi],¹⁹⁶ Moqui, and Sonora, and to a description of their fertility, richness in minerals, the hostiles that surround them, and the number of soldiers who guard them (which the fiscal will discuss in a separate memorandum). The said *maestre de campo* goes on to say that from the city of Durango to the Real de San Joseph del Parral, where the governors of the kingdom reside, there are two roads, one by way of Santa Catalina, where is the presidio of this name, with eight soldiers and their captain, Don Benito Pereda Morales. The length of this road is seventy leagues, and along it lives the Tepehuane nation, which remains loyal to his Majesty. This road has little security as a result of the constant presence of these bands of Tobosos. The other road is by way of Cuencame. It is one hundred leagues long and is safer because of being surrounded by three presidios. El Pasaje, which is thirty leagues from Durango, is composed of fifty soldiers and their captain, Juan Bautista de Escorza. From this presidio it is twenty-four leagues to El Gallo (which is composed of another fifty soldiers and their captain, Luis de Quintana). From the latter presidio to that of Cerro Gordo, which is composed of twenty-three soldiers and their captain, Martín de Ugalde, it is twenty-two leagues, and from Cerro Gordo to the Real del Parral it is twenty-four leagues. At this *real* is stationed the field company, composed of fifty soldiers, fifteen of whom remain constantly at the city of Durango as a guard for those citizens. It is said that Antonio de Medina is captain of this company. From this *real* to the presidio of Conchos, which is composed of fifty soldiers and their captain, Juan Fernández de Retana, it is twenty leagues. The presidio de Janos, situated in the province of the same name and one hundred leagues distant from the Real del Parral, is composed of another fifty soldiers and their captain, Juan Fernández de la Fuente. It covers and defends the entire province of Sonora, which it is said extends more than another hundred and fifty leagues, for the defense of which the viceroy has granted another fifty soldiers under the command of Don Domingo Jironza. The presidio of Montesclaros, which is composed of forty-three soldiers and their captain, Don Manuel de Agramont, is situated in the province of Sinaloa, more than one hundred and fifty leagues distant from the Real del Parral. All of these contingents, with their captains, make a total number of 383. And he [the *maestre de campo*] went on to say there were probably as many as 500 Spanish families living in that kingdom.

The means which the said *maestre de campo* proposes to the viceroy for the preservation of that kingdom are two. The first, which he says

el numero de 383 pasando a dezir seran asta 500 familias de españoles las que habitan en aquel Reyno.

Los medios que propone al Virrey dicho Maestre de Campo para la conservacion de aquel Reyno son dos: el primero es el que mas dize se necesita es la manutencion de los cinco Presidios, Pasaje, Gallo, Cerro-gordo, Conchos, y el de janos, Y que de los cincuenta soldados concedidos para la defensa de sonora se erija otro presidio en uno de tres sitios de dicha provincia para que con mas facilidad se pueda dar la mano con la gente del de janos, y unidos puedan castigar a los enemigos Apaches y Pimas naciones numerosas y que ymbaden de continuo aquella provincia poniendola en el ultimo peligro entrandola por los sitios del Valle de Cagiona que dista 30 leguas del Real de San Juan por el Valle de Baspispe y el de Teuricache que dista nueve leguas del Real de Nacosari que dize estar despoblado por las continuas correrias del enemigo, y que este es el paraje mas esencial y de consecuencia para exigir el Presidio y enfrenar los daños de los enemigos segun se a ynformado de las personas mas practicas y espertas de aquel Pais.

Que aunque los soldados de los presidios son pocos (segun el numero de los enemigos) estando bien gobernados dizen ^p son bastantes para castigar y reducir las naciones barbaras y yntentar nuevas conquistas si fuera dable mantenerlas y poblarlas (Y que estando en los tiempos oportunos) los soldados haziendo guerra a los enemigos con continuacion en sus mismas tierras siguiendolos en los parages de sus abrigadas y castigandolos por todas partes no tendran lugar para hacer correrias en nuestras tierras por haverse experimentado que en el tiempo que se les ha seguido en esta forma estan los caminos seguros y libres los ganados por poner los yndios su principal cuydado en retirarse de la furia de las armas y asegurar la chusma de mujeres y hijos, Y luego que se retiran los soldados a sus Presidios o cuarteles buelben a executar sus maldades, que este es el unico medio de contenerlos y rreducirlos porque hallandose castigados y seguidos por todas partes se an de sujetar a la obediencia a discrecion de los Gobernadores, como havia sucedido con las quatro naciones de los chicos nombrados chichitames, satapayogliglas, Guazpayoliglas,^q y los osatayoliglas que se dio el Capitan Juan Fernandez de Retana por Junio de 93 acompañado de los Batayoliglas y zuniliglas^r que se redujeron con la salida deste Capitan.

Y que para executar lo referido se deve hazer la guerra como se havia hecho aquella campaña dejando en cada Presidio 10 ú 12 soldados para su defensa y escolta de los pasajeros, y con los restantes hazer esquadras de 40 ú 50 soldados y acompañados con los yndios amigos buscarlos en sus abitaciones asta rrendirlos, y que conseguido se les ponga en poblaciones a la vista de los presidios debajo de las mismas armas obligandoles a que hagan casas en forma y siembren sus milpas Y agan crias de gallinas para que cobren cariño a las poblaciones (como dize sucede oy con los tepeguanes y tاراumanes que estan a la usanza y politica española

^p Copy B has "dize".

^q Copy B has "Guasapayoliglas".

^r Copy B has "Zunilinglas".

is most necessary, is the retention of the five presidios, Pasaje, Gallo, Cerro Gordo, Conchos, and Janos, and, with the fifty soldiers granted for the defense of Sonora, the erection of another presidio in one of three places in the said province. He favors this so that they may the more readily join hands with the garrison of Janos and together may punish the hostile and populous Apache and Pima nations which constantly invade that province and put it in extreme danger, entering it by way of the valley of Caaguiona, thirty leagues distant from the Real de San Juan, and by the valley of Baspispe and that of Teuricache, which is nine leagues from the Real de Nacosari. He says that the latter place has been depopulated by the constant incursions of the enemy, and that it is the most essential and important place in which to establish the presidio and to restrain the attacks of the hostiles, according to the information he has received from persons most experienced and acquainted with that country.

Although the soldiers of the presidios are few (in comparison with the number of the hostiles), if they are well governed he says that they are sufficient to chastise and reduce the barbarous nations and to attempt new conquests if it were feasible to maintain and settle them and if the time were opportune. In case the soldiers make war upon the hostiles continuously in their own country, following them to their places of refuge and punishing them everywhere, they will have no opportunity to make incursions into our country, for it has been experienced that when they are followed in this manner the roads are secure and the cattle are safe, since the Indians centre their chief attention upon retreating from the fury of the troops and saving the rabble of women and children. As soon as the soldiers return to their presidios or barracks, however, they come back to carry on their rascalities. This is the only way to restrain and reduce them, for, when they find themselves punished and pursued in every direction, they are forced to submit to the discretion of the governors, as happened with the four Chisos nations, namely, the Chichitames, the Satapayogliglas, the Guazapayogliglas, and the Osatayogliglas, who surrendered in June, 1693, to Captain Juan Fernández de Retana, accompanied by the Batayogliglas and Sunigugliglas, who were reduced by the sortie of this captain.

And in order to carry out the above recommendations war ought to be carried on as was done on that campaign, leaving in each presidio ten or twelve soldiers for its defense and as an escort for travellers. Of the remainder, squadrons of forty or fifty soldiers should be created, and these, accompanied by the friendly Indians, should follow the hostiles to their dwelling places until they are conquered. Afterwards they should be placed in towns in sight of the presidios under the same troops and should be compelled to build regular houses and plant gardens and raise chickens, so that they may acquire an attachment for settlements (as it is said is happening to-day with the Tepeguanes and Taraumanes, who have taken up Spanish usage and customs and are applying themselves earnestly to cattle raising and the cultivation of the land). The captain protector should always keep them in sight and should observe their movements, ascertaining if any of them are missing in times when robberies and mur-

y con grande aplicacion en las crias y cultibo de las tierras) y que los tenga el Capitan Protector siempre a la vista observando sus movimientos reconociendo si faltan algunos en tiempo que sucedan robos o muertes teniendoles bien aseguradas las chusmas por ser el medio de mantenerlos en obediencia, Y que conservandolos en esta forma, aunque executen alguna fuga les daran alcance los soldados con facilidad y quedaran castigados y escarmentados sin consertirles como se a acostumbrado el que pacten los parajes y sitios donde an de abitar por elegir los separados de los Presidios y executar desde ellos mayores ostilidades con seguridad de paz.

Y que se les haga guerra sangrienta y sin cuartel a los cocoyomes y tobosos por haver estos faltados muchas veces a la obediencia que an dado a Su Magestad apostatando de la ley evangelica que profesaron y ser mas perniciosos que los demas y los que atren otras muchas naciones contra los españoles y que mientras estos no se consumieren no cesaran los trabajos en aquel Reyno ni los gastos de la Real Hazienda, y consumiendolos se lograran a libros^a considerables. Representando ser el tiempo mas oportuno para hacerles la guerra el de las aguas por hallarse en todas partes para los soldados y cavallos y faltarles en el de seca por ser parajes aridos, Y que para el tiempo referido de seca se podra reconocer la tierra con los soldados que se huvieren reservado para que estos ympidan la entrada que hacen en este tiempo en las nuestras, y que se podra lograr oy el consumirlos por aver quedado solo las esquadras de tecoleté, la de Lorencillo, la de tejablanca,^t la del colade, cocoyote^u y la de Contorerillas y llegar el numero de ellas a 100 yndios de guerra.

Y que ymportara mucho que el Gobierno de aquel Reyno sea muy cabto y experimentado assi en cosas de Guerra como en materias politicas y que seria politica grande y de gran consecuencia [el] yntroduzir con toda maña entre aquellas naciones discordias y desconfianças para que desunidas se recelen y teman unas a otras y se conserben las rendidas a Su Magestad por el miedo de las no rrendidas y hacerles la guerra con ellas mismas cuando conbenga, de que dice se originara mayor seguridad a los españoles, y representa en este punto los daños que se siguen de beneficiarse asi este Gobierno como el de Filipinas, Campeche y otros desta Jerarquia, y que de ponerse en ellos personas que demas de tener la practica de la milizia y esperiencias tengan buena capacidad pierde Su Magestad en aquellas provincias mas que lo que pueden ymportar los mas subidos beneficios, y estaran siempre expuestas a perderse por aplicarse los que benefician estos puestos solo al fin de sus utilidades y cumplir^v su jurisdiccion nombrando y dando puestos que no pueden a personas que solo han ecercido el oficio de mercaderes sin haver militado, de que dicen se originan diferentes discordias entre los Capitanes de los Presidios, y este genero de personas que los Governadores suelen nombrar por thenientes por querer estos entrometerse a dar ordenes a los Capitanes que no entienden.

^a Copy B has "alibios". Obviously this is correct.

^t Copy B has "Zeja blanca".

^u Copy B has "la de Cola de Cocoyotte".

^v Copy B has "ampliar". Obviously this is correct.

ders occur, and keeping the band of women and children well secured as the best means of holding them to obedience. By holding them in this manner, although they may run away occasionally, the soldiers will easily catch up with them and they will be punished and taught by experience. And they should not be allowed, as has been customary, to choose the places and sites where they are to live, since they select those at a distance from the presidios and from them carry on hostilities all the greater from the security given them by peace.

War, sanguinary and without quarter, should be made upon the Cocoiomes and the Tobosos, for they have failed many times in the obedience they have promised to his Majesty and have abjured the Evangelical law which they have professed, besides being the most pernicious of all and the ones that turn many other nations against the Spaniards. Until they are destroyed troubles will not cease in that kingdom nor expense to the *real hacienda*, while if they are destroyed the taxes collected will amount to a considerable sum. He [the *maestre de campo*] stated that the most suitable time for making war upon them was in the rainy season, since water could then be found everywhere for the soldiers and horses. This is lacking in the dry season because those places are arid. Furthermore, during the said dry season the country could be explored by the soldiers held in reserve so that they could prevent the expeditions which the Indians make at this time into our country. They could be successfully destroyed now, for there are only remaining the bands of the Tecolote and the Contrerillas, the number of fighting Indians among them amounting to one hundred.

It is very important that the governor of that kingdom be very capable and experienced, in affairs of war as well as in matters of government. Also it would be an excellent policy and it would be of far-reaching consequence if discord and distrust could be introduced skillfully among those nations, so that, being disunited, they would suspect and fear each other. The conquered ones would then be kept loyal to his Majesty through fear of the unconquered and, with the former, war could be made upon the latter at the first opportunity. As a result he says greater security will result to the Spaniards. With respect to this matter he points out the losses that will result if this government, as well as that of the Philippines, Campeche, and others of this hierarchy practise the sale of offices, for [unless] persons are placed in them, who, besides having experience in military affairs, are altogether capable, his Majesty may lose in those provinces more than the most extensive sale of offices would amount to and they [the provinces] will always be in danger of being ruined, for those who buy these places apply themselves solely to making a profit from them, and to enlarging their authority. They name and give places, which they have no right to do, to persons who have only had experience as merchants, and no military experience. From this they say that various disputes originate between the captains of the presidios and this type of person which the governors are in the habit of naming as lieutenants, for the latter try to interfere and give orders to the captains, who do not approve.

El segundo punto que propone al Virrey (aunque dice es mas lento y espacioso y que no se podra executar sin dificultades) es el que se remedie en parte lo despoblado que se haya ^w aquel Reyno y que conseguido esto lograra Su Magestad grandes cantidades en los quintos y mucho alivio en los gastos de los soldados que mantiene en el entendiendose la poblacion en los contornos de aquel Real por ser ymposible en las Provincias por lo dilatado de sus tierras, Y que poblados cinco ó seis sitios ympediran ^x del todo la entrada a los enemigos y aseguraban los caminos y gozaban de paz sus abitadores y pudieran suprimirse algunos presidios y algunas plazas de los que pareziera conbeniente dejar por no serlo el que se quiten todos reservando el decir a boca [a] el Virrey las grandes consecuencias que resultan de este punto (y aunque prosigue en su ynforme no lo haze el fiscal por ser providencias sobre el Presidio de Sinaloa y otros puntos que rreferira en su lugar).

Y hallandose en Mexico en 13^o de Diziembre de dicho año de 93,^a en virtud de auto proveydo por el Virrey para que prosiga en el, dice que aunque se podra mantener algun tiempo con la aplicacion de medios que van propuestos en el primero solo se podra conservar en el estado que se hallaba al presente aquel Reyno; ynterin que perseverasen las asistencias puntuales y que aun en este caso susustirian los temores de perderse diziendo por lo que toca al segundo que no solo servira para poner aquel Reyno en su estado de opulencia sino de aumento de grandes productos, porque siendo su principal accidente el de falta de gente y de caudales remediando el primero dize se utiliza Su Magestad en 1800 pesos ^a con poco diferencia y que propocionado el principal deste producto a 150 por 100 ^b regular ymporta tres millones y 6000 pesos ^c en cuiá cantidad dize biene a estar empeñado Su Magestad para su conserbacion sin los gastos que se ofreceran cada dia y que se evitaran estos y asegurara el comercio poblando algunos sitios.

Que por lo que toca al Reyno del Parral para cuiá defensa estan los Presidios de Conchos Cerrogordo del Gallo Pasaje Y esta la dicha de tepejuanes ^d hacen los yndios las entradas por la junta del Rio Florido Y al de Conchos por el [sitio] de San Antonio, las Cañas, la Herradura, Mapimi y Rio nazas, sitios que dice abundan en agua y muy aparentes por la poblaciones y ympedir ynterin ^e las entradas de los yndios siendo de sentir se queden poblados los Parajes de los Presidios con los mismos soldados de ellos por ser los mas casados y que rrepartiendoles tierras y fomentandoles para el cultivo dellas se sirvan ^f de grande union y fuerza para las demas poblaciones y que las que se poblaren se podra componer

^w Copy B has "se halla".

^x Copy B has "ynpedian".

^y Copy B has "17".

^z [*Al margen pone:*] Segundo Ynforme.

^a Copy B has "180 U-pesos". This is correct.

^b Copy B has "al 5 por 100". This is correct.

^c Copy B has "600 U-pesos". This is correct.

^d Copy B has "Pasaje; y Santa Cathalina de Tepeguanes".

^e Copy B has "yn totun".

^f Copy B has "de ellas serviran".

The second recommendation which he makes to the viceroy (although he says that it is less pressing and urgent and that it will not be possible to carry it out without difficulty) is that the lack of population in that kingdom be remedied in part. Once this is accomplished his Majesty will reap a great benefit from the fifths and will realize great relief from the expenses of the soldiers whom he maintains there, while settlements will be extended in the vicinity of that *real*, since this is impossible in the provinces because of the great extent of their territories. Once five or six places are settled they will entirely prevent the expeditions of the hostile Indians, and will make the roads safe, and the inhabitants will enjoy peace, and some of the presidios may be dispensed with and likewise some of those soldiers whom it may seem well to retain, for it would not be proper to take away all of them. He waits to tell the viceroy by word of mouth of the excellent consequences that result from this recommendation. (And although he continues with his report the fiscal does not do so because they are measures concerning the presidio of Sinaloa and other matters to which he will refer in their place.)

Being in Mexico on the thirteenth of December of the said year of 1693, in virtue of the *auto* issued by the viceroy that he should continue with it [the report], he says that even though it will be possible to maintain the kingdom for some time by application of the means proposed in the first recommendation, yet it will only be possible to conserve it in the state in which it is at present, and only as long as the aid promptly given continues, and that even with this aid there would still be fear of losing it. He says in regard to the second recommendation that not only will it serve to put that kingdom in a state of opulence, but also that it will greatly augment its products. For, since its principal trouble is the lack of people and revenue, by remedying the first he says his Majesty would receive a profit of 180,000, more or less. Reckoning the principal of this product on the basis of the regular five per cent. it amounts to 3,600,000 pesos, in which sum he says his Majesty is obligated for its preservation. This does not take into account the expenses that come up every day, which would be avoided, nor the trade that would be assured by settling some places.

With reference to the kingdom of El Parral, for the defense of which are the presidios of Conchos, Cerro Gordo, El Parral, Pasaje, and this aforesaid one of Tepeguanes, he says that the Indians enter on their expeditions at the junction of the Río Florido and the Río Conchos and by way of San Antonio, Las Cañas, La Herradura, Mapimi, and Río Nazas, places which he says abound in water and are very suitable for the settlements. They are also suitable at the same time for preventing the expeditions of the Indians. He is of the opinion that the sites of the presidios should be settled by their own soldiers, since most of them are married, and that, by dividing lands among them and encouraging them to cultivate them, they will serve greatly to unify and strengthen the other settlements. Of those that may be settled each one may be composed of from sixty to seventy men, who are the first year to be provided with harquebuses, ammunition, and horses, so that they may be ready for any possible action. Likewise they should be aided with oxen, plows, plow-shares, and

cada una de 60 á 70 hombres proveyendoles el primer año de Arcabuces Municiones y cavallos para que esten promptos a qualquiera operacion que se ofrezca, fomentandoles asimismo con Bueyes, Arados, Rejas y Granos para el cultivo de los campos repartiendoles las tierras y labores con equidad y justicia y con division de jurisdicciones y terminos y que se execute la poblacion de su vivienda en la conformidad que esta dispuesto en el Presidio de Conchos para que unidos resistan qualquiera ymbacion grande de los yndios la qual dice no podra subsistir mucho respecto de poder ser socorridos luego de los demas sitios poblados.

Y que en caso de poblarse sera de utilidad que el Gobierno ^a de aquel Reyno tenga prevenydos los materiales de maderas y adoves en cada uno de los sitios rreferidos y probision de mayz necesario para su manuntencion y siembras y para que los mismos pobladores executen sus biviendas ayudados de los yndios artifices y que se nombrase a cada poblacion un alcalde mayor y Capitan a guerra de esperiencia y pactica que cuidase de que todos tubiesen sus armas y cavallos promptos y bien mantenidos y cuidasen de la cultura de las tierras.

Que todos los pobladores fuesen soldados milicianos de aquellas Rayas y se les concediese todas las prerrogativas ecempciones y franquezas de tales y libertad de todos tributos y que las naciones que se redujesen se poblasen al pie de estos sitios y Poblaciones para que los tengan sujetos con cuios medios dice logra Su Magestad el producto del sueldo de capitanes y soldados de los Presidios que ymporta en cada año 84 pesos ^b y demas los tributos de Alcavalas de los labradores y cosecheros de aquella comarca y la de los mercaderes asegurando que ymportaran los graneros ¹ que estos despachan de 500 á 600 pesos ¹ que a 5 por 100 ymportan 20 ú 30 pesos ^k y que con el aumento de gente sera mas considerable y que se podra ir executando estos mismo en la parte de Janos y sonora y quedar del todo exonerado el Real Patrimonio, de que se siguira el ser considerable el beneficio de las Minas y prosuciran los Reales quintos grandes utilidades a Su Magestad para cuió efecto respecto de la grande abundancia de ellas y suma falta de los caudales de los beneficiadores dice ymportara mucho que se les fomente por Su Magestad asignandoles para este fin la cantidad de pesos que pareciere suficiente repartiendoseles segun la calidad y ley de los metales y disposicion de las haziendas de su beneficio afianzando con seguridad de abonos mancomunidades y hipotecas la cantidad que se le diere creyendo que demas del 12 por 100 que se utiliza alli en la plata daran los 5 que podran costar a Su Magestad las porciones que se buscaren para este efecto y el aumento que se sigue de los Reales quintos; cuias poblaciones asi de la comarca del Parral como las de Janos y sonora y fomento de Mineros dizen tendran de costa asta 800 pesos ¹ y cuando mas un millon siendo este gasto solo por una vez y seguirse de

^a Copy B has "Governador".

^b Copy B has "84 U-pesos". This is correct.

¹ Copy B has "generos". Apparently this is correct.

¹ Copy B has "500 a 600 U-pesos". This is correct.

^k Copy B has "20 u 30 U-pesos". This is correct.

¹ Copy B has "800 U-pesos". This is correct.

grain for the cultivation of the fields, the lands and farms to be divided among them with equality and justice, with division of districts and boundaries. Also the settlement should regulate its mode of life in conformity with that already in practice at the presidio of Conchos, so that united they can resist any invasion, however great, that may be made by the Indians. Such an invasion, he says, could not endure long, since they [the Spaniards] could be quickly succored by other settled places.

In case the settlements are established it will be an advantage for the governor of that kingdom to have ready the materials, wood and adobe, at each one of the sites mentioned, and a supply of maize necessary for maintenance and for planting, so that the settlers themselves may build their houses with the assistance of the Indian workmen. For each town an *alcalde mayor* and a military captain, of experience and knowledge, should be named to see to it that everyone has his arms and horses ready and well kept and devotes himself to the cultivation of the land.

All the settlers should be militiamen of those frontiers and all the prerogatives, exemptions, and enfranchisements of such, as well as freedom from all tributes, should be granted to them. The nations that may be conquered should be settled near these sites and settlements, in order that they [the Spaniards] may keep them under subjection. He says that by these means his Majesty will profit by the sum total of the pay of the captains and soldiers of the presidios, which amounts to 84,000 pesos a year, in addition to the income from *alcabalas*¹⁹⁷ paid by the farmers and planters of that district and by the merchants who import merchandise. The latter sell merchandise to the amount of 500,000 to 600,000 pesos, which at five per cent. would yield 20,000 to 30,000 pesos. With the increase in population this will be considerably more.

The same thing may be done in Janos and in Sonora, thereby relieving the *real hacienda* of every expense. From this it will follow that the benefit from the mines will be considerable, while the royal fifths will bring in large profits to his Majesty. For this reason, in view of the great number of mines and the extreme poverty of their administrators, he says it is very important that your Majesty assist them, assigning to them for this purpose the amount of money that may seem sufficient for this purpose, this being divided among them according to the quality and assay of the ore and the disposition of the reduction works, security for the sum granted to each being obtained through receipts, personal confidence, and mortgages. He believes that in addition to the twelve per cent. that is realized there in silver, the loans that may be advanced for this purpose and the increase in the royal fifths will yield the five per cent. which the loans will cost his Majesty. Assistance for the settlements of El Parral as well as those of Janos and Sonora, and the support given to the miners will cost, they say, as much as 800,000 pesos. But what matter if they cost a million, since this expense is only for one time, with the result that that kingdom will be prosperous, rich, and free from all invasions, while his Majesty will enjoy the profits that have been pointed out?

For the execution and permanence of the plan outlined he recognizes that it is necessary to have: first, a viceroy of the zeal and disinterestedness of the present viceroy, second, a person to whom the viceroy can

ello el quedar aquel Reyno opulento y Rico y libre de toda ymbacion y Su Magestad con los ynteresses que van expresados.

Que para la execucion y permanencia de la planta rreferida reconoce se necesita lo primero de un Virrey del celo y desinterres del Virrey actual; lo segundo de persona a quien el Virrey pueda fiar con seguridad tantas disposiciones como se necesitan para este caso por dever concurrir para el acierto en el que fuere las partes del celo del buen basallo desinterres experiencia, practica, y grande expedicion asi en lo economico como en lo politico y Militar; Y que haviendole destas prendas se le devera encargar el Gobierno por el tiempo que se necesitase para la restablacion y permanencia destas disposiciones por ser preciso para ellas mas tiempo que el de [los] cinco años utilizandole con alguna porcion combeniente en los mesmos productos que por su disposicion lograrse Su Magestad como [es] en el fomento que se hiziese con los mineros por ser la mayor porcion en ropa y otros generos en que se utiliza un 25 por 100 a los precios corrientes del Pais; Y asi mismo los premios de plata para obiar el daño que podra resultar en que el que fuese Governador buscare sus ynteresses por otros caminos; y para que con el cebo del ynteres propio que le rresulta en la forma rreferida de los de Su Magestad atiendo a ellos con mayor cuydado y vijilancia.

Lo tercero el hallar quien les de la ^m porcion de pesos rreferida por vivir temerosos de haverseles faltado en otras ocasiones a lo que se les ha ofrecido y que no obstante habra quien de la cantidad asegurandole el pago de los rreditos en las mismas cajas de la doctazion de los presidios.

Lo quarto sobre la parte de donde se podran llevar los Pobladores que sean a proposito para aquellas provincias propone que aunque ay en Mexico mucha gente de sobra no son a proposito para la poblacion por ser todos los de aquel Reyno araganes y perdidos por cuiu razon dice sera acertado que en caso de haver posibilidad se transporten de Galizia y Yslas de Canaria y demas provincias de Su Magestad y que puestos estos en la Vera-cruz se puden conducir por agua hasta muy cerca del paraje de sus abitaciones (por desembocar en los 27 grados con poca diferencia) en la margen del Norte el Rio Brabo que esta su boca a Varbolento ⁿ de tampico y es navegable muchas leguas y poderse transportar con facilidad en barcas grandes y evitarse los gastos que causaran por tierra y demas ynconbenientes que podran resultar.

Y que ynterin que Su Magestad resolvia lo mas conbeniente sobre este punto se devia atender a la manuntencion de aquellas provincias y mayor alivio del Real aver siendo de parecer se extinguiesen las veynte plazas que aquel año se habian aumentadoña la compañía ^o de campaña a peticiones del Governador luego que el Capitan Retana volviere presente por tener por superfluas dichas placas y que segun los buenos sucesos de aquel año que los esperaba favorables se podian extinguir algunos de los presidios y que de los quince soldados que asisten en durango le parecia ser los diez necesarios y poderse suprimir los cinco porque executando el

^m Copy B has "les da la".

ⁿ Copy B has "varlobento". Obviously this is correct.

^o Copy B has "aumentado a la compañía".

safely entrust such arrangements as may be necessary for this case. In order to succeed there must be united in the one who goes the qualities of zeal, loyalty, disinterestedness, experience, knowledge, and great facility in economic affairs as well as in governmental and military affairs. Provided that he has these gifts, the government should engage him for the time that may be necessary for the permanent establishment of these arrangements—and more than five years will be needed for them—he to be rewarded with a suitable portion of the same products which his Majesty utilizes in assisting the miners, the major portion being in clothing and other goods on which a profit is made of twenty-five per cent. at the current prices of the country. He should receive, moreover, the premiums from silver, in order to obviate the mischief that might result if the one who was governor should seek his profits in other ways, and in order that with the incentive of self-interest that might result from the manner stated he will attend to the affairs of his Majesty with the greater care and vigilance.

Third. It is necessary to find the person who will advance the sum mentioned. On this point there is skepticism because of others having lost that which was advanced on other occasions. Nevertheless, there will be some one who will advance the sum if he is assured the interest on the said sum from the presidial budgets.

Fourth. In regard to the place from which the settlers may be taken who are assigned to those provinces, he states that although there are more than enough people in Mexico, they are not suitable for the settlement, for all in that kingdom are lazy and worthless. For this reason he says it will be better, if possible, to transport them from Galicia, the Canary Islands, and other provinces of his Majesty. Once arrived at Vera Cruz they could be taken by water very near to the place where they are to live on the bank of the Río Bravo del Norte (since it empties in about 27° North), the mouth of which is to the windward of Tampico. This river is navigable for many leagues, thereby making it possible to transport them easily in large boats and avoid the expense that will be caused by land as well other possible difficulties.

While his Majesty is deciding upon the best measures to be taken in regard to this matter, the maintenance of those provinces and greater relief to the royal income ought to be attended to. Furthermore he is of the opinion that the twenty soldiers who had been added to the field company in that year, on petition of the governor, should be removed as soon as Captain Retana returns, for he considers the said soldiers to be superfluous. And if the events of that year should turn out well, as he expected them to do, some of the presidios could be abolished. Of the fifteen soldiers stationed at Durango it seemed to him that ten were necessary and that five might be removed, for if the governor should carry on war against the Indians in their own country and keep them constantly on the move the need of soldiers at Durango would be avoided. [He thought that] it would be best to entrust the governor with the warrants of the soldiers that may remain at Durango, without any interference in them by the *cabildo*, for it is important that the governor shall be absolute in his command. He points out that if this is not the case some difficul-

governador el hacer la guerra a los yndios en sus tierras y inquietandolos continuamente se evita la necesidad de los soldados de durango y que seria conveniente se encargase al governador los libramientos de los soldados que quedasen en Durango sin que intervenga en ellos el cabildo de la ciudad por importar sea espotico el Governador en su mando, Y que no siendo asi designen^p algunos embarazos sobre las certificaciones que da al cavildo del empleo de los soldados y no querer permitir que salgan del distrito de la ciudad siendo combeniente el que rrecorran dichos soldados los parajes de la puntta, mal pays, Bacas, Puana, Organos, Carbonera, Alsate, Gamon, lasilla y Abino, cuios parajes dice cursan algunas esquadras de tobosos y que reconocidos quedan defendidos los contornos de sombrerete y dicha ciudad en caso que salgan esquadras de tobosos.

Y en vista de los informes rreferidos por Decreto de 15 de Diciembre 93 mando el Virrey que (para que dicho Maestre de Campo pudiese ynstruir el ynforme sobre este particular con conocimiento de las hordenes expedidas y ynformes que havia sobre las providencias de dicho Reyno) se le demostrasen del oficio de Gobierno los que condujesen a este efecto; y parece aversele demostrado diferentes ynformes fechos el año de seiscientos noventa por el presidente de Guadaluara y Gobernador de Sinaloa sobre lo mucho que convendria atender al reparo de las hostilidades que executaban los yndios en dichas Provincias y sus contornos y que seria medio esempcial (para que de una vez quedasen libres destos daños) el que [se] erijiese un nuevo Presidio en sus contornos, y vistos en junta de Guerra de 2 de Agosto de dicho años entre otras cosas que en ella pareze ser resolucion^q para el socorro de aquellas Provincias, le mando librar despacho a dicho Presidente para que se ynformase de las personas mas practicas de los sitios y lugares de ellas y les tomase juramento del sitio mas comodo para la creacion del Presidio y que cojiese los Parajes mas urgentes y por la ynformacion hecha por dicho Presidente parece contestar los mas de los testigos en ser el Puerto de Orachiche el mas aproposito para la fundacion y rrefrenar en parte las muchas ymbaciones de los enemigos [y] asi mismo en que seria de ymportancia en que se mudase el Presidio de Sinaloa al Paraje y sitio de los Cedros que esta mas adelante del Real de los Frayles, y otras diligencias executadas a este fin por dicho Presidente con una carta de dicho año en que representa lo rreferido siendo de parecer ser muy del Real servicio la ereccion de los dos Presidios a que parece averse repugnado por el Fiscal por los costos que se seguian al Real haver y oponerse dicha ereccion a las hordenes dadas para semejantes disposiciones.

Y por otro ynforme de Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas Governador de la Nueva Vizcaya fecho en 12 de Febrero de 91 rrepresenta a el Virrey lo mucho que convendra el que se quitase el Presidio de Sinaloa del paraje donde estava y se pusiese por bajo de jentiles sitio que esta entre aquella Provincia y la de Sonora por ser paraje mas combeniente para que pudiesen servir aquellas armas y no serlo en el que estava por haver muchas poblaciones de españoles que estan prompts a qualquier accidente.

^p Copy B has "asi se siguen". This appears to be correct.

^q Copy B has "se resolvieron". This appears to be correct.

ties may follow over the writs which he gives to the *cabildo* for the employment of the soldiers, the *cabildo* not wishing to permit them to leave the environs of the city at a time when it might be necessary for the said soldiers to reconnoitre La Punta, Mal Pais, Bacas, Puana, Organos, Carbonera, Alsate, Gamon, La Silla, and Avino, which places he says some bands of Tobosos frequent. If these places are scouted the environs of Sombrerete and the said city [of Durango] are safe in case any of the Tobosos make a sally.

In view of the aforesaid reports, the viceroy, by a decree of December 15, 1693, ordered (so that the said *maestre de campo* might make out his report upon this matter with a knowledge of the orders issued and the reports existing in regard to the proceedings relating to the said kingdom) that all those [reports] relating to this matter should be officially exhibited to him by the governor. It seems that he was shown several reports made in the year 1690 by the president of Guadalajara¹⁹⁸ and governor of Sinaloa¹⁹⁹ concerning the great necessity of taking steps to stop the hostilities that were being committed by the Indians in the said provinces and their surrounding territory, and that an essential means to this (so that they might be freed once and for all from these attacks) would be to establish a new presidio in their neighborhood. This having been considered in the *junta de guerra* of the second of August of the said year, among other things that appear to have been decided in it for the relief of the said provinces, the junta ordered him [the viceroy] to issue a communication to the said president in order that he might be informed by persons best acquainted with the places and towns of these provinces, in order that he might take their sworn statements as to the most suitable site for the establishment of the presidio, and in order that he might select the places in greatest need. In the report made by the said president it appears that most of the witnesses answered that Orachiche was the most suitable place for the location [of the presidio] and also the most suitable to restrain in part the many attacks of the hostile Indians. It also appears that it would be an advantage to move the presidio of Sinaloa to the place and site of Los Cedros, which is beyond the Real de los Frailes. Other measures taken by the said president for this purpose were stated in a letter of the said year in which he presents the aforesaid, he being of the opinion that it would be very much to the royal service to erect the two presidios. This seems to have been opposed by the fiscal because of the expense that would result to the royal income. Hence the said erection by orders issued for such proceedings was opposed.

By another report, written on February 12, 1691, Don Juan Isidro Pardiñas represents to the viceroy that it will be advantageous if the presidio of Sinaloa is removed from where it was and is located below Gentiles, a place between that province and Sonora. This is the site most suitable in order that those soldiers may be of service; it is not suitable where it is, because there are many settlements of Spaniards there who are available in case of trouble.

Another report by Don Francisco Marmolejo, former *oidor* of Mexico and auditor general of the *junta de guerra*, written on June 17, 1691,

Otro de Don Francisco Marmolejo oydor que fue de Mexico Auditor General de la gente de Guerra de 17 de Junio de 91 conformandose con los rrepresentado por Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas y con el parecer del Fiscal en cuanto conbiene que en caso de executarse la erection de dicho Presidio sera mas acertado formar un cuerpo bolante de soldados que rexistre continuamente cualquier mobimiento y ymbacion, siendo de parecer dicho Marmolejo que se conponga de algunas plazas del Presidio de Sinaloa por no necesitar de tanto numero de soldados y seguirse de ello util a la Real hazienda.

Otro fecho en 6 de Marzo de 91 al Governador de la nueba vizcaya Juan Ruiz de Montoya y Sevastian de Deymas Ardilaga personas practicas [y] experimentadas en el conocimiento de las Provincias de Sonora y sinaloa en que son de parecer ser ynfructuoso el Presidio de Sinaloa y de gasto sin provecho y que seria de mas utilidad pasarlo al sitio de Teuricache con cuias representaciones y ynformes parece se resolvio en junta de hazienda 18 de Julio de 91 el que se formase el cuerpo o compañía volante y se nombro por Capitan a Franciscio Ramirez Salazar para que continuamente registrase las provincias de sonora; en cuiia resolucion y lo que de ella resulto se manifiesta de la representacion hecha por Don Pedro Garcia de Almazan y demas thenientes de Alcalde mayor y Capitanes a guerra en 6 de Febrero de 93 que ha rreferido el Fiscal.

Otros ynformes y rrepresentaciones hechas al Virrey por Don Manuel de Agramon Governador de sinaloa en 15 y 31 de Henero y 4 de febrero de 92 sobre la ymportancia de la manuntencion del Presidio de Sinaloa y de los atrasos y ynconvenientes de suministrar plazas a la compañía volante que se dio al Capitan Francisco Ramirez a que se juntan las fechas por el Padre Bernave de Soto Provincial de la Compañia de Jesus y la del Padre Manuel Gonzales Rector del Colegio de Oposura; y en particular la del Padre Ambrosio Odon Provincial de la compañía en que expresan el grabe perjuicio que se seguira en mudar del todo el Presidio de sinaloa por componerse su poblazion de soldados españoles en que conbiene el Fiscal en su respuesta de 13 de Diziembre de 91 siendo de dictamen que se conserbe dicho Presidio por seguirse grandes ynconvenientes de que los soldados abandonen aquel sitio por la gran falta que haria su ausencia.

Reconocidos por el Maestre de Campo don Jose Francisco Marin los ynformes y rrepresentaciones rreferidos fue de parecer (respecto de averse encargado por el Virrey a Don Domingo Jironza Alcalde mayor de la Provincia de Sonora el mando de una compañía de 50 hombres para la defensa de ella en la conformidad que ha dicho en su primer ynforme) el que tenga o erija su estancia dicha compañía en forma de presidio en el Paraje de teuricache y avitase en el y tuviese la cavallada precisa a sus operaciones y la prevencion de arinas y carne salada necesaria a su manuntencion para que de dicho sitio se le puedan ministrar estos biberes mientras visitaban los parajes que solian ymbadir los enemigos, y que respecto de ser el de Teuricache de los mas ymbadidos comvendria dejar en el 15 soldados para la guarda de su estancia y cavallada y ympedir cualquiera entrada que yntentasen hacer por él, y que los 35 restantes acudan a las mayores urgencias y haviendolas grandes se unan con la

confirms the representations of Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas and also the opinion of the fiscal on the point that in case the said presidio is actually erected it will be very advisable to create a flying corps of soldiers to be constantly on the watch for any uprising or invasion. The said Marmolejo was of the opinion that it might be composed of some of the soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa, since there is no need there for such a large number, while from this benefit will accrue to the *real hacienda*.

Another report was written on March 6, 1691, to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya by Juan Ruiz de Montoya and Sebastián de Deymas Ardiaga, persons thoroughly and personally acquainted with the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa. In this they are of the opinion that the presidio of Sinaloa is unprofitable and a useless expense, and that it would be better to move it to the site of Teuricache. Because of these representations and reports it appears that it was resolved in the *junta de hacienda* of July 18, 1691, to form the corps, or flying company, and Francisco Ramírez Salazar was appointed captain in order that he might constantly patrol the provinces of Sonora. This resolution and what resulted from it is set forth in the representation²⁰⁰ made by Don Pedro García de Almazán and other lieutenants of the *alcalde mayor* and military captains on February 6, 1693, to which the fiscal has referred.

Other reports and representations were presented to the viceroy by Don Manuel de Agramont, governor of Sinaloa,²⁰¹ on the fifteenth and thirty-first of January and on the fourth of February, 1692, in regard to the importance of maintaining the presidio of Sinaloa and of the drawbacks and difficulties of supplying soldiers to the flying company which was given to Captain Francisco Ramírez. To this are added the reports made by Father Bernabe de Soto, provincial²⁰² of the Company of Jesus, and that of Father Manuel González, rector of the College of Oposura,²⁰³ and in particular that of Father Ambrosio Odon, provincial of the Company. In these reports they indicate the serious injury that will follow if the presidio should be entirely removed from Sinaloa, since its population is composed of Spanish soldiers. The fiscal agrees with this in his reply of December 13, 1691 [1693?], and is of the opinion that the said presidio should be retained, because of the great inconvenience that would follow if the soldiers should abandon that site and because of the great need which their absence would create.

The reports and representations mentioned having been received by the *maestre de campo* Don José Francisco Marín, he was of the opinion (in view of the fact that Domingo Jironza, *alcalde mayor* of the province of Sonora, had been charged by the viceroy to form a company of fifty men for its defense in the manner indicated in his first report) that the said company should have or establish their station in the form of a presidio on the site of Teuricache, that they should live there, and that they should keep there the horses necessary for their operations and the provisions of flour and salt meat required for their food, so that these supplies might be distributed from the said place while they were visiting the sections usually invaded by the hostile Indians. In view of the fact that Teuricache is one of the places most often attacked it would be necessary to leave fifteen soldiers there to guard the station and horses and

gente de Janos para el logro de cualquiera funcion y escarmentar los yndios; y que estos podian tambien socorrer a sinaloa en qualquiera accidente que se ofrezca. Y que recepto de conbenir los mas pareceres y en particular el del Presidente en la combeniencia que se seguira en mudar el Presidio de Sinaloa a otro paraje por no serlo el en que estaba y que el no haverlo executado sola a sido por considerar la falta que harian los soldados de el, fue de parecer dicho Maestre de Campo que se quedasen los soldados por vezinos en el Presidio y se esonera a Su Magestad de estos sueldos diziendo de su sanar ^r de esta forma los accidentes rrepentinos que podran sobrevenir por las costas del mar del Sur a sinaloa, siendo de parecer no deverse temer sublevacion en los yndios de Sinaloa por ser de natural pazifico y radicados en la fee y aplicados a la cultura de las tierras y crias de ganados y por tener a el sur las probincias del Rosario y Culiacan y al este mucha parte de aquel Reyno y al norte la provincia de sonora y hazer frontera a sinaloa el Presidio de Janos y la Compañia Bolante y poder asistir a su socorro en qualquier contratiempo sin embargo de la gran distancia; y que respecto de aver formado el Virrey una compañía de Milicias en el Real de los frayles y nombrado para su capitán a Don Juan Antonio de Anguines le parece sera conbeniente el rreformatar las 43 plazas de sinaloa y que se formen mas compañías de Milicias y se nombren capitanes que esten a la orden del Governador y promptos para el remedio de cualquiera ymbacion que se ofrezca en las costas o interior della y que asistan a los Misioneros de la compañía cuando los necesiten para castigar o reducir algunos yndios de sus partidos y que se le encargue al Governador ponga todo cuidado en visitar por si ó sus thenientes los pueblos y Misiones ynquiriendo los procederes de los yndios y que reduzca con suavidad a poblaciones los segregados en la conformidad que se executa con los Tarumares para cuio efecto dize sera necesario se conceda a las compañías que se leuantaren las ecenpciones y privilegios del fuero militar y exepcion de tributos entregandoles las armas necesarias y que se les tomen cuentas de ellas en las muestras que se hicieren; diziendo ser este medio el unico para que quede la Provincia de sinaloa asegurada y defendida y alzado Su Magestad en parte del sumo gasto que en ella tiene segun las noticias que ha adquirido de las personas de practica y experiencia asi del Parral como de sonora y Sinaloa de quienes dice a procurado exactos ynformes de su estado [y] remedio siendo asi mismo de parecer el que se alivie el Real aver de algunas plazas segun los buenos subcesos del Reyno del Parral y que uniendose de paz algunas naciones y extinguendo la perniciosa de los tobosos se podria suprimir desde luego las 20 plazas que se avian augmentado aquel año a la Compañia de Campaña quedandoles las 30 que antes tenia y que logrando la rreduccion de la mayor parte de los enemigos se podrian extinguir las 3 plazas ^s de Santa Catalina y que rradicada la Paz se podrian suprimir 10 ó 12 plazas de cada Presidio; y que aunque en el punto de suprimir plazas tenia por cierto se le habrian hecho al Virrey

^r Obviously a miscopy for "ganar".

^s Copy B has "9 plazas". This is correct.

to block any expedition which the Indians might plan to make through that region. The thirty-five remaining soldiers should answer the most urgent calls for aid. In case these calls are very numerous they should join with the people of Janos for the success of any operation and should give a lesson to the Indians; they might also go to the aid of Sinaloa in any trouble that might develop. Since most of the opinions, in particular that of the president,²⁰⁴ agree upon the advantage that will result from moving the presidio of Sinaloa to another place, because it is not profitable where it has been, and that this was not done simply through consideration that the soldiers would be missed, the said *maestre de campo* was of the opinion that the soldiers should remain as citizens at the presidio and that his Majesty should be relieved of paying their salaries. He says that in this way they will withstand any sudden outbreaks that might occur along the coasts in Sinaloa. He is of the opinion that no uprising on the part of the Indians of Sinaloa is to be feared, since they are by nature pacific, are fixed in the faith, and are engaged in the cultivation of the land and the raising of cattle. Furthermore there lie to the south of it the provinces of El Rosario and Culiacan²⁰⁵ and to the east the greater part of the former kingdom.²⁰⁶ On the north is the province of Sonora, while the Sinaloa frontier is faced by the presidio of Janos and by the flying company, which, notwithstanding the great distance, could go to its assistance in any emergency.

With reference to the formation by the viceroy of a company of militia at the Real de los Frailes and the appointment as its captain of Don Juan Antonio de Anguines, it seems to him that it will be best to withdraw the forty-three soldiers of Sinaloa, to form more companies of militia, and to appoint captains who may be under the command of the governor, who may be ready to repel any attack that may occur on the coast, or in the interior, and who may assist the missionaries of the Company of Jesus when they need them [the soldiers] to chastise or subdue any of the Indians in their districts. [He also thinks] that the governor should be charged to exercise due care to visit personally or to have his lieutenants visit the towns and missions, making inquiry with reference to the acts of the Indians; he should also be charged to establish by pacific measures the segregated Indians in settlements, as is being done with the Tarmaures. For this purpose he says that it will be necessary to grant to the companies that may be recruited the exemptions and privileges of military rights, and exemption from tributes, entrusting to them the necessary arms, of which let record be taken at the musters that may be made. He declares that this is the only means by which the province of Sinaloa may be made safe and defended and his Majesty relieved in part of the very great expense to which he is put therein.

According to information which he has received from persons of knowledge and experience, both in El Parral and in Sonora and Sinaloa, from whom he says he has secured accurate reports with reference to the condition, and the remedy therefor, the governor as well as these persons of knowledge and experience are of the opinion that the royal funds may be relieved of the expense of some of the soldiers, provided events turn

diferentes ynformes sobre la ymportancia de su manuntencion serian hechos por los que gozan y disfrutan de su permanencia sin atender a los gastos que se siguen a Su Magestad de su conservacion asegurando pasa en cada un año el gasto de sueldos de soldados y Capitanes y gasto de Paz y Guerra de 170 pesos ^t sin el superavid de los que se ofrezan dependientes destos.

Y segun la noticia que da dicho Maestre de Campo en su ynforme parece correr los limites del Reyno de la Nueva Vizcaya desde los 24 grados y un tercio diez u doze leguas antes de la Ziudad de Durango su caveza dejando al sur la nueva galizia y sus distritos y al el Este el Nuevo Reyno de Leon por entre el Saltillo y Villa de Monterrey estendiendose a quabila y Rio del Norte por el Nordeste se considera asta el Rio Colber y por la parte del Norte asta el Presidio del paso que esta en altura de 32 grados menos un tercio de donde se siguen los limites del Nuevo Mexico que dista Santa fee su cavezera (del Real del Parral que esta en la altura de 27 grados menos un cuarto al norte) casi 200 leguas ^u y en altura de 37 grados y 15 minutos estendiendose a su hueste casi quarta al sueste ^v las provincias de sunilin y Moqui que estan casi al norueste del Real del Parral dilatandose en la misma forma la provincia de sonora aviendo de distancia del Real del Parral a San Juan Bautista su cavezera 200 leguas cuos limites dicen se estienden mucho mas y que el año de mil seiscientos cinco haviendo salido de Santa fee el Capitan Oñate y pasando por las provincias de sunilin y Moqui llego asta el Rio de tizon que desemboca en la mar de californias en altura de 35 grados y dos minutos donde adquirio noticias ciertas de haver diversas naciones en la tierra dentro de mucha politica y aplicacion en el cultibo de los campos y en particular las pobladas en la orilla de la laguna de copulas que esta en los treinta y ocho grados y medio que al huestre del Real del Parral esta la provincia de sinaloa y al surueste la del Rosario y entre ambas a la costa del mar del Sur.

Las naciones enemigas que abitan desde la ciudad de Durango asta la junta de los dos Rios de Conchos y el Norte y entre la misma junta de una y otra banda son 78; y entre tejas y nuevo Mexico de la otra parte de la junta de los Rios cinquenta y cuatro; y desde el Rio Conchos asta el Nuevo Mexico Rio Tison y Provincias de Sonora y sinaloa 23 naciones ^w las mas de ellas numerosas: que todas parece son ciento cinquenta y nueve cuos nombres se hallan espacificados desde el folio 99 al 103. Pasando a rreferir en dicho ynforme lo templado del temperamento del dicho Reyno la fertilidad de sus campos asi para la produccion de Mieses como para la de Ganados considerandolo por el mas abundante de Metales por haverle asegurado los mas practicos de el que solo dicho Reyno tiene mas plata que todo lo restante de la Nueva españa.

Y en vista de los parezeres y consultas rreferidas y demas providencias y Juntas de Guerra hechas por el Virrey dirigidas todas a la manun-

^t Copy B has "170 U-pesos". This is correct.

^u Cf. Marín's report, this volume, p. 389.

^v Obviously this is a miscopy for "norueste".

^w Copy B has "27 naciones". This is correct.

out favorably in the kingdom of El Parral. In case some of the nations are won over peaceably and the pernicious Tobosos are destroyed, it would be possible to withdraw immediately the twenty men by which the field company had been augmented in that year, leaving the thirty that it had previously. In case the greater part of the hostile Indians could be reduced the nine ²⁰⁷ soldiers of Santa Catalina could be removed, while if peace were well established it would be possible to withdraw ten or twelve men from each presidio. Although as regards the matter of the withdrawal of soldiers he knew that divers reports had been made to the viceroy asserting the importance of retaining them, these reports must have been made by those who enjoy and receive profit from retaining them without any attention being paid to the expense resulting to his Majesty from their retention. He asserts that every year the expense of salaries for the soldiers and captains and the expenditures during peace and war exceed 170,000 pesos, not counting the superadded expense of those who might happen to go as their servants.

According to information which the said *maestre de campo* has given in his report it seems that the limits of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya extend from twenty-four and one-third degrees, ten or a dozen leagues before reaching the city of Durango, its capital, leaving on the south Nueva Galicia and its districts, and on the east the New Kingdom of León, between Saltillo and the villa of Monterrey. The limits extend to Coahuila and to the Río del Norte. On the northeast it is considered that the province extends as far as the Colbert River, and on the north as far as the presidio of El Paso, which is in 32 degrees latitude less a third. From the latter place extend the boundaries of New Mexico, the capital of which, Santa Fé, is in 37 degrees ²⁰⁸ and 15 minutes, and is distant from the Real del Parral, which is in 27 degrees latitude less a quarter to the north, almost two hundred leagues. On its west, almost a quarter to the northwest, extend the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui, which are almost to the northwest of the Real del Parral. In like manner extends the province of Sonora, the distance from the Real del Parral to its capital, San Juan Bautista, being two hundred leagues. It is said that its territories extend much further and that in the year 1605, when Captain Oñate left Santa Fé ²⁰⁹ and passed through the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui, he went as far as the Río del Tizón ²¹⁰ which empties into the Sea of Las Californias in 35 degrees and 2 minutes. ²¹¹ There he secured positive information of the presence of several nations in the interior who were well governed and skilled in the cultivation of the land, in particular the settlements on the bank of the Laguna de Copulas, which is in 38 degrees and 30 minutes. To the west of the Real del Parral is the province of Sinaloa, and to the southwest that of El Rosario, and between them the coast of the South Sea.

The hostile nations that live between the city of Durango and the junction of the two rivers Conchos and Del Norte, that is, as far as the said junction and on either side of the river, number seventy-eight. Between Texas and New Mexico, on the side opposite the junction of the two rivers, there are fifty-four nations. From the Río Conchos as far

tencion de dicho Reyno y Provincias y de la respuesta que en vista de todas dio Don Julio de escalante y Mendoza fiscal de la Audiencia de Mexico que se halla al folio ciento cuarenta y seis a el cincuenta y nueve: y Junta general que a ella se sigue: Es de parezer El Fiscal que se mantengan los Presidios que oy tiene aquel Reyno con los soldados aumentados por el Virrey a las treinta plazas de campaña y las cincuenta de la Compañía Bolante encomendadas a el Capitan Don Domingo Jironza pues demas de contestar los pareceres de todos los praticos y personas experimentadas de los limites de aquel Reyno en la ymportancia de su manuntencion lo supone por preciso dicho Maestre de Campo y su primero ynforme en que pareze solo miro a los medios que se devan aplicar como necesarios para evitar las continuas ymbaciones que executaban los yndios parece y persuade^x a ello la misma racon y esperiencias que de pocos años a esta parte se han experimentado asi en la sublebacion de este Reyno como en el de Nuevo Mexico y parte de sinaloa siendo su primero fomento la falta de Militares y Presidios para tener con temor los yndios pues cesando estos o disminuyendose siempre quedara espuesto a la ymbacion de los yndios enemigos y la Real hazienda onrrada continuamente con los gastos para su reduccion siguiendose al mismo tiempo la perdida en la falta de utilidad que se le puede seguir en los Reales quintos y demas que resultan de la fabrica de las minas pues aun en caso que se lograra la reduccion o conquista de las naciones enemigas que le circundan siempre sera combeniente antes el aumentar Presidios y soldados que disminuirlos, pues de otra forma nunca estaran sujetos los yndios y solo guardaran fidelidad ynterin que se conservaren con temer; y en caso de faltar este bolveran [a] hazer nuevos levantamientos como se ha experimentado y refiere el Governador don Gabriel del Castillo en su ynforme y en caso de aprobarse el medio que el Fiscal ha referido, pide se despache orden al Virrey encargandole ponga todo cuydado en que los Capitanes de los Presidios en los tiempos oportunos para salir a campaña lo executen quedando el numero competente para la guarda de ellos y conduccion de pasajeros; y con los demas acompañados de los yndios amigos corran los parages y sitios donde abitan los enemigos buscandolos en sus tierras procurando su rreduccion o cuenta^y por los medios politicos de Guerra que estimaren por conbenientes el Governador y Capitanes segun la urgencia de los casos que se ocurrieren^z para el mejor logro y aseguracion de aquellas provincias y en caso de recluir^a algunas de las naciones enemigas se les obligue a hacer casas en los sitios combenientes y mas proximos a la vista de los Presidios para que de ellos y por la persona que se les señalare para su gobierno se ponga todo cuidado para que se apliquen a la cultura de las tierras y crianzas de ganados pues hallandose con casas fabricadas y adquisicion de bienes raices y frutos de la tierra, no tiene [duda el que cobraran cariño a la abittacion y fidelidad] por no perder lo adquirido siendo de la obligacion del Gobierno y Capi-

^x Copy B has "y pareze persuade".

^y Copy B has "conquista". Obviously this is correct.

^z Copy B has "ofrecieren".

^a Copy B has "reducir". Obviously this is correct.

as New Mexico, the Río del Tizón, and the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa there are twenty-three nations, most of which are large. In all it appears that there are 159 nations, the names of which are recorded between folios 99 and 103.²¹² Continuing in the said report the fiscal refers to the mild climate of the said kingdom [Nueva Vizcaya] and to the fertility of the country for the production of grain as well as for the raising of cattle. He considers it the richest in metals, for he has been assured by those best acquainted with it that the said kingdom alone has more silver than all the rest of New Spain.

In view of the opinions and reports referred to, the other measures taken, and the *juntas de guerra* by the viceroy, all aimed at the maintenance of the said kingdom and provinces; in view of the opinion rendered by Don Julio de Escalante y Mendoza, fiscal of the Audiencia of Mexico, which is found on folios 146 to 159;²¹³ and in view of the *junta general* which follows it, the fiscal is of the opinion that the presidios which that kingdom now has should be retained with soldiers, supplemented, by action of the viceroy, with thirty field soldiers and fifty soldiers of the flying company in charge of Captain Don Domingo Jironza. For, in addition to the concurrence of the opinions of all the persons experienced and acquainted with the territories of that kingdom on the importance of the retention of the presidios, the said *maestre de campo* assumes that this is necessary in his first report. In this it seems that he looked only to the means that should be applied as necessary to prevent the constant attacks committed by the Indians.

It seems that the fiscal is convinced of this by the same facts and experiences that were realized a few years ago in this region during an uprising in this kingdom as well as in New Mexico,²¹⁴ and in a part of Sinaloa, its origin being the lack of soldiers and presidios to keep the Indians in fear. Lacking these, or in case they are diminished, this kingdom will always be exposed to the attacks of hostile Indians and the *real hacienda* will always be burdened with the expense of their reduction, accompanied at the same time by the loss of income that might accrue to the royal fifths and whatever else might be realized from the working of the mines. Even in case the reduction and conquest of the hostile nations that surround it should be accomplished, it will always be desirable to increase rather than to diminish the presidios and soldiers, for the Indians will never remain under subjection in any other way and will only keep faith while they are kept in fear. Without fear uprisings will again occur, as has been experienced and is referred to by Governor Don Gabriel del Castillo in his report. In case the method suggested by the fiscal is approved of, he asks that an order be despatched by the viceroy charging him [the governor] to take special care that the captains of the presidios shall take the field at opportune times, leaving a sufficient number to guard the presidios and to escort travellers. With the others, accompanied by friendly Indians, let them explore the places inhabited by the hostile Indians and let them, for the better safety and success of those provinces, attempt their reduction or conquest by the military methods that may be esteemed best by the governor and captains, according to

tanés el imbiar ynstrumentos juridicos al Virrey en cada un año de las salidas que cada uno hiciere en tiempo de la campaña numero de soldados y yndios amigos con que executasen su salida, y de los Parages que corrieren de las operaciones que cada uno hiciese y de los yndios que hivieren reducido con señalamiento del lugar donde se le hubiere situado para que fabriquen su habitacion pues con este medio se lograra lo primero que los Capitanes y soldados y Governador cumplan con su obligacion, y en caso de no executarlo se le pondran retener los sueldos del tiempo que no huvieren cumplido y faltado a correr los parages que a cada uno se le señalare por el Governador, lo segundo que executandolo en la forma referida se lograra el tener sujetos los rreducidos y reducion de las demas naciones enemigas. Lo tercero que rreducidos a poblaciones y exercio de la cultura de los campos y cria de ganados se seguira el aumento de tributos que adudaren^b a favor de la Real Hazienda y se yntroducirá con el seguro el comercio de mercaderes y aumentara la fabrica de Minas; y siendo el Reyno de la fertilidad que por todos los practicos de el se sienta por cierto no tiene duda que muchos así de los mercaderes como de otras partes de las yndias se pasaran a el por su mayor utilidad y se conseguira su poblacion en pocos años sin que sea necesario el aumento de gastos de Real Hazienda antes si la contribucion y devitos que se adeudaren haciendose comerciable sera de alivio y podra ymportar mas que el producto que oy ymportan las pagas de los Capitanes y soldados de los Presidios.

Y aunque a este dictamen y noticias que constan de los ynformes y consultas rreferidas se opone la que da a Su Magestad el nombrado Don Jose de Manzanique en un memorial sin fecha diciendo se a hallado en la Nueva Vizcaya y rreconocido el estado de la guerra con los yndios espresando que con las entradas y vigilante zelo que Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos (antecesor de Don Gabriel del Castillo) executo por su persona contra los yndios y lo que antecedentemente avia hecho Don Joseph de Neira se hallava aquella tierra con alguna seguridad y que a la peste que se les sobrevino el año de 93 consumio mucha parte de los yndios y algunos de los que heran cavezas quedando todo aquel Reyno cuasi en quietud y sosiego cuia noticia pone en la consideracion de Su Magestad diziendo que aunque el Governador Don Gabriel del Castillo avia escrito al Virrey ser necesario muchas providencias y dinero para la conserbacion de aquel Reyno fueron aceptadas^c y poco verificos^d los ynformes y que los atendio el Virrey sin tener el conocimiento bastante de lo que sucedia en aquel Reyno; por cuia causa dize se deve disminuir el numero de Presidios y plazas de soldados por ymportar sus gastos en cada un año 124,663 pesos sin el sueldo de los Governadores y ayudas de costa que se le dan en cada un año con otras rracones que expresa en dicho Memorial cuio contexto se desvanece de su misma narrativa, pues queriendo deslucir al Governador actual (en cuio tiempo se han experimentado tan buenos progresos en la disposicion y forma que

^b Copy B has "adeudaren".

^c Copy B has "afectadas". This seems to be correct.

^d Copy B has "veridicos". This seems to be correct.

the urgency of the cases that may occur. In case any of the hostiles should be reduced they should be compelled to build houses in the most suitable places and within range of close observation from the presidios, so that from them and by the person who may be assigned to govern them every care may be taken that they shall apply themselves to the cultivation of the land and to the raising of cattle, for if they find themselves possessed of permanent houses and landed property and the products of the land there is no doubt that they will develop a sentiment for their homes, and become faithful in order not to lose what they have acquired.

It is the duty of the governor and captains to transmit accurate reports every year to the viceroy with reference to the sallies that each one might have made in the course of the campaign, the number of soldiers and friendly Indians with whom they carry out the sallies, the places that have been explored, the operations that each one may have made, and the Indians reduced, with designation of the place where they may be located so that their habitations may be constructed. By this means will be accomplished, first, the fulfillment of duty by the captains, soldiers, and governor; in case it is not done their pay can be held back for the time that they did not perform their duty and failed to explore the places assigned to each one by the governor. In the second place, by doing this in the way stated it will be possible to keep the reduced Indians in subjection and to reduce the rest of the hostile nations. In the third place, when they are required to live in settlements and apply themselves to the cultivation of the fields and the raising of cattle there will be an increase in tributes which will redound to the benefit of the *real hacienda*; mercantile activities, under stable conditions, will be introduced; trade and the working of the mines will be increased.

Since the kingdom is of the fertility which all those well acquainted with it firmly believe it to have, the fiscal has no doubt that many people, merchants as well as others from other parts of the Indies, will go there for their own betterment, and that its population will be secured within a few years, without its being necessary to make any increase to the expenses of the *real hacienda*. This, on the contrary, will be relieved by the increase in contributions and taxes that will result from growth of commerce. This may amount to more than the pay at present of the captains and soldiers of the presidios.

Opposed to this opinion and the facts contained in the reports and addresses referred to is the opinion which the said Don José de Manzanique gives to his Majesty in an undated memorial. This states that he has been in Nueva Vizcaya and has examined into the state of war with the Indians and that he is of the opinion that as the result of the vigilant zeal and the expeditions which Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar de Francos (predecessor of Don Gabriel del Castillo) personally carried out against the Indians and the campaign which Don Joseph de Neira had previously made, the country was somewhat secure. The pestilence which befell them in the year 1693 destroyed a great part of the Indians, including some of their chiefs, and left all that kingdom in comparative peace and quiet. This information he gives for the consideration of his Majesty and says

ha dado en hacer las campañas) quiere sentar por cierto que con las entradas que executo Don Juan Ysidro de Pardiñas y Don Jose de Neyra en el tiempo de su Gobierno se hallava aquel Reyno con alguna seguridad; pues demas de no constar en ninguno de los testimonios aver executado ninguno de estos Governadores salida alguna para buscar los yndios en el dicho tiempo Se rreconoce lo contrario por la noticia que consta de los autos de los continuados robos y muertes que en todo el año de noventa y dos y parte del de noventa y tres executaron los yndios enemigos en tiempo del Governador Don Juan Ysidro asta que entro en la posesion del Gobierno Don Gabriel del Castillo en 30 de Marco de 93 quien con sus magsimas y disposiciones parece fue el mobil para que no se acabase de perder aquel Reyno no siendo de menor consideracion el que la carta escrita por el nombrado Don Jose de Mansaneque; pareze a la vista ser de la misma letra y mano que la que se halla excrita por el Governador Don Juan Ysidro en primero de Abril de noventa y tres.

Y en quanto al segundo punto que rrepresenta dicho Maestre de Campo Don Joseph de Marin en su ynforme considerando el Fiscal los muchos gastos que de la eleccion de este medio se originara^o a la Real hazienda con el transporte de los pobladores y fabricas de las poblaciones y que aun en caso de llegarse a efectuar sera con mas crezidos gastos de los que supone dicho Maestre de Campo y necesaria al mismo tiempo la manuntencion de los soldados por algunos años y que estos y el conseguirse la poblacion y asecuracion de dicho Reyno se podran evitar con la aplicacion de medios que lleva propuestos el fiscal en el primero punto pues de otra forma aun en caso de perfeccionarse y ser sus pobladores sus Milicianos^o aviendo de ser su principal exersicio el de cultivar las tierras para alimentarse estando las poblaciones tan distantes unas de otras y abiertas, estinguendose los Presidios con facilidad en qualquiera mediana sublevacion podran ser asaltados y derrotados por los yndios y quedar Su Magestad espuesto a mayores gastos y en cuanto a la ereccion que refiere dicho Maestre de Campo en su ynforme conbendra hacerse de un Presidio en el puesto de teuricache para que tenga su estancia la Compañia Volante cuiá disposicion se contradijo por el Fiscal de Mexico por ser contra Reales hordenes la ereccion de dicho Presidio, y respecto de ser el rreferido paraje el principal por donde continuamente executan las entradas los yndios enemigos. Es de parezer el Fiscal se erija en dicho paraje algun fuerte o castillo para que quedandose en el los soldados que parecieren conbeniente de la misma compañía volante puedan ympedir las entradas a los yndios enemigos siempre que la quisieren executar por aquel paraje andando el demas resto de dicha compañía en continuo mobimiento por las partes de mas riesgo para con este desbelo y cuydado tenerles puesto freno a sus arrojios y seguros a los vasallos de Su Magestad; pues por ninguna parte pareze se les queda adbitrio para sus entradas. Y en cuanto a las rrepresentaciones que lleva rreferidas el Fiscal sobre la conbeniencia o yconbenientes que se siguen descomudar el Presidio de sinaloa a el Paraje de los Cedros o jentiles sitio que esta entre

^o Copy B has "se originan".

that although Governor Don Gabriel del Castillo had written to the viceroy that many measures and much money were necessary for the preservation of that kingdom, the reports were extravagant and only partly truthful and the viceroy acted upon them without a full knowledge of what was going on in that kingdom. For this reason he says that the number of presidios and soldiers ought to be reduced, since their annual upkeep amounts to 124,663 pesos, not including the salaries of the governors and the government aid granted them every year.

Other reasons are stated in the said memorial. Its contents, however, are nullified by his own statement, for, wishing to discredit the present governor (in whose term such good progress has been made as a result of the way in which he has conducted the campaigns), [Manzanaque] desires to establish it as a fact that with the expeditions made by Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas and Don José de Neira ²¹⁵ during their administrations that kingdom achieved some security. Yet in addition to the fact that in none of the certified copies does it appear that either of those governors ever went to hunt for the Indians during their administrations, the contrary is made evident by the statement that appears in the *autos* concerning the constant robberies and murders which the hostile Indians committed during the entire year 1692 and part of 1693 in the administration of Governor Don Juan Isidro and until Governor Don Gabriel del Castillo assumed office on March 30, 1693. The latter by his measures and acts, it seems, was the factor that prevented the final loss of that kingdom. It is of no less consideration that the letter written by the said Don José Manzaneque appears on its face to be in the selfsame handwriting as that which was written by Governor Don Juan Isidro on April 1, 1693.

As regards the second series of recommendations which the said *maestre de campo*, Don Joseph de Marín, presents in his report, and consideration of the heavy expense that would result to the *real hacienda* by the adoption of this method—the transportation of the settlers and building materials for the towns of which, if carried out, will be greater than the said *maestre de campo* supposes—and in view of the necessity at the same time of retaining the soldiers there for some years, which will result in the settlement and safety of the said kingdom, the fiscal [is of the opinion] that this may be avoided by the application of measures which he [Marín] sets forth in his original recommendations. For, otherwise, even though it should be successfully carried out, and even though the settlers should constitute their own militiamen, since the principal employment would be to cultivate the land for their living, the settlements being far apart and exposed, and the presidios being abandoned, they could easily be attacked and destroyed in any slight uprising by the Indians and his Majesty exposed to greater expense.

As regards the erection of a presidio which the said *maestre de campo* says in his report should be made on the site of Teuricache, in order that the flying company might have its station there—which arrangement was opposed by the fiscal of Mexico on the ground that the erection of the said presidio was contrary to royal orders—and in view of the fact that

sonora y sinaloa lo deja el Fiscal al adbitrio del Consejo y pide que para su determinacion se tenga presente lo que sobre este particular rrespondio el Fiscal de la audiencia de Mexico que esta desde el folio ciento cinquenta y tres B. a el ciento cinquenta y nueve.

Y en quanto al punto que al folio 118 rrefiere dicho Maestre de Campo en su ynforme en que hablando sobre los naturales de las personas de aquel Reyno dize que fomentan con facilidad algunos pleytos siendo cada uno abogado de si mesmo por no haverlo en todo el Reyno sino en sonora originandose el que por cosas leves rrecurren a la audiencia de Guadaxara a costa de grandes gastos de correos por no ser camino comerciable de que se sigue gran daño a aquel Reyno por las ynquietudes que se originan y consumo de caudales para cuiu causa dize se devera rrepresentar a Su Magestad el grande alibio que se seguira a aquellas provincias en que conociese la audiencia de Mejico de lo Politico de ellas respecto de conozer el Virrey de lo Militar por ser todo el comercio de aquel Reyno a la Ziudad de Mexico y poder tener noticia con facilidad de lo que en el sucediere; Y que asi mismo conbendria para alivio de los vasallos el que el theniente que el Governador nombra en el Real de Parral sea Abogado; para que este de la prompta expedicion a los muchos negocios que se ofrecen cuiu resolucion deja el Fiscal al adbitrio del Consejo. Madrid y Abril 1 de 1698. [*Rubricado.*]

Juntese con este espediente todos los ynformes que hico el Señor Don Lopez de Sierra en horden a los puntos de la guerra de los yndios de la Nueva Vizcaia y San Joseph del Parral y demas que contiene con ellos passen al Señor Fiscal y Julio 29 de 1698.[†] [*L^{do} BRIA.*]

Retraesse este ynforme que se pide del Sr. Don Lope que es el unico que sobre esta dependencia se halla en la Secretaria.[‡]

[†] [*Al margen ponen:*] Senores Sierra, Colon, Bastida.

[‡] *Hize copiar esto en el archivo, Diciembre 11 de 1914.* F. R. B.

the said place is the principal one where the hostile Indians make their expeditions, the fiscal is of the opinion that some fort or castle should be erected there. He is also of the opinion that the necessary number of soldiers of the same flying company should remain there in order to prevent the expeditions of hostile Indians whenever they might attempt to make them in that region, and that the rest of the said company should move constantly about in the most exposed parts, and by this vigilance and care oppose their attacks and keep the subjects of his Majesty in security. Thus it appears that there would be no opportunity anywhere for their expeditions.

As regards the representations referred to by the fiscal on the advantages or disadvantages that would follow from transferring the presidio of Sinaloa to the site of Los Cedros, or Gentiles, a place located between Sonora and Sinaloa, the fiscal leaves it to the decision of the Council. In order to come to a decision he requests at once the opinion on this matter of the fiscal of the Audiencia of Mexico. This is from folio 153 *verso* to folio 159.²¹⁶

As regards the point to which the said *maestre de campo* refers in his report on folio 118, with reference to the nature of the people of that kingdom, he says that they readily foment disputes and that each is his own lawyer, since, in fact, there is no lawyer in the entire kingdom except in Sonora. From this it results that for minor cases they have recourse to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, at great expense for couriers, since the road is not passable. Thus great injury follows to the kingdom from the disturbances that arise and because of the heavy expense. For this reason he says that it should be represented to his Majesty that great benefit would redound to those provinces if their civil cases could be tried by the Audiencia of Mexico—the viceroy to function in the military—since all the trade of that kingdom is with the city of Mexico and thus it would be easy to obtain information of what was happening there. At the same time it would be a relief to those subjects if the lieutenant named by the governor at the Real del Parral were a lawyer, so that the many affairs that come up could be promptly attended to. This decision the fiscal leaves to the judgment of the Council. Madrid, April 1, 1698. [*With rubric.*]

Let all the reports which Señor Don López de Sierra made with reference to the particulars of the Indian war in Nueva Vizcaya and San Joseph del Parral be added to this *expediente*. Let these, together with any others, be transmitted to the señor fiscal. July 29, 1698. Licenciado (?) BRIA.

Let this report by Señor Don Lope, which is asked for, and which is the only one on this matter in the office of the secretariat, be withdrawn.

Respuesta fiscal a la Carta de oficiales Reales. Reconozido del señor fiscal.^a
[Madrid, 2 de Abril de 1698.]

El fiscal en Vista de las cartas de los oficiales Reales de Durango sus fechas de 28 de Abril de Seiscientos y noventa y seis Dize: que su con-testo se rreduce a dar cuenta; lo primero de el poco remedio, y esperanza que tienen en la pazificacion de los Yndios, y que solo se podra tener haziendose de los soldados de cada presidio de aquel Reino una compañía bolante añadiendole a cada una Veinte y cinco Yndios, amigos pagados de los seis mill pessos de Paz y Guerra para que anden siempre en campaña en las entradas y salidas de las tierras de los Yndios enemigos quienes oprimidos a no poder entrar y salir dizen sera imposible se puedan mantener en ellas mucho tiempo faltandoles las cavalladas, y ganados que rroban para alimentarse y que aunque la necessidad les obligara a pedir Paz respecto de aver hecho la esperienzia de tantos practica de ser supu-esta y solo para mitigar su necessidad bolviendo luego a lebantar-se cau-sando maiores daños respecto de que el piadoso celo de Su Magestad no permite se consuman; y dizen se pudiera dar providencia de apricionarlos en dandose de Paz y conduzirlos en caros a mexico, y a el puerto de la vera cruz trasportandoles a la provincia de Campeche para poner los en encomiendas con cuia diligenzia dizen quedaria aquel Reyno seguro em pocos años y la Real hazienda libre de los crecidos gastos. Sobre cuyo punto respecto de tener pedido al fiscal que salgan los Soldados de los presidios en los tiempos de Campaña a correr las tierras y parages de la abitazion de los Yndios acompañados de los Yndios amigos que pareciere conveniente dando notizia al Virey de las Salidas que hizieren y opera-ciones que executaren no se le ofrece a el fiscal cosa particular que dezir sobre este punto; aunque le parece sera siempre conveniente el que rre-duzidos los Yndios enemigos o bien dandose de Paz, o subperados por las armas: las cabezas principales y caudillos de los yndios enemigos se po-dran separar de los demas que se pusieren em poblaciones remitiendolos a estos en la conformidad que dizen oficiales Reales pues separados estos y obligando a los demas al cultibo de las tierras y crianza de el ganado parece natural; el que dexe de conseguirse la pacificacion y en quanto a el segundo punto en que dan noticia de estar los minerales que se hallan poblados en aquel Reyno muy a peligro de perderse y despoblarse por la falta de Repartimientos de Reales azogues representando que de la flota presente, y abiso solo se le han rrepartido aquella caxa treinta quintales, corto numero aun para el corriente de una hazienda, sola y que a el Real de el Parral Solo se rrepartieron cinquenta quintales sin embargo de averse descubierto otro Real nombrado Cusiguriachi muy opulento y que se probee de el dicho Real de el Parral teniendo por cierto que faltando este ingrediente descaezieran las minerias y se perderan las haziendas que estan corrientes y no abra quien se aliente a hacer otras por llegar el gasto de cada una a mas de ocho mill pessos para poner la corriente cuyo punto dexa el fiscal al albitrio de el Consejo quien probehera el reme-

^a A. G. I., 67-4-II.

Reply of the fiscal to the letter of the royal officials. Acknowledged by the señor fiscal. [Madrid, April 2, 1698.]

The fiscal, after examining the letters of the royal officials of Durango, dated April 28, 1696, says: Their reply reduces itself to giving account, first, of the little remedy and hope that they have for the pacification of the Indians, and that it is only possible to realize this by creating of the soldiers of each presidio in that kingdom a flying company, adding to each company twenty-five friendly Indians to be paid from the peace-and-war fund of 6000 pesos so that they may always keep the field at the entrances and exits of the countries of the enemy Indians. These, they say, being prevented from entering or going out, will find it impossible to maintain themselves very long there without the horses and cattle that they are accustomed to steal for food. And even though necessity obliges them to sue for peace, this will be, as is shown by experience, only a pretense, simply for the purpose of relieving their needs, for they will immediately rebel again and cause greater damage, since the pious zeal of his Majesty does not permit them to be destroyed.

It is said that when they come to make peace, measures could be taken to seize them and take them in carts to Mexico, and to the port of Vera Cruz, and thence to transport them to the province of Campeche to be placed in *encomiendas*. By this measure it is said that that kingdom would be made secure in a few years and the *real hacienda* would be relieved of heavy expense. As regards the petition made to the fiscal that the soldiers of the presidios shall go out in the times of campaign to reconnoitre the countries and habitations of the Indians, accompanied by as many friendly Indians as may seem necessary, making report to the viceroy of the sallies made and operations carried out, nothing particular occurs to the fiscal with reference to this point.

Nevertheless he is of the opinion that it will always be better when the enemy Indians are reduced, either as a result of surrendering themselves, or as a result of being overcome by force of arms, to separate, in case this is possible, the principal chiefs and leaders of the enemy Indians from the others, and to place them in settlements, in conformity with instructions of royal officials. For when the chiefs and leaders are thus separated and the others are compelled to cultivate the land and raise cattle, it seems natural that this would result in their pacification.

As regards the second point [of the reply of the royal officials] in which they report that the mines which have been settled in that kingdom are in danger of being lost and depopulated for lack of apportionment of the royal quicksilver, and in which they state that by the present fleet and despatch boat that treasury has only received thirty quintals, a small amount even for the running of one establishment alone, and that at the Real del Parral only fifty quintals have been distributed, notwithstanding that another very rich mine, called Cusiguriáchi, has been discovered, and that it gets its provision from the said Real del Parral, they consider it certain that if this ingredient is lacking the mines will fail and the haciendas that are being operated will be lost, and there will be no one who will

dio que estimare mas conveniente para que dichas minas tengan los azogues necesarios y no pierda la Real hazienda el Util que se le dexara de seguir en los Reales quintos y demas pertenenzias por la falta que padecen dichas minas de azogues.

Y el tercer punto se reduce a dar cuenta de no ser amparados y faborecidos los mineros como esta mandado por Real ordenanza ni se atiende el aumento de quintos, que es el unico fruto que su Magestad tiene en aquel Reyno pues siendo el Real de cusiguriachi (referido en el segundo punto) nuevo y poblado en medio de la nacion Taraumara aviendo registrado Don francisco Gonzalez Ramirez minero sitio para una hazienda de azogues con muchas minas y abundancia de Metales aviendo le conzedido la Justizia un sitio para ella, y teniendola perfizionada con gastos de mas de ocho mill pessos la mando suspender el Governador Don Grabiél del Castillo pasando a demolerla los Yndios Taraumares por influxo de el dicho Governador y de el Capitan Juan de Retana Su protetor pretestandolo conducir era en su daño siendo zierto que escedia la distancia de dicha hazienda de el Pueblo de los Yndios (que constaba de doze familias) de lo dispuesto por Reales ordenanzas y aver estado dicho parage siempre ezcaso y que aunque dicho minero ha estado siguiendo un año pleito en la Audiencia de guadalajara (que dista mas de doszientas y cinquenta leguas) para bolber a rredificar la hazienda se le ha obligado a rrecurrir a ella por tres Vezes dagnificando a la Real hazienda en mas de seis mil pessos que pudiera aver perzivido de Reales quintos de plata que se huviera sacado; prosiguiendo el daño en no dexarle hazer dicha hazienda en contravenzion de lo mandado por Reales ordenanzas de minas sobre cuyo punto es de parecer el fiscal se despache Real cedula estrañando al governador el aver permitido de moler dicha hazienda mandando se arregle a lo dispuesto en la ley 10 titulo 3, libro 6, de la rrecopilacion de Yndias procurando siempre el maior aumento y conserbazion de las minas despachando asimismo otra Real Cedula a el Virey ordenandole ponga todo cuidado en el adelantamiento y buen gobierno de dichas minas y demas que se descubrieren en dicho Reyno.

Y en el quarto punto dan Cuenta dichos ofiziales de hallarse gravados con los gastos de alternar, cada año desde aquella ciudad a el Real de el Parral para la administracion de Reales azogues sin tener mas obligacion que asistir a la Real caja de Durango por Razon de el Beneficio de sus plazas por que piden se les relebe de este trabajo, y que se ponga administrador por su cuenta y riesgo afianzando la aministracion ó que administrandola dichos oficiales Reales se les permita nombrar tenientes en dicho Real de el Parral para su administracion por cuenta y riesgo de dichos ofiziales Reales Sobre cuyo punto es de parecer el Fiscal daverse negar dicha pretension mandando se ob serbe el estilo que avido de asistir los ofiziales de Durango el Real de el Parral.

Y en quanto al quinto punto en que se rrepresentan que ocupandose los quinze Soldados comedidos a Durango de la compañía de campaña en correr la mediania de el Real de arzate y Gamon que son los parages inmediatos a las entradas que hazen los Yndios aquella Ciudad se siguira el Util de hallarse, mas prontos al rresguardo, de ella, que dista doze

have the courage to build others, because the expense of putting each one in running order will amount to more than 8000 pesos. This point the fiscal leaves to the decision of the Council, which will provide the remedy that it considers best, so that those mines may receive the necessary quicksilver, and the *real hacienda* may not lose the income that would cease to come to it from the royal fifths and from other sources as a result of the lack of quicksilver from which these mines are suffering.

The third point [in the report of the royal officials] reduces itself to giving account that the miners are not protected and favored as is commanded by royal ordinance, nor is attention paid to the increase of royal fifths, which is the only income that his Majesty has in that kingdom. For, after the new Real de Cusiguriáchi (referred to in connection with the second point) had been settled in the centre of the Taraumara nation, and after Don Francisco Gonzales Ramírez, miner, had inspected it for a site for a quicksilver establishment, with many mines and an abundance of metals, and after the tribunal had granted him a site for it, and he had finished it at the expense of more than 8000 pesos, Governor Don Gabriel del Castillo ordered it to be suspended, and the Taraumares Indians proceeded to demolish it, being influenced by the said governor and by Captain Juan de Retana, their protector. They protested that its operation would contribute to their injury, although it is certain that the distance of the said establishment from the town of the Indians (which consisted of twelve families) exceeded what was ordered by royal ordinances, and that this place was always poor.

[And they say that] although this miner has been pleading a lawsuit for a year before the Audiencia of Guadalajara (which is distant more than 250 leagues), with the object of rebuilding the establishment, he has been obliged to apply to the audiencia three times, with the result that the *real hacienda* has been deprived of more than 6000 pesos which it might have received in royal fifths from the silver that would have been taken out. The injury is continued by not permitting him to build the said establishment, in contravention of the commands of the royal ordinances relating to mines. As regards this point it is the opinion of the fiscal that a royal cedula should be issued censuring the governor for permitting the said establishment to be demolished, and ordering that the matter shall be settled according as is directed in law 10, book 6 of the *Recopilación de Indias*,²¹⁷ endeavoring always to secure the greatest increase and preservation of the mines. At the same time another royal cedula should be issued to the viceroy ordering him to take every care for the advancement and good government of the said mines and others that may be discovered in that kingdom.

With reference to their fourth point the officials complain that they find themselves injured by the expense of alternating every year from that city to the Real del Parral for the administration of the royal quicksilver, although they are not under obligation, by the terms of the purchase of their offices, to do more than serve at the royal treasury of Durango. For this reason they ask to be relieved of this labor, and that an administrator be placed there, to their account and risk, they to go

leguas, y se poblaran los Reales de minas de Arzate, y Gamon que son muy ricos y opulentos. Sobre cuyo punto (respecto de aver prebenido el fiscal, en la respuesta que tiene dada, el que dichos soldados, con un cabo, corran dichos parages y demas que se ofrezieren en la distanzia de 18 leguas para evitar las entradas de los Yndios) no se le ofrezze a el fiscal, motivo, para nueva providencia. Madrid, y abril 2 de 98.¹

¹ F. R. B., Sevilla, Nov. 28, 1914.

security for the administration; or, if the said royal officials administer it, that they be permitted to name deputies at the said Real del Parral for its administration, at the account and risk of the said royal officials. With reference to this point, it is the opinion of the fiscal that this petition should be denied, and that orders should be given that the custom of the attendance of the officials of Durango at the Real del Parral should be continued.

As regards their fifth point, in which it is represented that by employing the fifteen soldiers apportioned to Durango from the field company in scouting the country lying between the Real de Arzate and Gamon, which are the parts nearest the places where the Indians make their sallies, that city would secure the advantage of being nearer their protection, as it is a dozen leagues away, and the mining camps of Arzate and Gamon, which are very rich and opulent, would be settled. In regard to this point (since the fiscal has ordered, in the reply that he has already given, that the said soldiers, with their leader, shall scout the said places or any others that may be necessary, within the distance of eighteen leagues, with the object of preventing the sallies of the Indians), no reason occurs to him for taking any new action. Madrid, April 2, 1698.

NOTES FOR PART III.

¹ See Introduction, p. 6, note 23.

² *Encomenderos* were forbidden by the laws of the Indies to maintain stock farms in the vicinity of Indian villages. *Recopilación*, lib. 6, tit. 9, ley 17.

³ Gaspár de Zúñiga y Acevedo, the Count of Monterey, was viceroy of New Spain from 1595 to 1603. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

⁴ In 1505 the king sanctioned a plan proposed by Governor Ovando at Santo Domingo to send married men back to Spain to fetch their wives. A. Fabié, *Ensayo Histórico de la Legislación Española en sus Estados de Ultramar* (Madrid, 1896), p. 64. By laws decreed in 1530 and 1549 no married men, no matter what their rank, were permitted to go to the Indies unaccompanied by their wives. *Recopilación*, lib. 9, tit. 26, ley 28.

⁵ For this law, see *id.*, lib. 6, tit. 3, ley 21.

⁶ See note 3, *supra*.

⁷ Juan de Mendoza y Luna, the Marquis of Montesclaros, was viceroy of New Spain from 1603 to 1607. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

⁸ Bancroft (*North Mexican States and Texas*, I. 306) says that Vivero was governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1601 to 1602.

⁹ The Guachichiles Indians lived in Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí. Bancroft, *The Native Races*, I. (San Francisco, 1882) 572, 614.

¹⁰ Francisco de Urdiñola, sr., between the years 1550 and 1556 began the conquest of San Luis Potosí. See vol. I., this series, pp. 16-17. The town of San Luis had Potosí added to its name "because of its similarity in rich veins and site" to the famous mining town of Potosí in Upper Peru. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II. (San Francisco, 1883) 763, note 16.

¹¹ The *alcabala* was a sales tax levied on practically everything salable. H. I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, pp. 131-132.

¹² Apparently the reference is to the so-called kingdom of New Spain and to either the West Indies or the Philippines or to both of these groups of islands, both of which were under the general supervision of the viceroy of New Spain.

¹³ The regular clergy were those who were members of the religious orders, as the Jesuits or the Franciscans. The secular clergy embraced the non-monastic or non-regular members.

¹⁴ See Introduction, p. 7, note 29.

¹⁵ The presidio of Acaponeta was in the province of Nueva Galicia. See a brief account of the Tepehuane rebellion, 1616-1618, pp. 101-115, *supra*.

¹⁶ See pp. 115-118, *supra*.

¹⁷ Merchán was governor of Nueva Galicia from 1613 until 1617. He was followed by Pedro de Otarola, who held office from 1617 until 1629. Bancroft, *Mexico*, III. 298, note 5. Note that Bancroft spells the last man's name "Otarola", and in the documents herein published it is spelled "Otalora".

¹⁸ At the head of an administrative subdivision, known as a *corregimiento*, was a *corregidor*. For the latter's duties, see vol. I., pp. 24-25, 135-145.

¹⁹ The famous Bonanza mine was near Mazapil. See vol. I., p. 25.

²⁰ Alonso Díaz was the ranking administrative official in Durango prior to the arrival there and inauguration of Francisco de Urdiñola as governor on June 23, 1603. See administration of the oath of office to Urdiñola, in "Servicios del Capitan Francisco de Urdiñola sobre que se le haga merced" (A. G. I., Audiencia de Guadalajara, 66-6-17), transcript in the University of Texas Library.

²¹ See Introduction, p. 48, note 192.

²² No information has been found relative to this man.

²³ See note 19, *supra*.

²⁴ For the relation between *alcaldía mayor* and *corregimiento*, see, vol. I., pp. 24-25.

²⁵ Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, I. 322) says that the rebellion began on Nov. 15.

²⁶ Diego Fernández de Cordoba, the Marquis of Guadalcázar, was viceroy of New Spain from 1612 to 1621. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

²⁷ See Introduction, note 171.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, note 92.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, note 23.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, notes 4 and 34.

^{30a} Dec. 8.

³¹ For the activities of this notorious Indian prior to his death about 1618, see the letter of Alonso del Valle, Guatimape, May 9, 1618, in *Documentos de la Nueva-Vizcaya*, in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, fourth ser., III. 90-129.

³² Philip III. was king of Spain from 1598 until 1621. He was succeeded by Philip IV., who ruled until 1665.

³³ See Introduction, p. 30, note 141, for the full title of the *Recopilación*.

³⁴ See note 17, *supra*.

³⁵ For the services of Jerónimo Velásquez de Avila, see pp. 95-96, *supra*.

³⁶ For the rebellion of the Tepehuanes, see pp. 101-115, *supra*.

³⁷ See note 17, *supra*.

³⁸ Reference is to the Molucca Islands, south of the Philippine Islands. See note 39, *infra*.

³⁹ Instructions were issued by the king to Pedro Bravo de Acuña as governor of the Philippines on Feb. 16, 1602. See Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XI. (Cleveland, 1904) 263-288. Acuña served as governor until 1606. See C. H. Cunningham, *The Audiencia of Manila, 1583-1800* (Berkeley, 1919), p. 304.

⁴⁰ Juan de Silva was governor of the Philippines from 1609 until 1616. See Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

⁴¹ See note 15, *supra*.

⁴² Compostella was the capital of the province of Nueva Galicia from the date of its establishment in 1531 until 1550, at which time Guadalajara became the provincial capital. See Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America*, pp. 39, 55.

⁴³ See Introduction, p. 39, note 174.

⁴⁴ For the location of Chiametla and Copala, see the Introduction, note 4.

⁴⁵ See note 32, *supra*.

⁴⁶ Reference is to Philip III., who died in 1621.

⁴⁷ See note 46, *supra*.

⁴⁸ An outer garment worn by the Indians of Mexico and Central America. It is a sort of blouse, with loose sleeves or else sleeveless, and is often elaborately embroidered. See vol. I., p. 172.

⁴⁹ A silver coin worth nearly twenty cents.

⁵⁰ See note 48, *supra*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² See Introduction, p. 48, note 192.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, note 174.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, note 4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, note 92.

⁵⁶ Rodrigo Pacheco y Osorio, the Marquis of Cerralvo, was viceroy from 1624 until 1635. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

⁵⁷ Father Castín ministered to 6570 Indians at one of the Jesuit missions of Sinaloa about 1625. See memorandum of the missionary work in Nueva Vizcaya, p. 153, *supra*.

⁵⁸ See note 56, *supra*.

⁵⁹ Father Castín barely escaped martyrdom in the Soes uprising of 1625. See Coronado's report to Governor Vesga, p. 149, *supra*.

⁶⁰ On p. 165, *supra*, this name is given as Pedro Pérez de Baeza.

⁶¹ See Introduction, note 151.

⁶² Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, I. 306, 337) says that Valdés was governor in 1639 and from 1642 until 1648.

⁶³ García Sarmiento Sotomayor, the Count of Salvatierra and Marquis of Sobroso, was viceroy from 1642 until 1646. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

⁶⁴ See note 62, *supra*.

⁶⁵ This cedula was issued just at the close of the devastating and costly Thirty Years' War in Europe.

⁶⁶ On p. 159, *supra*, this name is given as Pedro Fernández de Baeza.

⁶⁷ See note 32, *supra*.

⁶⁸ Don Diego Guajardo Fajardo assumed the governorship of Nueva Vizcaya at Durango late in the year 1648, succeeding Luis de Valdés. *Documentos de la Nueva-Vizcaya*, in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, fourth ser., III. 173. Bancroft (*op. cit.*, p. 336) says that Fajardo served until 1651.

⁶⁹ For details of this rebellion see *Documentos de la Nueva-Viscaya, loc. cit.*, pp. 172-209.

⁷⁰ Luis Enríquez de Guzmán, the Count of Alvalde and Marquis of Villaflores, was viceroy from 1650 until 1653. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

⁷¹ See note 68, *supra*.

⁷² Perea succeeded Urdaide as captain of the presidio of Sinaloa in 1626. Bolton and Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁷³ Lope Díaz de Armendáriz, the Marquis of Cadereyta, was viceroy from 1635 until 1640. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

⁷⁴ Admiral Pedro Porter Casanate, by order of Philip IV., made an expedition to Lower California in 1642-1643. He made a second expedition to that peninsula in 1648-1649. Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, II. 236. For a brief statement concerning these expeditions, the ships for which were built at the "Villa de Cinaloa", see *ibid.*, I. 219-220.

⁷⁵ See note 69, *supra*.

⁷⁶ See note 68.

⁷⁷ See note 72.

⁷⁸ See note 73.

⁷⁹ See note 69.

⁸⁰ See note 63.

⁸¹ See notes 60 and 66.

⁸² See note 56.

⁸³ See note 63.

⁸⁴ Juan de Leyva y de la Cerda, the Count of Baños and Marquis of Leyva and Ladrada, was viceroy from 1660 until 1664. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

⁸⁵ See Introduction, note 185.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, note 186.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, note 185.

⁸⁹ Reference is to the queen-mother, María Ana; she was the mother of Charles II., who, at the age of four years, became king in 1665. C. E. Chapman, *A History of Spain* (New York, 1918), pp. 268-269.

⁹⁰ See Introduction, note 186.

⁹¹ See note 89, *supra*.

⁹² Antonio Sebastián de Toledo, the Marquis of Mancera, was viceroy from 1665 until 1673. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 472.

⁹³ See note 89, *supra*.

⁹⁴ Juan de Gorospe y Aguirre was bishop of Durango from 1662 until 1671. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 472.

⁹⁵ Charles II.

⁹⁶ Reference is to Philip IV., deceased husband of the queen-mother, María Ana. He died in 1665. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-269.

⁹⁷ See vol. I., p. 25.

⁹⁸ The purpose of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) was to effect a "reformation in head and members" of the Catholic Church as a means of combatting Protestantism. It "consummated a great reform in the Church and contributed materially to the preservation of the Catholic faith". C. J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, I. (New York, 1916) 159.

⁹⁹ See note 89, *supra*.

¹⁰⁰ See note 92, *supra*.

¹⁰¹ See note 89, *supra*.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ See Introduction, note 155.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Fray Payo Enríquez Afán de Rivera, of the Order of Santiago, archbishop of Mexico, was viceroy from 1673 until 1680. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

¹⁰⁷ At the beginning of the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century it was the policy of the King of Spain to grant every three years, for the support of the religious

of New Mexico, the sum of 61,400 pesos. With this money supplies were purchased in Mexico City and sent to New Mexico in wagon-trains. One such train of twenty-five wagons left Mexico City for Santa Fé in 1677 and another one of twenty-eight wagons left for the same place in 1679, just on the eve of the great Pueblo uprising of 1680. See "Autos tocantes al alsamiento de los Yndios de la Provincia de la Nueva México, Años de 1680-1681" (A. G. M., Prov. Int., vol. 37), transcript in the Bolton Collection, ff. 107, 114; "Autos tocantes a socorros del Nueva México. Año de 1676" (A. G. M., Prov. Int., vol. 37), transcript in the Bolton Collection, f. 1; "Nuevo México Cédulas" (MS. in the Bancroft Collection), ff. 9-11; Robles, *Diario*, in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, first ser., II. 290.

¹⁰⁸ The Marianas or Ladrone Islands are situated 1200 miles east of the Philippines. A Spanish governor was stationed there. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

¹⁰⁹ A measure of length equivalent to 1.85 yards.

¹¹⁰ Reference is to the Pueblo Indian uprising of 1680 in New Mexico. For details, see C. W. Hackett, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680", in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association, XV. 93-147, and "The Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680 and the Beginnings of El Paso", in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI. 137-168, 259-276.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² See Introduction, note 192.

¹¹³ The English and the Dutch sea-rovers often attacked the towns of the west coast of New Spain after Drake's spectacular entry into the Pacific in 1579. The pirates in the Gulf of California in the seventeenth century were known as Pichilingues. Bolton and Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

¹¹⁴ The present Matagorda Bay, on the Texas gulf coast. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, p. 105.

¹¹⁵ For the definition of a mission "president", see note 29 of the Introduction.

¹¹⁶ Lat., "In the words of a priest".

¹¹⁷ See Introduction, note 29.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, and Hughes, *Beginnings of Spanish Settlement*, p. 358.

¹¹⁹ The Sumas lived about twelve leagues below the present El Paso. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 310, and authorities cited.

¹²⁰ Tomás Antonio de la Cerda y Aragón, the Count of Paredes and Marquis of Laguna, was viceroy from 1680 until 1686; Melchor Portocarrero Laso de la Vega, the Count of Monclova, was viceroy from 1686 until 1688. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

¹²¹ For the naval and land expeditions that were sent in search of La Salle's colony, see Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-109.

¹²² The regulations for making new discoveries are found in "Ordenanzas de Su Magestad hechas para los Nuevos Descubrimientos, Conquistas, y Pacificaciones, Julio de 1573", in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos, relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista, y Organización de sus Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de America y Oceanía*, XVI. (Madrid, 1871) 142-187.

¹²³ See Introduction, p. 53, *supra*.

¹²⁴ See Introduction, p. 54, *supra*, and Appendix, p. 470, *infra*.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Three priests of St. Sulpice and three Recollets accompanied La Salle on his expedition to the Texas coast. See Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 331.

¹²⁷ See Introduction, note 236.

¹²⁸ See note 124, *supra*.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ These were very probably Lipan Apaches from the rough country to the north-west of present San Antonio.

¹³¹ See note 124, *supra*.

¹³² Cf. Spanish text on opposite page.

¹³³ See note 124, *supra*.

¹³⁴ See Introduction, note 29, also pp. 26-29.

¹³⁵ Reference is to Gaspár de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza, the Count of Galve, who was viceroy from 1688 until 1696. Bolton, *Guide*, p. 469.

¹⁸⁰ Reference is to the De León-Massanet expedition, which in 1690 founded the first temporary mission among the Texas Indians. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 347-423, and Dunn, *op. cit.*, 120-125.

¹⁸⁷ See Introduction, note 242.

¹⁸⁸ See Introduction, note 241.

¹⁸⁹ Dunn (*op. cit.*, p. 134) gives this name as "Borday".

¹⁴⁰ For a brief description of the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro, see Bolton, *Guide*, p. 386.

¹⁴¹ For Massanet's work, see references given in note 136, *supra*.

¹⁴² Reference is to the French in the Mississippi Valley. A French post had been established at the mouth of the Arkansas River as early as 1686.

¹⁴³ Obviously reference is to the Mississippi River.

¹⁴⁴ For more facts concerning Father Font Cuberta, see Dunn, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 121, 133.

¹⁴⁵ See note 134, *supra*.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Introduction, note 242.

¹⁴⁷ See note 135, *supra*.

¹⁴⁸ "Santa María Bazeraca (now Bacerac) is situated on the north-flowing stretch of the Upper Yaqui, nearly straight east of Arizpe, near the Chihuahua boundary." Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I. 160, note 164.

¹⁴⁹ See note 135, *supra*.

¹⁵⁰ See Introduction, p. 26.

¹⁵¹ Cf. p. 333, *supra*.

¹⁵² Reference is to the president of the Council of the Indies.

¹⁵³ See note 150, *supra*.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Nieves appears to have been in the jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia.

¹⁵⁶ An Indian governor, who had been baptized and given a Christian name.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. p. 305, *supra*.

¹⁵⁸ See note 135, *supra*.

¹⁵⁹ For De León's services, see Dunn, *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁰ See note 120, *supra*.

¹⁶¹ "Captain Diego Ramón . . . was temporarily in charge of the province of Coahuila in consequence of the death of Alonso de León." Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

¹⁶² De León died in March, 1691. Dunn, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁶³ Reference is to Don Juan Francisco Ruiz de Birbiesca, the author of the preceding letter.

¹⁶⁴ Don Manuel Agramont was captain of the presidio of Sinaloa.

¹⁶⁵ See Introduction, p. 26.

¹⁶⁶ See note 135, *supra*.

¹⁶⁷ This letter is published at a later point, pp. 411-413, *supra*.

¹⁶⁸ Reference apparently is to a communication from Governor Castillo authorizing General Domingo de la Puente to serve, during the former's absence and illness, as lieutenant-captain-general.

¹⁶⁹ See Introduction, p. 26.

¹⁷⁰ "Pimería Alta included what is now northern Sonora and southern Arizona. It extended from the Altar River, in Sonora, to the Gila, and from the San Pedro River to the Gulf of California and the Colorado of the West." Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoirs*, I. 50. South of Pimería Alta was Pimería Baja.

¹⁷¹ "The Chiricahua (Chiguicagui) Mountains are in southeastern Arizona, about half way between the Río Gila and the international boundary line. Hodge (*Hand-book of American Indians*, I. 282) says that the Chiricahua Apaches were the most warlike of the Arizona Indians. Chiricahua is a small town on the El Paso and South-western Railway, about twenty miles northeast of Douglas." Bolton, *op. cit.*, I. 146.

¹⁷² See Introduction, p. 26.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Don Joseph de Neira was governor of Nueva Vizcaya prior to 1686, which was the date of the establishment of the presidios herein referred to. See p. 387, *supra*. Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, I. 338) says that one Gabriel Nira y Quiroga was governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1685.

¹⁷⁵ See note 49, *supra*.

¹⁷⁶ Governor Don Diego de Vargas in 1692 received the nominal submission of the rebellious Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 197-202.

¹⁷⁷ The Colbert was a name given by the French to the Mississippi River. Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 324.

¹⁷⁸ According to modern calculation, present El Paso, Texas, is in 31° 47' N. lat. See *Report of the Chief of the United States Weather Bureau, 1914-1915*, p. 96.

¹⁷⁹ The Colorado River.

¹⁸⁰ For details of this expedition, see Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones de Nuevo México*, paragraphs 44-57, in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, third ser., III. (Mexico, 1856) 30-38; English translation in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 268-280.

¹⁸¹ See Introduction, note 4.

¹⁸² See Introduction, p. 26.

¹⁸³ See Introduction, p. 47.

¹⁸⁴ See Introduction, note 192.

¹⁸⁵ The meaning of this whole phrase is: "A judgment that is far-reaching".

¹⁸⁶ See pp. 297-301, *supra*.

¹⁸⁷ Apr. 2, 1693, is the correct date. See pp. 297-301, *supra*.

¹⁸⁸ See the letter from the citizens of Sonora to the viceroy written from San Juan Bautista on Feb. 6, 1693, pp. 291-297, *supra*.

¹⁸⁹ "Opoto is on the Upper Yaqui River, just north of latitude 30°, and southeast of Arispe." Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoirs*, I. 161, note 166.

¹⁹⁰ Early in the seventeenth century the audiencia and court of accounts took over a large share of the jurisdiction and practically all of the accounting that had formerly been done by the royal treasury officials. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, p. 131.

¹⁹¹ Reference is to the Batayogliglas and Sunigugliglas tribes. See this volume, p. 399.

¹⁹² The four nations referred to were Chizos Indians. See p. 349, *supra*.

¹⁹³ See note to Spanish text.

¹⁹⁴ See Introduction, note 29.

¹⁹⁵ See note 174, *supra*.

¹⁹⁶ Obviously this is a corruption for "Zuñi".

¹⁹⁷ See note 11, *supra*.

¹⁹⁸ Reference is to the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara.

¹⁹⁹ Bancroft (*op. cit.*, I. 207) says that the *alcalde mayor* of Sinaloa was often called governor.

²⁰⁰ This representation is published in this volume, pp. 291-297.

²⁰¹ See note 199, *supra*.

²⁰² See Introduction, note 29.

²⁰³ Oposura was in Sonora. See Bolton, *op. cit.*, I. 111, 167. For a letter from the rector, Father González, to Father Kino, see *ibid.*, p. 151.

²⁰⁴ See note 198, *supra*.

²⁰⁵ See Introduction, note 4.

²⁰⁶ Reference is to Nueva Vizcaya.

²⁰⁷ See note in the Spanish text.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Marín's report, p. 389, *supra*.

²⁰⁹ See note 180, *supra*.

²¹⁰ The Colorado River.

²¹¹ Cf. Marín's report, p. 389, *supra*.

²¹² See pp. 393-395, *supra*.

²¹³ This opinion is not herein published. One opinion, by Escalante y Mendoza, is published, pp. 355-361, *supra*.

²¹⁴ See note 110, *supra*.

²¹⁵ See note 174.

²¹⁶ See note 213.

²¹⁷ This law instructs that efforts shall be made to establish well-arranged pueblos of Indians in the vicinity of mines, in order that labor for operating these may be available.

APPENDIX.

By J. F. JAMESON.

A. THE PARCHMENT INSCRIBED WITH LETTERS OF LARCHEVÊQUE AND GROSLET.

The first mention in print of this extraordinary parchment, of which a heliotype facsimile appears opposite p. 257 of this volume, is to be found in a monograph by Professor William E. Dunn, formerly of the University of Texas, entitled *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702* (Austin, 1917). In a note on page 99 of that work he says:

"The documents that were preserved from destruction in this marvellous manner, and which today constitute, doubtless, the only known relics of La Salle's Texas colony, still exist in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. Photographs of them have been made for the University of Texas. They consist of a portion of an original journal of La Salle's voyage from Santo Domingo to the Texas coast, unidentified as yet by the present writer,¹ and a venerable looking piece of parchment, upon which is depicted what must have been one of La Salle's ships. The drawing is probably the work of Jean de l'Archevêque, who was implicated in the murder of La Salle, for his name is signed to the poem inscribed on the parchment. The presence of these interesting mementos in a bundle of documents relating to petty Indian uprisings in western Mexico no doubt explains the failure of previous investigators to identify them, and explain their significance. The parchment has long been known to the authorities of the archive, but its connection with La Salle was not realized."

From pages 49-57 of the Introduction to this volume, and pages 257-261, 267, 271-275, 279, 289, of its text, the reader may gather the history of this parchment thus discovered. It passed from its authors, through the hands of Texas Indians, to those of the Indian Juan Xaviata, and from him to the Spanish captain Juan de Retana and the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Juan Isidro de Pardiñas, who had sent Retana out to reconnoitre the French settlements of which the governor had heard. The governor sent the papers ("the originals of the two sheets written in the French language")² to the Council of the Indies, and from the repositories of that council they have passed into the Archive of the Indies at Seville.

The parchment is about 23½ inches long by 13½ inches wide. The colored picture of a vessel which adorns it is well drawn; most likely it was drawn during the voyage, in days less strenuous than those which followed the landing on the Texas coast. Whether it represents one of

¹ See the second part (B) of the present appendix.

² P. 289, *supra*.

La Salle's vessels must remain doubtful. It seems to be armed with 48 guns, whereas the *Joly*, La Salle's man-of-war and chief vessel, carried 30 according to one of Margry's documents, 36 or 40 according to Joutel.³ The choice of the parchment by the two forlorn Frenchmen, as their medium of communication with the Spaniards who might be seeking them, was perhaps due to the belief that, if their Indian messenger was obliged to swim rivers, parchment would stand the wetting better than any paper.

Our interest, however, centres mainly upon the two messages inscribed upon the more open portions of the drawing. They are not poetical, as Mr. Dunn conjectured. In a photograph enlarged to the size of the original the right-hand inscription can, with a glass, be read with almost complete security, excepting two words. It is a letter, written with red ink or ochre, addressed to any Spanish captain approaching, and signed by Jean Larchevêque, well known as one of La Salle's companions. Its text⁴ and a translation follow:

TEXT.

Monsieur

Je ne sçais pas quel sorte de jeans vous etes
 Nous sommes frances nous sommes par-
 Mi les sauvages nous voudrions bien etre
 Parmi les Cretiens Comme nous sommes
 Nous savons bien que vous etes de espanols
 Nous ne savons pas sy vous nous batiriez . . .
 . . . nous sommes bien faches d'etre par-
 Mi les betes Comme cela quy ne croit Ny djeu
 ny rien mesyeurs si vous nous voles retirer vous n'aves
 que envoyer un ecrit comme nous navons que
 faire peu ou rien sitot que nous verons
 le billet nous nous randerons a vous

Mesieur

Je suis
 Votre tres humbles
 et tres obeissant
 Serviteur

JEAN LARCHEVEQUE

De

Bayonne

TRANSLATION.

Sir

I do not know what sort of people you are
 We are French we are a-
 mong the savages we would like much to be
 Among the Christians such as we are
 We know well that you are Spaniards

³ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, II. 378, III. 91.

⁴ It is a pleasure to acknowledge the aid of Mr. Waldo G. Leland in the decipherment of this text and of that of Groslet's letter.

We do not know whether you will attack us
 . . . we are sorely grieved to be a-
 mong the beasts like these who believe neither in God
 nor in anything gentlemen if you are willing to take us away
 you have

only to send a message as we have but
 little or nothing to do as soon as we see
 the note we will deliver ourselves up to you

Sir

I am

Your very humble
 and very obedient
 Servant

JEAN LARCHEVÊQUE
 of

Bayonne

The letter written in the vacant space at the left of the ship has become much less legible, and can be deciphered only in part. Its text, in so far as it can be read, and a translation, follow:

| TEXT. | TRANSLATION. |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| Nous avons | We have |
| Bales cela au — | given this to — |
| Pour vous apporter | to take to you |
| nous sommes | we are |
| de ieunes garçons | young men |
| qui ne sommes — | who are not |
| vous nous — | we — you |
| vous — | you — |
| sommes — — | are — — |
| Je suis | I am |
| Votre | Your |
| serviteur | servant |
| GROSLET | GROSLET |

Of the writers of these two letters, as those men looked when they were brought to the Spaniards a few days later, May 2 (not to Captain Juan de Retana but to Captain Alonso de León), we have a vivid picture in a letter of Father Damián Massanet. "Two Frenchmen came, naked except for an antelope's skin, and with their faces, breasts, and arms painted like the Indians."⁵ Later, he names them: "the one named Juan Archebepe [*sic*], of Bayonne, the other Santiago [*i. e.*, Jacques] Grollette,"⁶ and adds that they were forwarded from Coahuila to the city of Mexico, and that the viceroy Galve had them provided with suitable clothes and shipped to Spain in that same year 1689.⁷

⁵ Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 363.

⁶ The Itinerary of Alonso de León calls him "a native of Rochelle, called Jacome". *Ibid.*, p. 402.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 364; Barcia, *Ensayo Cronológico*, p. 296. Both of them returned to New Spain, and were in Santa Fe by 1696. Groslet settled at Bernalillo, and was living there as late as 1705. Larchevêque, who by the way was only eighteen when he wrote the letter (b. 1671), lived in New Mexico till 1720, when he was killed in warfare against the Indians, on the Arkansas River, in Kansas or Colorado. There are descendants of his name in New Mexico. Bandelier, *The Gilded Man*, pp. 294-301.

Two French Canadian boys, Pierre and Jean-Baptiste Talon, also survivors of La Salle's expedition, who had seen our two suppliants in New Spain after their capture, speak of them as "a young man of Bayonne, who appeared to be of good family and to have much education, named Larchevesque, and the other a sailor named Groulé."⁸ Joutel speaks of the former as "a native of the city of Bayonne, whom the Sieur Duhaut had taken on at Petit-Goave, where he was engaged."⁹ Duhaut was the actual assassin of La Salle, Larchevêque an accomplice. He remained with the party of Joutel and the Abbé Cavelier for some two months after the assassination, but parted from them when, in May, 1687, they finally began their northeastward march toward the Mississippi and Canada.¹⁰

The other writer, the sailor Jacques Groslet, "from the neighborhood of La Rochelle,"¹¹ deserted the expedition before the murder, in which he had no part, and went to dwell among the Indians, whence he reappeared soon after to Joutel and his companions, dressed solely in turkey feathers, as was another deserter who returned with him, but not painted Indian-fashion as the latter was, "wherefore," says Joutel, "he seemed to me a little more rational than the other, appearing to have more religion. . . . He gave me some satisfaction, in that he was an amiable and sensible youth, who had not behaved like his companion Ruter, who led the life of the savages, thinking of neither God nor religion, loving only a libertine and idle life." He had some thought of going northward with Joutel and Cavelier, but finally left them, and disappears till by the letter we reproduce he comes, two years later, into touch with the Spaniards.¹²

It was a little before the third of March, 1689, that Retana received the parchment and papers from the Indian, at a place some four days' journey east of La Junta de los Rios (Presidio del Norte). It was the tenth of April when Juan Xaviata gave them at Parral to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. Meanwhile the viceroy of New Spain had sent out from Monclova another expedition, under Captain Alonso de León (that officer's fourth expedition for the same purpose), which, crossing the Rio Grande at a lower part of its course than where Retana had crossed, penetrated the coast regions of Texas so far that it came to the ruins of La Salle's fort; and this expedition gave rise to another letter of Jean Larchevêque, which must be carefully distinguished from the present letter, though similar in purport.

Both from the official itinerary of this expedition and from a letter of Father Damián Massanet, who accompanied it, we learn that on April 17, 1689, at an Indian hamlet near the Guadalupe, a letter addressed to the wandering Frenchmen was written in French by the *alférez* Francisco Martínez, signed by Alonso de León and the priest, who added a little

⁸ Margry, III. 618.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III. 323.

¹⁰ Joutel, in Margry, III. 368, 371, 372, 381, 385.

¹¹ *Id.*, *ibid.*, III. 351, 369.

¹² *Id.*, *ibid.*, III. 356, 385, 396, 401.

Latin, and sent forward by an Indian carrier, with paper for a reply.¹³ On the 25th, at the desolated camp of La Salle, they received their reply. "The letter," says the itinerary, "read by the *alférez*, contained in substance that within two days they would come to where we were, for by that time they were tired of being among barbarians. There was only one signature—that of Juan Larchieverque of Bayonne. It was written with red ochre."¹⁴

The text of this letter, in much distorted French but answering to the above description, and stated to have been written with red ochre, has been preserved to us by the "Autor Anónimo" of the "Historia del Nuevo Reino de León desde 1650 hasta 1690," published by the late Señor Genaro García in volume XXV. of the *Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México*.¹⁵

B. FRAGMENTS OF THE LOG OF THE "BELLE."

In the same *legajo* in the Archivo General de Indias in which the letters of Larchevêque and Groslet were found, *legajo* 67-4-11, a further relic of La Salle's last expedition is preserved, in the form of a double leaf, four pages, of a naval log-book kept on one of La Salle's vessels during her cruise in the Gulf of Mexico. The leaves measure about 12¼ by 8 inches, and are numbered respectively 14 and 33. The handwriting is fairly good; the spelling of the French text could hardly be worse.

Folio 14, *recto*, presents the log of October 1 and 2, 1684, during which the vessel, having crossed the Atlantic, was sailing into the roadstead of Petit Goave, on the south side of the Gulf of Gonaïve, in western Haïti. On the *verso* of that folio we have the log of November 25 and 26, during which the vessel was sailing out from Petit Goave on her last fateful voyage—sailing past the island of Gonaïve and then in a generally northwestward direction, seeking the mouth of the Mississippi.

Folio 33, *recto* and *verso*, presents the log of January 17 and 18, 1685, when the *Aimable* and the *Belle* were far down on the Texas coast, in the region of Matagorda Bay. It stops less than twenty-four hours short of their joyful reunion with the *Joly*.

The text of the log is given below, followed by a rendering into more intelligible French and an English translation. Facsimiles of the original manuscripts are to be found immediately after page 476.

Who was the writer of this rude log-book is a question that can be determined only approximately. The references it makes to the *Joly* and

¹³ Itinerary, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 396; Massanet, *ibid.*, p. 360. Iberville, while at Pensacola in the winter of 1701-1702, had the story of these events from this Francisco Martínez, then *sargento mayor* there. Iberville to Cavelier, in Margry, III. 622.

¹⁴ Itinerary, in Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 401; Massanet, *ibid.*, p. 363.

¹⁵ P. 334. The "Autor Anónimo" tells us that, the letter being signed "Larchebeque de Bayone", the Bachiller Don Toribio García, rector of Coahuila, was sure that the writer was the archbishop of Bayonne, and he gravely explains, first, that Bayonne is not an archbishopric, and secondly that, even if it were, it was not to be imagined that an archbishop should have occasion to come out to a new settlement having no substantial foundation.

the *Aimable* show plainly that it was written on board La Salle's third vessel, the *Belle*, smallest of the three, which Joutel describes as "a little frigate or barque called the *Belle*, of about sixty tons capacity, armed with six cannon, and commanded by two masters."¹⁶ Her captain's name was apparently Morraud or Moraud, that of her pilot, who commanded her after her captain's death, Elie Richaud.¹⁷ We also know the name of one of her two masters, "one Texier, whom M. Talon, commissioner of the navy, had put on board at Rochefort as master."¹⁸ He was one of the six who escaped when the *Belle* perished, in April, 1686. The other master had died before that time, as had the captain and the pilot.¹⁹ Texier, it is well known, survived the whole adventure. After playing an evil part as an accomplice in the murder of La Salle, he made his way back to Canada in the company of La Salle's brother, the Abbé Cavelier. At Montreal, hearing from everyone that his religion, the Reformed, was proscribed and abolished in France, he renounced it.²⁰ He went on to Quebec, and presumably to France.

Which of these four officers of the *Belle* kept the log from which our four pages have been so miraculously preserved, there seems to be no means of determining. One of the less educated, evidently. Perhaps it is more likely that a manuscript of the master who perished should be in the hands of the unfortunates in Texas than a manuscript written by Texier who survived and escaped.²¹

TEXT.

[14 r] *Journal Du premier oquetobre 1684.*

Le premier Dudiect Le Dimanche Le vent estoit est et nous avons a parrelle Des illes De Larquaet sur Les 6 heures Dumatin et nous avons Courreut Du caute De La gounave Jeusque a midi que Le vent saiy Calle miy.

a midi Le 1^o Dudiect Le Dimanche Le vent at est te Calle me Jeusque a 2 heure Du soir et seur Les 2 heure Dusoir Le vent est ve nut ouest et saiy fraichiy et nous avons single Le Cap au sud

Jeusque a 10 heure Dusoir que nous avons est te pris Dunne grosse orrage et nous at oblige De maitre Caute entraver Jeus que au Deux^o Dudiect Seur Les 6 heure Dumatin que Le vent est toit nordaiy et nous avons Fait Route aupettitgouve Jeusque a 10 heure Dumatin Le 2^{de} Du Diect Le Lundi que nous iy avons moulle par Les 20 brasse Vasse bris

en narivent nous avons salue monsieur Debeaugeu De 5 Coude Canom et il nous en nat Rendeu trois et il Luiy avoit 5 Jour quil est toit arrive

et illuiy avoit Le Capitaine Durran qui et Le Capitaine aiygrond et un vaiysaud De nante et aussiy un vaiyssaud Flubbutié qui est toit en Larade

¹⁶ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, III. 91.

¹⁷ La Salle, in Margry, II. 540, 547, III. 145.

¹⁸ *Id.*, *ibid.*, III. 543.

¹⁹ Joutel, in Margry, III. 226.

²⁰ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 523.

²¹ That some papers were rescued from the *Belle* at the time when she was lost we know from three passages in Joutel, *ibid.*, pp. 227, 236, 250.

est nabord que nous avons estte moulle Le Chapitaine morraud et monsieur tibiaud son alle a bord Delamirral

Caute. Du des puis La torteu Jeusque au petitgouve on put Range Lataire a une Demi Lieus Car elle est foraine toute rond

[14 v] *Journal Du 25^e novembre 1684 partan Du petit goive en Lille De St Dominge.*

Le 25^e Dudiect a Dux heurre Du matin Le vent est toit suest et nous avons Leve Lancre et en maiyme ten nous avons mis sus Les voille et nous avons single Le Cap a oust..... 3 Lieus

Jeus que ami Diy que Le Calleme nous a pris Le tout le same Diy

Le maima Dudiect a mi Diy Levent est venit oust et nous avons Courrut Du Caute De La gounave et nous avons single Le Cap au nordroust 6 Lieus

Jeus que a quatre heurre Du soir que nous avons tourne De bord et nous avons single Le Cap au Sud..... 5 Lieus

Jeus que a sept heurre Du soir que a vont tourne De bord et nous avons single Le Cap au nord..... 5 Lieus

Jeus que a 11 heurre Dusoier que nous avons Change Debord et nous avons single Le Cap au sud surroust..... 4 Lieus

Jeus que a quatre heurre Dumatin Le 26^e Dudiect Le Dimanche que Le vent est venit est et nous avons single Le Cap au oust quard De nord roust..... 5 Lieus $\frac{1}{2}$

Jeus que a 10 heurre que Le vent saiy Calle me et a Continue Jeusque a mi Diy Le 26^e Dudiect Le Dimanche

Le 26^e Dudiect amidiy Le vent est venit oust surroust et nous avons single Le Cap au sud quard De sust..... 3 Lieus

Jeus que a Dux heurre a pres midy que nous avons tourne Debord et nous avons single Le Cap au nordnoroust..... 3 Lieus

Jeus que a sept heurre Du soir que nous avons vire De bord et nous a

[33 r] *Journal Du 17^e Jeanvier 1685.*

Le mesme a 6 hurre Du matin Le vent est toit nord et Laimable a mis Le Fut Don nous avons mis a vire et nous avons Leve Lencre et mis a la voille et nous avons single Le Cap au surroust, 3 Lieus

(Sonde a Lor De vent Coumme siy dessus trouve 7 brasse sable vassard.)

Jeus qua 9 heurre que Le Calle me nous a pris et nous avons est te oblige De moulle et nous a vont moulle par 7 brasse sable vassard.

ensuite a midiy Jaiy pris hauteur De 27 De gre 45 minutes que Je sais est Lougne De La Ligne qui est noct que saille Le tout Le merque Diy

a 2 hurre apres midiy nous avons mis a La voille a selle Find De nous maitre au pres De Laimable et Le vent est toit sud petit vend et notre Challoupe est alle a bord et monsieur De Lasalle saiy en barque De Dent pour alle a taire mais Coumme La mer est toit trop grande il n'y a pas put De valle et saiy Retourne a bord Du diect navire et a fait tire un Cou De Canom a selle fin De Faire venir Leur Challoupe qui avoit entre De Dent une petite Riviere qui est toit La et mesme nous a Fait Commendement De Leve Len Cre et Daller a Lau de vent et nous Luy somme alle mais nous Lavont Ran Contre par Les Chemin quelle venoit Don nous somme Retourne moulle aupres De Laimable et mesme il nous ondiect quil a voit entre une Lieus et De miy a Laudeden et quil navoit point trouve Deau Dousse.

JOURNALS du promys voyage 1689

Le promys d'adieu le dimanche se vent en vent
 et nous avons a patelle de cellet de
 Sarguact sur les 6 heures d'adieu
 et nous avons (butent d'adieu de
 la jouance jusqu'a midy que le vent
 s'ay (elle m'y) - - - - -
 a midy le 5 d'adieu le dimanche se vent
 at est le (elle m'y) jusqu'a 2 heures du
 soit et vent sur 2 heures d'adieu se vent
 et ne nait ouest et l'ay (s'ay) et nous
 avons sing le (s'ay) au sud - - - - -
 jusqu'a 10 heures du soit que nous
 avons est le pris d'une grosse orage et
 nous at oblige de maitre (s'ay) entrades
 jusqu'a au deux d'adieu sur les 6 heures
 de d'adieu que se vent en soit nordaig
 et nous avons fait route au petit goin
 jusqu'a 10 heures d'adieu le 6 d'adieu
 d'adieu le lundy que nous y avons moult
 par les 20 brasses (s'ay) - - - - -
 en navient nous avons salu monseur
 de beaugu de 6 (s'ay) (s'ay) et il nous en
 nat (s'ay) trois et il s'ay avoit 4
 jours qu'il est soit arive - - - - -
 et il luy avoit le capitaine d'adieu qui
 et le capitaine d'adieu grand et un (s'ay) d'adieu
 de nante et au 17 d'adieu d'adieu d'adieu
 qu'il soit en (s'ay) - - - - -
 en na bord que nous avons est le moult
 le (s'ay) d'adieu et monseur ti (s'ay)
 son alle a bon d'adieu - - - - -
 d'adieu puis d'adieu jusqu'a au petit goin
 en soit (s'ay) d'adieu d'adieu d'adieu
 d'adieu d'adieu d'adieu

18
19

Plus

Autre

Journal du 25^e novembre 1894
part an du petit gouee en
lille de st dominge

| | |
|--|----------|
| <i>Le 25^e Duict a deux heures du matin le vent</i> | |
| <i>est fort fort et nous avons fait</i> | |
| <i>est et en cinq heures nous avons mis</i> | |
| <i>les voiles et nous avons singlé le Cap</i> | |
| <i>a deux heures que nous sommes allés nous</i> | 3 Heures |
| <i>a pris le tout le même jour</i> | |
| <i>Le même Duict a midi le vent est</i> | |
| <i>resté fort et nous avons couru du</i> | |
| <i>haut de la gennave et nous avons</i> | |
| <i>singlé le Cap au nord-ouest</i> | 6 Heures |
| <i>Jeux qu'à quatre heures du soir que</i> | |
| <i>nous avons tourné de bord et nous avons</i> | |
| <i>singlé le Cap au sud</i> | 5 Heures |
| <i>Jeux qu'à sept heures du soir que</i> | |
| <i>a nous tourné de bord et nous avons</i> | |
| <i>singlé le Cap au nord</i> | 5 Heures |
| <i>Jeux qu'à dix heures du soir que nous</i> | |
| <i>avons changé de bord et nous avons</i> | |
| <i>singlé le Cap du sud-est</i> | 4 Heures |
| <i>Jeux qu'à quatre heures du matin</i> | |
| <i>Le 26^e Duict le dimanche que le</i> | |
| <i>vent est venu et nous avons singlé</i> | |
| <i>le Cap au nord-est quand de nord</i> | 5 Heures |
| <i>ouest</i> | |
| <i>Jeux qu'à dix heures que le vent</i> | |
| <i>est venu et nous avons continué jusqu'à</i> | |
| <i>a midi le 26^e Duict le dimanche</i> | |
| <i>Le 26^e Duict a midi le vent est venu et nous</i> | |
| <i>avons singlé le Cap</i> | |
| <i>au sud quand de sud</i> | 3 Heures |
| <i>Jeux qu'à deux heures après midi</i> | |
| <i>que nous avons tourné de bord et nous</i> | |
| <i>avons singlé le Cap au nord-ouest</i> | 3 Heures |
| <i>Jeux qu'à sept heures du soir que</i> | |
| <i>nous avons viré de bord et nous a</i> | |

Journal Du 18^e Janvier 1685

Dont la queue Chaloyse auct que de
 nos j'en nous ont mis alors et quan
 nous fuy auent est le Monsieur de la
 Salle nous a demande si nous auions
 porte nos Roubes dades puis le cap de
 et tantoin en luit nous auct pris
 us a miroy laquelle le Chapitaine morau
 en toit de cy Degre romaine et lamaine
 de cy Degre y romaine et le sieur de
 La Salle a l'eman de l'auis d'adect Chapitaine
 morau et le man et a acouee qui luy
 toit rompre et qui est fait de l'auis
 de l'urinaire et le fieur de la salle
 et le Chapitaine est grand en tom de
 la foud amon point et on natin en
 luit tous en lante pour void si nous
 continient la Route jous que la made
 lenne pour jage moute la fairs chais
 le fieur fieur de la salle n'y pouloit rom
 alle romant Degre le fieur fieur
 ou fairs qui auct a fairs etais on luy
 a deict qui luy falloit cont fieur rom
 ant qui fairs toit le fieur fieur fieur
 comme lesignau portay et fairs
 par luy romant fieur fieur et le fieur
 fieur fieur qui y pouloit ait fieur
 vent le fieur qui auct fairs puis le qui
 alloit moute que nous et au fairs que
 nous fairs fieur fieur fieur fieur
 et on droit nous fairs fieur fieur
 fieur en nous en fieur fieur fieur
 on natin tom de la foud et on natin
 la foud et amon a la foud et on
 romant le cap au fieur fieur fieur
 de fieur

Plus qu'à midi que de l'aller, et nous
a pris tout nous avons en se oblige
de moult, et nous sont moult par y
Mons. et le moy. et à midi de midi.

Le 18^e Dudiect Le merque Diy a 7 heurre Du matin La Challoupe Du Chapitaine est grond est venit a bord et sais Jean se sont en barque Dent notre Challoupe pour alle Cherche un houmme qui avoit Raiysete Le soir a taire et Le paterond De Challoupe a Diect au Chapitaine moraud que monsieur De Lasalle Luy avoit Diect De Luy Dire quilluy veut parle et moi y au siy Don nous somme enbarque

[33 v] *Journal Du 18^e Jeanvier 1685.*

Dent Ladiecte Challoupe avec que De nos Jen qui nous ont mis abord et quan nous Luy avont estte Monsieur De La Salle nous a Demende siy nous avioint porte nos Route Dudespuis Le Cap De St Antoine ensuite notre auteur prisse ier a midi y Laquelle Du Chapitaine moraud est toit De 27 Degre 30 minute et Lamienne De 27 Degre 45 minute et Le sieur De La Salle a demende Lavis Dudiect Chapitaine Moraud et Le mien et a avoué qu'il saiy toit trompe et qu'il est toit De Lairierre De Leur navire et Le Diect Sieur De Lasalle et Le Chapitaine estgrond on tombe Da Cord amon point et on natan Conseil tous en semble pour voir siy nous Continieur La Route Jeus qua La madelenne pour Jeuge mieux La Faire Mais Le Diect Sieur De Lasalle niy vouloit point alle se voyaint Despasse Len Droit La ou saiy qu'il avoit a Faire Mais on Luy a Diect qui Luy Falloit continue voyaint que saiy toit Le Dernier Ren Desvous Coumme Les signau portaïy et Dautre par Luy Croiy aint Ren Contre Le Jollit Car ondissoit qu'il y pouvoit aitre suyvent Le ten qu'il avoit fait puisse qu'il alloit mieus que nous et au Cas que nous Les siyoïnt point Ren Contre a set en Droit nous Les siyoïnt toujours trouve en nous enretournen Dont on nan nat tombe DaCord et on navire Lancre et on amis a Lavoille et on na single Le Cap au surroust quard De sud

Jeus qua midiy que Le Calleme nous a pris Dont nous avont estte oblige De moulle et nous avont moulle par 7 brasse et De miy Le tout a midiy Le Jeudiy

TEXT IN NORMALIZED SPELLING.

[14 r] *Journal du premier Octobre 1684.*

Le premier dudit, le dimanche, le vent était est, et nous avons appareillé des îles de l'Archay sur les 6 heures du matin et nous avons courus du côté de la Gonaïve jusqu'à midi que le vent s'est calmé.

À midi le 1^r dudit, le dimanche, le vent a été calme jusqu'à 2 heures du soir, et sur les 2 heures du soir le vent est venu ouest et s'est fraîchi et nous avons cinglé le cap au sud

Jusqu'à 10 heures du soir que nous avons été pris d'une grosse orage et nous a obligé de mettre côté en travers jusqu'au deuxième dudit sur les 6 heures du matin que le vent était nordé et nous avons fait route au Petit Goave jusqu'à 10 heures du matin le 2^{de} dudit, le lundi, que nous y avons mouillé par les 20 brasses, vase bris.

En arrivant nous avons salué Monsieur de Beaujeu de 5 coups de canon, et il nous en a rendu trois, et il y avait 5 jours qu'il était arrivé.

Et il y avait le capitaine Durand qui et le capitaine Aigron et un vaisseau de Nantes et aussi un vaisseau s'ibustier qui était en la rade.

Et d'abord que nous avons été mouillé le capitaine Morraud et Monsieur Thibaud sont allé à bord de l'amiral.

Côte. Du depuis la Tortue jusqu'à Petit Goave on peut ranger la terre à une demi-lieue, car elle est foraine tout rond.

[14 v] *Journal du 25^e Novembre 1684 partant du Petit Goave en l'Île de St. Domingue.*

Le 25^e dudit, à deux heures du matin, le vent était sud-est, et nous avons levé l'ancre et en même temps nous avons mis sus les voiles, et nous avons cinglé le cap à l'ouest. 3 lieues

Jusqu'à midi que le calme nous a pris le tout le samedi.

Le même dudit à midi le vent est venu ouest, et nous avons couru du côté de la Gonaïve et nous avons cinglé le cap au nord-ouest 6 lieues

Jusqu'à quatre heures du soir que nous avons tourné de bord et nous avons cinglé le cap au sud. 5 lieues

Jusqu'à sept heures du soir que nous avons tourné de bord et nous avons cinglé le cap au nord. 5 lieues

Jusqu'à 11 heures du soir que nous avons changé de bord et nous avons cinglé le cap au sud-sud-ouest. 4 lieues

Jusqu'à quatre heures du matin le 26^e dudit, le dimanche, que le vent est venu est et nous avons cinglé le cap à l'ouest quart de nord-ouest 5 lieues $\frac{1}{2}$

Jusqu'à 10 heures que le vent s'est calmé et a continué jusqu'à midi le 26^e dudit, le dimanche.

Le 26^e dudit à midi le vent est venu ouest-sud-ouest et nous avons cinglé le cap au sud quart sud-est. 3 lieues

Jusqu'à deux heures après midi que nous avons tourné de bord et nous avons cinglé le cap au nord-nord-ouest. 3 lieues

Jusqu'à sept heures du soir que nous avons viré de bord et nous a

[33 r] *Journal du 17^e Janvier 1685.*

Le même à 6 heures du matin le vent était nord, et l'*Aimable* a mis le feu. Donc nous avons mis à vire et nous avons levé l'ancre et mis à la voile et nous avons cinglé le cap au sud-ouest, 3 lieues, sondé alors devant comme ci-dessus, trouvé 7 brasses sable vassard.

Jusqu'à 9 heures que le calme nous a pris et nous avons été obligé de mouiller, et nous avons mouillé par 7 brasses sable vassard.

Ensuite à midi j'ai pris hauteur de 27 degrés 45 minutes que je sais est l' [?] de la ligne équinoxiale [?] Le tout le mercredi.

A deux heures après midi nous avons mis à la voile à celle fin de nous mettre auprès de l'*Aimable* et le vent était sud, petit vent, et notre chaloupe est allée à bord, et Monsieur de La Salle s'est embarqué dedans pour aller à terre, mais comme la mer était trop grande il n'y a pas pu dévaler et s'est retourné à bord du dit navire et a fait tirer un coup de canon à celle fin de faire venir leur chaloupe, qui avait entré dedans une petite rivière qui était là, et même nous a fait commandement de lever l'ancre et d'aller à l'avant, et nous lui sommes allés, mais nous l'avons rencontré par le chemin qu'elle venait. Donc nous sommes retournés mouiller auprès de l'*Aimable*, et même ils nous ont dit qu'ils avaient entré une lieue et demi à l'avant-dedans, et qu'ils n'avaient point trouvé d'eau douce.

Le 18^e dudit, le mercredi, à 7 heures du matin, la chaloupe du capitaine Aigron est venu à bord et ses gens se sont embarqués dans notre chaloupe pour aller chercher un homme qui avait resté le soir à terre, et le patron de chaloupe a dit au capitaine Morraud que Monsieur de La Salle lui avait dit de lui dire qu'il lui veut parler et moi aussi. Donc nous sommes embarqués

[33 v] *Journal du 18^e Janvier 1685.*

dans la dite chaloupe avec de nos gens qui nous ont mis à bord, et quand nous lui avons été Monsieur de La Salle nous a demandé si nous avions porté nos routes du depuis le Cap de St. Antoine, ensuite notre hauteur prise hier à midi, laquelle du capitaine Morraud était de 27 degrés 30 minutes et la mienne de 27 degrés 45 minutes, et le Sieur de La Salle a demandé l'avis dudit capitaine Morraud et le mien, et a avoué qu'il s'était trompé et qu'il était de l'arrière de leur navire, et le dit Sieur de La Salle et le capitaine Aigron ont tombé d'accord à mon point et on a un conseil tous ensemble pour voir si nous continuerons la route jusqu'à la Madeleine pour juger mieux l'affaire, mais le dit Sieur de La Salle n'y voulait point aller, se voyant dépassé l'endroit là où c'est qu'il avait à faire, mais on lui a dit qu'il lui fallait continuer, voyant que c'était le dernier rendezvous comme les signaux portaient et d'autres par lui croyaient rencontrer le *Joly*, car on disait qu'il y pouvait être, suivant le temps qu'il avait fait, puisqu'il alloit mieux que nous, et au cas que nous les serions point rencontrés à cet endroit nous les serions toujours trouvés en nous retournant, dont on n'en a tombé d'accord, et on a viré l'ancre et on a mis à la voile et on a cinglé le cap au sud-ouest quart de sud

Jusqu'à midi que le calme nous a pris, dont nous avons été obligé de mouiller, et nous avons mouillé par 7 brasses et demi, le tout à midi le jeudi

TRANSLATION.

[14 r] *Journal of October 1, 1684.*

The first of the said month, Sunday, the wind was east, and we set sail from the Arcahay Islands²² at 6 a. m., and ran alongside of Gonaïve till noon, when the wind died down. At noon, the first of the same, Sunday, it was calm till 2 p. m., and at 2 p. m. the wind came around west and freshened up and we sailed southward till 10 p. m., when we were taken by a heavy storm and obliged to lie to until the second day of the same at 6 a. m., when the wind came around to the north and we sailed toward Petit Goave²³ until 10 a. m. of the second day of the same, Monday, when we anchored in twenty fathoms, broken mud. On arriving we saluted Monsieur de Beaujeu²⁴ with five guns, and he gave us three. He had been there five days. And there was Captain Durand²⁵ and Captain Aigron²⁶ and a vessel of Nantes and also a filibuster vessel²⁷ in the roadstead. As soon as we had anchored Captain Morraud²⁸ and Monsieur Thibaud²⁹ went on board the admiral.—Coast:

²² Arcahay. "Islets Arcadins ou de l'Arcahay" (Delisle, 1725); islands off Haïti, east of the southern part of Gonaïve.

²³ Petit Goave is on the north side of the long peninsula that forms the southwestern part of Haïti.

²⁴ Captain of the principal ship, the *Joly*.

²⁵ An anonymous letter of Nov. 14, in Margry, II. 492, mentions Captain Durand as having sailed home from Petit Goave, taking with him the writer's previous letter of Oct. 19.

²⁶ The captain of the flute *Aimable*. Margry, II. 497.

²⁷ M. de Beaujeu, writing from on board the *Joly* in the roadstead of Petit Goave, Oct. 25, says: "A filibuster captain named Le Sage has told me that, as a boy on a Dutch ship, he has been in the country to which we are going, searching from river to river for the Mississippi, which they found about as M. de La Salle describes it."

²⁸ Captain of the *Belle*.

²⁹ An intimate friend of Joutel, and from the same place, Rouen. Joutel, in Margry, III. 200.

From Tortuga³⁰ to Petit Goave one can range along the land half a league out, for it is clear sailing all around.

[14 r] *Journal of November 25, 1684, sailing from Petit Goave in the Island of St. Domingo.*

On the 25th of the same, at 2 a. m., the wind was southeast, and we hove the anchor and at the same time made sail, and took our course to west three leagues, till noon, when a calm came upon us. Saturday. The same day at noon the wind came west, and we sailed alongside of Gonaïve and took our course to the northwest six leagues, till 4 p. m., when we came about and took our course to the south, five leagues, till 7 p. m., when we came about and took our course to the north, five leagues, till 11 p. m., when we tacked and took our course to the south-southwest four leagues, till 4 a. m., on the 26th of the same month, Sunday, when the wind came east and we took our course to the west-quarter-northwest, five leagues and a half, till ten o'clock, when the wind died down and so continued till noon of the 26th of the same, Sunday. The 26th of the same, at noon, the wind came west-southwest and we took our course to the south-quarter-southeast three leagues, till 2 p. m., when we came about and took our course to the north-northwest, three leagues, till 7 p. m., when we wore and

[33 r] *Journal of January 17, 1685.*

The same day at 6 a. m. the wind was north and the *Aimable* set a signal fire.³¹ Then we manned the capstan, hove the anchor, and set sail, and took our course to the southwest three leagues, then sounded forward, as above, and found seven fathoms, sand and mud. At 9 p. m. the wind died down and we were obliged to anchor, and anchored in seven fathoms, sand and mud. Then at noon I took the altitude, [latitude] 27 degrees 45 minutes, which I know is the ³² of the equinoctial (?) line. Wednesday. At 2 p. m. we set sail to bring ourselves near the *Aimable*, and the wind was south, light wind, and our longboat went aboard and Monsieur de La Salle got into it to go to land, but as the sea was too high he could not land and returned aboard the said ship and ordered a cannon to be fired to bring in their longboat, which had gone into a little river there, and also ordered us to take up our anchor and go forward and we went forward but met it as it was coming. Then we returned to anchor near the *Aimable*, and they told us that they had gone a league and a half into the river and had found no fresh water. The 18th of the same, Wednesday, at 7 a. m. Captain Aigron's longboat came aboard, and his people got into our longboat to go and search for a man who had remained on shore the evening before, and the boatswain of the longboat told Captain Morraud that Monsieur de La Salle had told him to tell him that he wished to talk to him and to me also. Therefore we embarked

³⁰ Tortuga, an island off the north coast of Haiti.

³¹ Cf. Joutel, Wednesday, Jan. 17, in Margry, II. 130: "He [La Salle] told us that, when we had entered, we were to signal with a smoke of some sort, so that he might embark in the longboat of the *Belle*, to come to land likewise."

³² Unintelligible. The latitude 27° 45' N. is that of Corpus Christi or of Mustang Island.

[33 r] *Journal of January 18, 1685.*

in the said longboat with some of our people who laid us aboard, and when we had come to him Monsieur de La Salle asked us if we had kept our reckoning from our departure from Cape San Antonio,³³ and also asked for our altitude taken yesterday noon. That of Captain Morraud was 27 degrees 30 minutes and mine 27 degrees 45 minutes, and the Sieur de La Salle asked the advice of the said Captain Morraud and mine, and acknowledged that he had made a mistake and that he was behind their ship³⁴ and the said Sieur de La Salle and Captain Aigron agreed with my point, and we had a council all together to see whether we should continue our course to the Madeleine³⁵ to decide better as to affairs, but the said Sieur de La Salle would not go there, seeing that he had passed the place where he ought to be, but he was told that it was necessary to continue, seeing that that was the last rendezvous as the signals indicated, and that others in his company believed that they should meet the *Joly*, for it was said that she might be there, considering the time that had gone on, for she went better than we,³⁶ and in case we should not find her at that place we should anyhow find her as we returned, on which there was no agreement, and we hove anchor and set sail and took our course southwest-quarter-south till noon when the wind died down, whereupon we were obliged to anchor, and anchored in 7 fathoms and a half. All this at noon on Thursday.

³³ The westernmost point of Cuba, which they had left on Dec. 18.

³⁴ *I. e.*, their principal ship, the *Joly*.

³⁵ The river which the French called the Madeleine has sometimes been identified with the Guadalupe (Margry, VI. 185), but the Abbé d'Esmanville says (Margry, II. 514) that when the *Joly* rejoined the *Aimable* and the *Belle*, which was the day after that here recorded, they were about 35 leagues from the "Magdelaine"; if that were the case, it would seem that the Rio Grande was meant.

³⁶ "If the other three vessels had been as good sailors as the *Joly*, we should", etc., says the letter-writer mentioned in note 25.

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